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THE EARLY AGE OF GREECE

BY

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TO MY FRIEND

JAMES GEORGE FRAZER,

M.A., Hon. D.C.L., Hon. LL.D., Hon. Litt.D.,

FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

102477

PREFACE.

The present work is an attempt to aid in the solution of some of the chief problems of early Greek history by the employment of the inductive method. The nature of the questions involved rendered it necessary to deal to a considerable extent with the early archaeology and ethnology of the upper Balkan peninsula, central Europe and Italy.

The first volume treats of the monumental, traditional and linguistic aspects of the subject, whilst the second volume, which is now in the press and will shortly be issued, will chiefly deal with institutions and religion.

The general principles developed in the present work have already been put forward before several learned bodies and in several journals; the references to these publications are given at the beginning of each chapter in which the particular doctrine has been expanded.

I have been encouraged to proceed with my investigations by the favourable reception which my first attempts have received from men so eminent in their own departments as M. Salomon Reinach, Sir John Evans, Prof. Flinders Petrie, and Dr Munro, and by the fact that discoveries since made, such as those at Phylákopi, seem to confirm the views which I had ventured to put forward.

I have endeavoured to present in as small a compass as possible the data available for deciding between the claims of the various races, whose claims to be the creators of the Mycenean civilization have been strongly urged or casually suggested.

No one is more conscious of the many shortcomings of this work than its author. Plentiful as the blemishes are they would have been far more numerous had it not been for the kindness of many friends. The chapter on The Homeric Dialect has had the benefit of the keen criticism of Prof. Conway, Litt.D., University College, Cardiff, late Fellow of Gonville and Caius College; Prof. Waldstein has generously communicated to me some of the unpublished results of his most important excavations at the Heraeum of Argos, and permitted me to reproduce from his photographs several of the objects there found; Miss Boyd of the American School at Athens has most kindly allowed me to refer to her important finds in Crete; Mr Cecil H. Smith, Assistant-Keeper of the Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum, sent me proof-sheets of his article on Phylákopi, and lent me the photograph from which is taken my illustration of the remarkable bronze statuette found by him at that place; Mr R. C. Bosanquet, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, Director of the British School at Athens, lent me the photograph from which I have reproduced the head of a most interesting Island statuette presented by him to the Ashmolean Museum; Mr A. J. Evans, Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, has generously supplied me with much information, and allowed me to study the drawings of his splendid discoveries at Cnossus; Mr J. L. Myres, M.A., Senior Student and Lecturer of Christ Church, Oxford, has kindly permitted me to see in advance the sheets of his Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum; the Rev. C. H. W. Johns, M.A., Queens' College, Cambridge, and Mr F. C. Burkitt, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, have given me important aid in my discussion respecting the use of iron among the Semites; Mr George Coffey, M.A., Keeper of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, has given me much kind help and information respecting Irish fibulae; Mr Charles Hose, Hon. D.Sc., Jesus College, Cambridge, Resident of Baram, Sarawak, Mr Walter W. Skeat, M.A., Christ's College, Cambridge, and Col. R. C. Temple, C.I.E., Trinity Hall, Cambridge, High Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, have given me very valuable unpublished information on various points.

I am also indebted for various suggestions and references to Mr J. G. Frazer, M.A., Hon. D.C.L., etc., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, Mr Hugh Seebohm of Hitchin, Mr Leonard Whibley, M.A., Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, University Lecturer in Ancient History, Mr R. A. Neil, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Pembroke College, Cambridge, University Lecturer in Sanskrit, Mr H. M. Chadwick, M.A., Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge, Prof. Bevan, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, Mr W. T. Lendrum, M.A., Fellow and Lecturer of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, Miss Harrison, Hon. LL.D., Fellow of Newnham College, Mr A. B. Cook, Fellow and Lecturer of Queens' College, Cambridge, Mr Clement Gutch, M.A., King's College, Cambridge, and others.

The Rev. J. G. Clark, M.A. (Gonville and Caius College), Anglesey Abbey, Cambs., has kindly made drawings of various objects figured in the work.

I have to thank Sir John Evans, F.R.S., etc., for an electrotype of his block of the Coveney Shield, the firm of Mr John Murray for permission (through Mr A. H. H. Murray, M.A., Gonville and Caius College) to reproduce a number of the illustrations from Schliemann's *Mycenae* and *Tiryns*, and the

Society of Scottish Antiquaries for the use of their block of the Yetholme Shield.

I gladly take this opportunity of expressing my best thanks to Dr A. S. Murray, Keeper of the Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum, and to Mr A. H. Smith, M.A., and Mr H. B. Walters, M.A., of the same department, and to Mr C. H. Read, Keeper of the Department of Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnology, and his assistants, for the unfailing kindness which I have experienced at their hands for many years. Finally I must thank the Syndics of the University Press for undertaking the publication of this *opus plenum periculosae aleae.*

FEN DITTON, CAMBRIDGE.
St Patrick's Day, 1901.

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CHAPTER I.

PREHISTORIC REMAINS AND THEIR DISTRIBUTION.

> Τοῖϲ δ' ἦν χάλκεα μὲν τεύχεα, χάλκεοι δέ τε οἶκοι,
> χαλκῷ δ' εἰργάζοντο· μέλαϲ δ' οὐκ ἔϲκε ϲίδηροϲ.
>
> Hesiod, *W. & D.* 150—1.

At Mycenae in 1876 Dr Schliemann lifted the corner of the veil which had so long enshrouded the elder age of Hellas. Year by year ever since that veil has been further withdrawn, and now we are privileged to gaze on more than the shadowy outline of a far back age. The picture is still incomplete, but it is already possible to trace the salient features. Can we by comparing it with portraits of certain peoples who have dwelt in and reigned at Mycenae—portraits preserved for us elsewhere—identify it as that of any race previously known? The object of this inquiry is to make such an attempt.

The archaeologists on their side have given but scant heed to the literary traditions, whilst the classical scholars have treated the archaeological facts with even less respect than they frequently show for the statements of the ancient writers. In the following pages I have attempted however imperfectly to examine at the same time the monumental and literary data, and to test the trustworthiness of each class of evidence by the other.

The name 'Mycenean' is now applied to a whole class of monuments—buildings, sepulchres, ornaments, weapons, pottery, engraved stones—which resemble more or less closely those found at Mycenae. I think I am right when I say that archaeologists are unanimous in considering them the outcome

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of one and the same civilization, and the product of one and the same race.

These remains are not confined to the Peloponnesus, nor to the mainland of Hellas. They are found in many widely distant spots. For instance, certain engraved stones, some bean-like in shape, some glandular, have been so frequently found in the Greek islands as to be known as 'Island gems.' Such stones have been found in Crete in considerable numbers; and Mr A. J. Evans' recent brilliant discoveries in Crete, and his masterly paper on 'Primitive Pictographs,' have riveted more closely than ever the attention of scholars not only to such gems, but to the whole area of Mycenean antiquities. Let us now enumerate the different regions in which Mycenean remains have been found.

ARGOLIS.

Mycenae is our natural starting point with its Cyclopean walls and gateway, the shaft graves of the Acropolis with their rich contents of gold ornaments, gold cups, bronze weapons, and pottery; the beehive tombs, eight in number, of the lower city, and the sixty-one quadrangular rock-hewn graves, with their contents[1]: there have also been found the remains of a pre-historic palace similar to those at Tiryns and on the Acropolis at Athens.

The circuit walls of the citadel remain in their entire extent (though not at their original height), except for a short distance on the precipitous slope to the *Chavos* ravine. In thickness they vary from 10 to 23 feet, the average being about 16 feet. In height they vary from 13 to 35 feet. They follow the natural sinuosities of the rock, but in places on the north and south-east sides the wall seems to have been as much as 45 feet thick. It is thought that here there were galleries or casemates in the thickness of the wall, like those still to be seen in the walls of Tiryns. Such a gallery does exist at Mycenae in the wall at the north-east corner for a length of 16 feet.

---

[1] Schliemann, *Mycenae and Tiryns*, 1878; Tsountas and Manatt, *The Mycenaean Age*, 1897.

Three different styles of masonry have been noticed in the construction of the walls. (1) The greater part of the wall is built in the manner termed Cyclopean, which we shall see is that of the walls of Tiryns: roughly hewn blocks of grey hard limestone are reared upon each other without any attempt at regular courses or order; the bonding was effected by smaller stones and clay. (2) Large portions of the wall consist of perfectly horizontal ashlar masonry: the stones are carefully hewn oblong rectangular blocks, disposed in regular horizontal courses with careful variation in the vertical joints. (3) Other portions of the wall consist of finely jointed polygonal masonry.

Archaeologists are fairly agreed in considering the last style as the latest of the three, for it is not known in any building of the Mycenaean age except at Mycenae itself, where it is found in the outward bulge of the wall south of the Lions' Gate, at the so-called tower on the south-west, and at the north-east corner of the wall. Dr Adler points out that the closely jointed polygonal masonry "belongs everywhere to a comparatively late period, and has no connection with the so-called Cyclopean constructions." It is found frequently in Greek walls from the seventh to the third century B.C.

At Mycenae this kind of wall (the best and most costly) seems to have only been employed when places damaged by slips had to be repaired or renewed.

The second style (ashlar courses) is usually held, though not universally, to be later than the true Cyclopean. It is found in the towers at the two gates and in the passages which lead up to them, from which it has been inferred by some that the Lions' Gate is more recent than the bulk of the walls, and that it was part of a later extension of the citadel in this direction. Others hold that it was used to give additional strength to the more exposed portions of the wall.

Ingress and egress were afforded by two gateways. The principal gate, the renowned Lions' Gate, is on the western side of the Acropolis, near its north corner. The postern gate is on the northern side. Both gateways are so placed that an enemy approaching them would have to pass between two walls, and would thus have been exposed to a terrible cross-fire. The famous gate stands at right angles to the wall of the fortress and is approached by a passage 50 feet long and about 30 feet wide formed by the wall and another exterior wall, which runs almost parallel to it, and forms a part of a quadrangular tower built to cover the entrance. The opening of the gate is 10 feet 8 inches high, its width at the top is 9 feet 6 inches, at the bottom 10 feet 3 inches. The lintel and threshold are each formed of a single huge block. "Over the lintel of the gate is a triangular gap in the masonry of the wall, formed by an oblique approximation of the side courses of stone. The object of this was to keep off the pressure of the superincumbent wall from the flat lintel." The aperture is filled with a single triangular slab of whitish grey anhydrite limestone. On this are carved in relief two lions which face each other, their front paws resting on two bases or altars placed beside each other. The heads are missing, and were made of separate pieces attached to the bodies by bolts, which probably fitted into holes still visible in the necks. The heads must have faced the spectator. A round pillar of a peculiar kind stands between the lions on a plinth resting directly over the joint of the two altarlike bases, and it increases in thickness slightly towards the top, and is surmounted by a capital ending with a sort of abacus or plinth. Over the abacus are four round discs in a row, and over them is another plinth or abacus.

This heraldic group of lions (or lionesses) has many parallels in engraved gems; on one (from the Lower City) two lions are represented in a posture closely resembling that of the lions over the gate[1], on another two griffins are shown standing on either side of a column; it is found in Lycian architecture, and Prof. W. M. Ramsay[2] has proved that the device of the rampant lions is a common feature of rock-cut tombs in Phrygia.

---

[1] Frazer's *Pausanias*, III. pp. 102—3. Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, VI. Pl. XVI. No. 20, *cf.* No. 11.

[2] *Ibid.* VI. 801, Fig. 374.

The postern gate is formed of three great stones, two upright, the third as lintel.

Inside the great gate Dr Schliemann found a circle of upright stone slabs enclosing five of the six famous graves, the remaining one being found a little later. The diameter of this circle is 87 feet, the enclosure is formed by two concentric circles of stone slabs, standing: the circles are about three feet apart and were joined by cross slabs laid on the tops of the upright stones, being morticed into the latter. The stone circles incline inwards. This Schliemann took for the Agora, and the flat-topped stone circles for benches. Tsountas[1] on the other hand thinks that the stone circle formed a retaining wall to keep together the earth heaped over the graves to form a barrow. The graves are shafts hewn in the rock. Over them was a vast mass of earth which Schliemann removed. In it were a number of tombstones and a small round altar with a well-like opening in the middle, "which doubtless had been used for sacrificing to the dead." There were ten tombstones, of which five were plain, but five were adorned with rude sculptures in low relief, consisting of spiral ornaments and scenes from the chase and from war.

The space to be treated is laid off into two equal parts. The upper and larger compartment is filled in with a spiral decoration; the lower with a figure subject.

On three stones is carved a man driving a chariot with four-spoked wheels; on one of them the charioteer is being assailed by a man on foot, armed with a long spear; on another a man with an uplifted sword is at the horse's head (Fig. 1). On another of them, beneath the chariot scene, is a lion hunting an ibex (?).

In the graves were 19 human bodies in all. From the contents of the graves Prof. Schuchhardt[2] holds that all the bodies in Graves I. and III., and two of the five in Grave IV., were those of women. The dead seem to have been buried in a half sitting posture with head propped up and with the legs doubled up under the thighs. From the fact that portions of skin and flesh still adhered to the bones when discovered Helbig acutely infers that the bodies had been embalmed[1].

---

[1] Tsountas and Manatt, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

[2] *Schliemann's Excavations*, p. 215. (Eng. trans.)

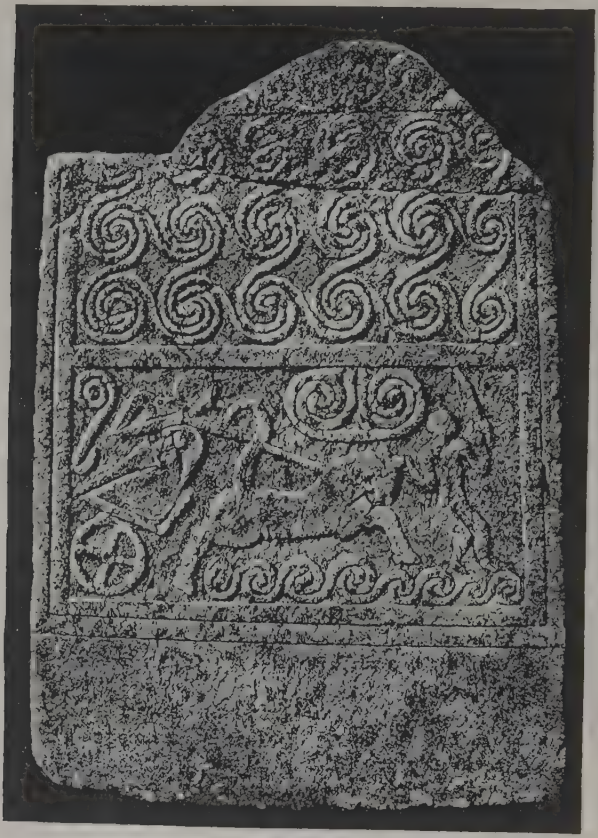

FIG. 1. Grave-stone, Mycenae.

It is clear that the bodies were not cremated but buried, for though ashes were found in the graves, they are probably those of sacrifices[2]. Schliemann's assumption that the bodies had been burned is disproved by the fact that all the grave-gear is quite uninjured by fire. That sacrifices were offered to the dead was proved by the quantity of bones of oxen, goats, swine and deer found over the graves. Nay, the skulls and bones of men or women lying in disorder in the earth suggest that human victims were offered. "The round altar which stood exactly over the middle of the fourth grave was doubtless used in these sacrifices." Down its funnel the blood was poured into the grave.

---

[1] *Das homerische Epos*, p. 53.

[2] Frazer, *op. cit.*, III. p. 107. *Cf.* his note on *Paus.* x. 4, 10.

In the graves were found those rich stores of ornaments and other equipment of the dead so well known to all archaeologists.

Gold. There were seven gold masks, which covered the faces of five men and two children. These masks were clearly portraits (Fig. 2). A gold mask representing the head of a lion was discovered in Grave IV., but this is held by Schuchhardt to be the centre ornament of a shield. A large silver head of an ox, with horns of gold, admirably modelled, was found in the same grave; it has a large rosette of gold on its forehead. In this grave likewise were 56 small gold ox heads, each with a double-headed axe between the horns. The jewellery included golden diadems, armlets, shoulder-belts, sword-belts,

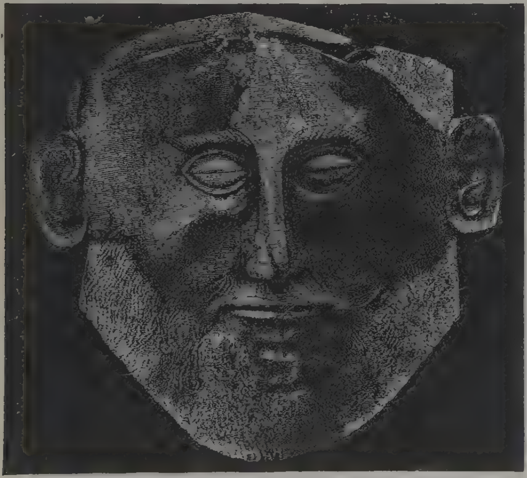

Fig. 2. Gold Mask, Mycenae.

pendants, crosses, rings, spirals, pins, buttons, beads, little figures, and the like. There were two pairs of gold balances.

The diadems are adorned with rosettes in *repoussé* work and concentric circles, or protuberant knobs or bosses. The pendants and bracelets are adorned with bosses and rosettes in *repoussé* work like the diadems. The crosses were mostly made in the shape of laurel leaves meeting at right angles and adorned with bosses. The diadems and pendants are believed to have been worn only by women. The crosses which were found only in Graves I. and III. were also probably worn by women, as were the 701 discs of gold found in the latter grave; some of them were above, some under the skeleton, whence it is inferred that they were fastened on the garment worn by the dead. They are thick, round plates of gold, on which are decorations in *repoussé* work in fourteen different designs—spirals, flowers, cuttle fish (Fig. 3), butterflies (Fig. 4), palm leaves (Fig. 5), etc.

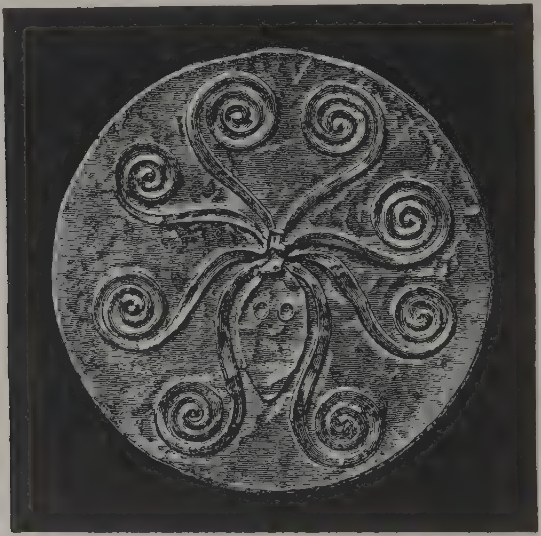

Fig. 3. Gold Button, Mycenae.

In Grave III. was a number of small figures (possibly fastened on the dresses of women); some of these represent

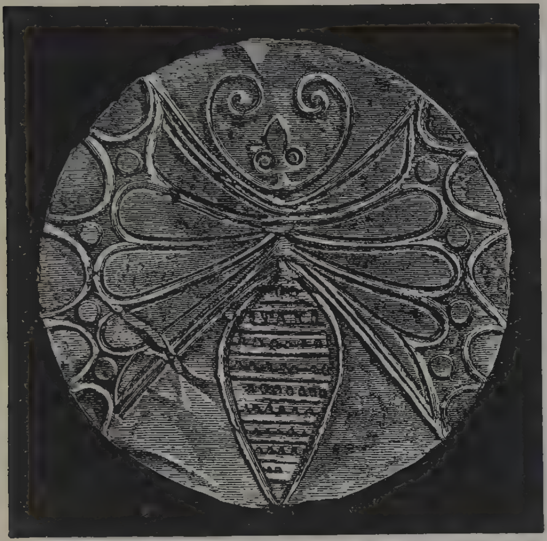

Fig. 4. Gold Button, Mycenae.

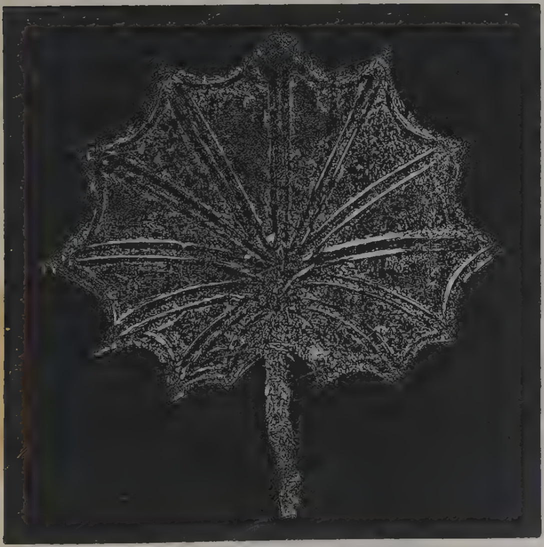

Fig. 5. Gold Button, Mycenae.

a nude female figure with hand clasped over her breast, on her head a dove rests, and in at least one case a dove is flying away from each arm. There are two figures of a woman seated with her arms folded on her breast and clad in a skirt adorned with points and stripes. Again there are pairs of animals facing each other like heraldic supporters; there are two stags crouching and confronted, a pair of cat-like creatures resting against a palm tree, pairs of swans, pairs of eagles. Single animals on the other hand are frequent, such as foxes, jackals, sphinxes, and one example of a flying griffon[1].

Again, there are miniature representations of temple-fronts which show three doors and a pinnacle in the middle, and two lower pinnacles at the sides, on which perch two doves. There were great numbers of golden buttons adorned with various combinations of circles and spirals, as many as 340 being found in Grave V. alone. It has been thought that these buttons were the ornaments of sword sheaths.

There was a vast multitude of other golden objects, such as hairpins, ribbons, axes, rings, flowers, cuttlefish, the dragon-pommel and part of the gold sheath of a sceptre, and a second smaller sceptre-sheath, and Grave IV. was strewn with golden leaves, of which more than half a pound were collected.

There were golden grasshoppers hung from gold chains, 51 gold ornaments (Grave IV.) embossed with cuttlefish, butterflies, hippocamps and sphinxes, gold wheels and tubes, and two pairs of gold scales.

The kneebone of one man was still encircled by the gold clasp "that had fastened on the greave" (?).

Many of the gold objects were made of such thin material that they could not have been used in actual life, and it has therefore been inferred that they were made specially for the dead. This is notably the case with the gold breastplates and baldrics.

There were many vessels of gold, no less than ten being found in Grave IV. (the richest in treasure); most of the cups have a single handle riveted on, and have either no foot or one of low height. But some are two-handled, of which one with a tall foot and with a golden dove on each handle closely resembles Nestor's cup[1]. Some of the cups are highly decorated; one is adorned with two rows of fish in relief.

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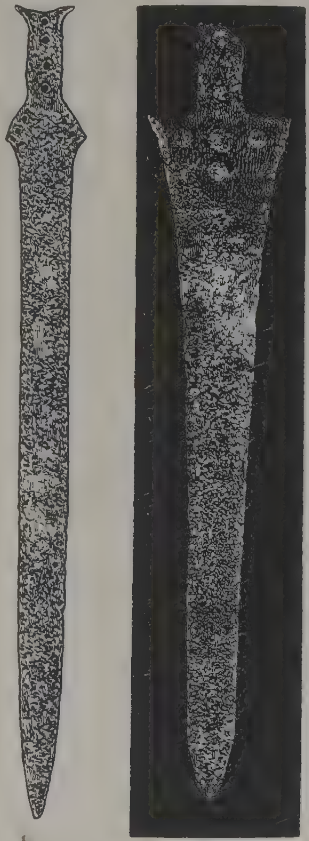
[1] Schliemann, *op. cit.*, p. 319; Tsountas and Manatt, p. 88; Frazer, *op. cit.*, III. 110.

Silver. Silver is infrequent in use as compared with gold. There was the great ox-head already noticed, a cup with a basket of ferns inlaid in gold, a pitcher, seven vases and cups (Grave V.).

In Grave IV. there were 19 silver vessels, goblets, flagons, bowls, vases, etc., but by far the most important was the fragment of a vase which was neglected when first discovered, as it was encrusted with oxide, but later on Koumanoudes cleaned it and brought to view a scene wrought in relief, which represents a beleaguered city. Its lofty walls built of quadrangular blocks laid in horizontal courses rise on the slope of a steep hill planted with olive trees. A number of square buildings showing windows are seen rising behind the wall, the walls of these buildings have no lines to indicate courses of masonry, and are therefore probably built of unburnt brick or wood. Women stand on the wall, gesticulating wildly with outstretched arms, as if praying or encouraging the men who have sallied out to meet the foe on the hillside. Some of the



Figs. 6, 7. Bronze Swords, Mycenae.

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[1] *Il.* xi. 632 *sqq.*

men, quite naked, are whirling their slings above their heads, whilst others, also naked, are kneeling to shoot with the bow. Lower down the hill is a man with a conical cap or helmet, wearing a jerkin, who seems to hold a sling. Behind the slingers and archers, higher up the hill, stand two men with oblong shields or cloaks descending to their knees. These men are not fighting and may be old men. None of the assailants are visible as the scene is only a fragment[1]. Hesiod has described a very similar scene[2].

Copper and Bronze. The Myceneans made of this metal all their tools and utensils, tripods, bowls, pitchers, cups, ladles, spoons, etc. Thirty-four large copper jugs and cauldrons were found in Grave IV., and others in Grave III. (Fig. 8.) One bowl has graceful handles and two bands of spirals round its rim: another, a bronze pitcher (Lower Town), is made in two pieces and fastened together by a hoop of bronze adorned with seven ox-heads in relief, and with similar heads engraved on its handle.

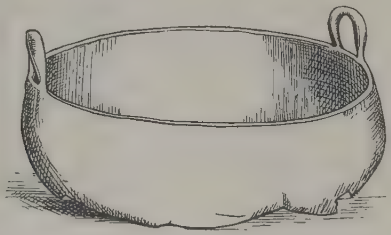

Fig. 8. Bronze Caldron, Mycenae.

The swords found (most of which were in Graves IV. and V.) were all of bronze (Figs. 6, 7): so were all the spears, knives and daggers which were discovered. Of swords upwards of 150 were found in the Acropolis graves, all more or less completely preserved. Among them is the famous blade from Grave IV., inlaid with a hunting scene on each side[3]. On one face is a lion chasing five gazelles; he has already seized the hindmost, the rest are in headlong flight; on the other face five hunters have closed with three lions; one lion has pounced on the foremost man, who lies on the ground entangled in his shield; his comrades hasten to help and the other lions retreat. The men have only a loin-apron, and are armed, one with a bow, the rest with long spears. The men have large shields of two kinds slung from their shoulders, "notched oval and oblong shields alternating."

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[1] Tsountas and Manatt, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

[2] *Shield*, 237 *sqq*.

[3] Tsountas, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

Twenty bronze arrow-heads in two bundles of ten each were found in a chambered tomb in the Lower Town[1].

Stone. Two polished hatchets of diorite (Fig. 9), many knives of obsidian, and 35 arrow-heads of the same substance were found in Grave IV. Stone was still in use for a variety of small vessels (usually oval or bowl-shaped), spoons, cups and jars. They are as a rule plain, or sometimes decorated with incised lines. They frequently have no handles, but have small holes about the brim for fastening on the lid. Some have projections pierced for a cord after a fashion which we shall find much employed in terra-cotta vessels at Hissarlik. There were also large vessels and great bowls with spiral reliefs or other ornaments. One of greenish quartz is adorned with a cuttlefish relief[2].

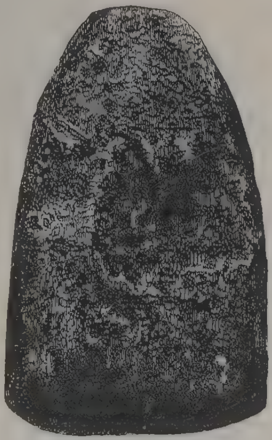

FIG. 9. Stone Axe, Mycenae.

There were many alabaster vessels, including a very elegant three-handled vase (Grave IV.).

Pottery. There are three chief kinds: (1) Archaic monochrome pottery, either plain (*cf.* Fig. 17) or decorated (*cf.* Fig. 20), not by painting, but by incised linear ornament traced with a sharp point when the clay was still wet. It is found along with the finer sorts of painted ware, and doubtless continued to be used for common domestic purposes at all periods. It is of a coarser clay, sometimes hand-made, though mostly made on the wheel, but even then it is thicker and heavier than the painted vases. (2) Large-bellied vessels as a rule prevail, decorated by dull lustreless colours, such as dark red, brown, violet, and sometimes white; these are laid on so as to form geometrical patterns, especially the spiral, straight, curved, and twisted lines, parallel bands, and circles with inscribed crosses. (3) Though in this class the large-bellied vessels occur (Fig. 10), yet it is characterized by the slenderness and grace of the vessels, which are decorated by a lustrous glaze of brown, red, or sometimes white colour.

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[1] Tsountas, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 75.

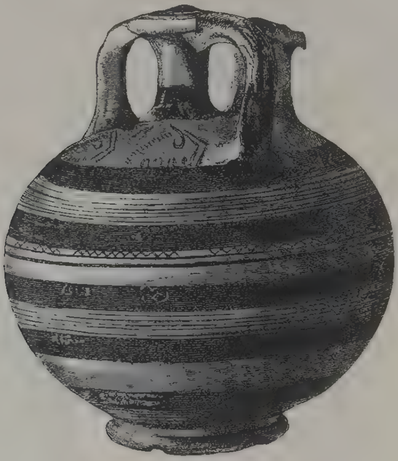

FIG. 10. 'False-necked' Mycenean Vase.

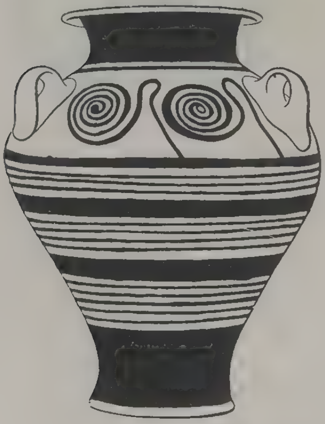

FIG. 11. Ialysos.

Though geometrical patterns and spirals frequently occur on it (*cf.* Fig. 11), its designs as a rule are naturalistic, such as ivy, the water-lily, the iris, and the palm, and especially marine animals and plants, such as nautilus, cuttle-fish (polypus), star-fish, fishes (*cf.* Fig. 13), sea-nettles, shells, and seaweed; birds are not infrequent (*cf.* Fig. 12), but it is only on the latest examples that quadrupeds and men appear. On one sherd oxen are browsing, on another a dog hunts a hare.

The dull painted pottery was found only in the circle of the royal graves, and outside of that circle only in the lower strata of the excavations.

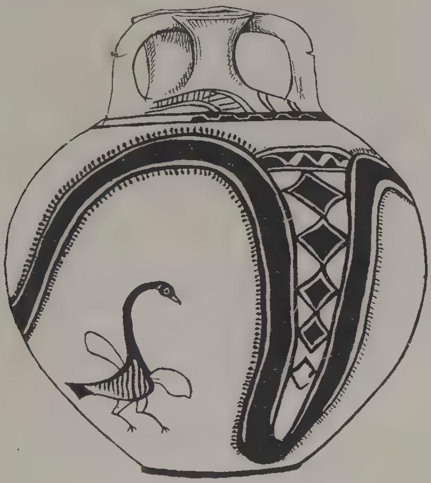

Fig. 12. Ialysos.

To the lustrous class belong the well-known so-called 'false-necked' Mycenean vases (Fig. 10). This type is not found in any other known style of ceramics. Its neck is closed, the liquid passed through a short spout in the upper part of the vessel. Two short handles rise on each side of the false neck to which they are attached, thus presenting the shape of a pair of stirrups, from which the Germans term this vase *Bügelkanne* (stirrup jar), the French *amphore à étrier.*

Both the dull and lustrous pottery are found together, but there is reason to believe that the dull is the earlier and comes next to the coarse monochrome in order of development.

The description of the pottery from Mycenae practically serves for that found on the other Bronze Age sites. Decoration with linear ornament incised or painted is not peculiar to the Greek area. For incised linear ornament is common to all Europe, and is used universally by the primitive peoples of the present day.

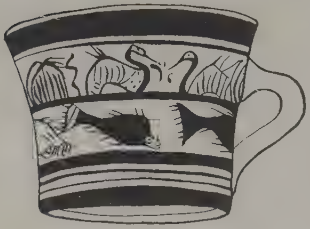

FIG. 13. Ialysos.

The dull painted pottery with linear ornament, especially spirals, is found also in Cyprus, Palestine, Assyria, Thera, Sicily, and is still used among barbarous peoples, for instance in North Africa.

The dull Mycenean pottery, though usually wheel-made, is sometimes hand-made. It thus marks two great steps in the ceramic art, the invention of the wheel, and the substitution of colour for incised ornament.

It is altogether different with the glazed ware, for the art of painting with a lustrous varnish was confined to the Greek area, and to others such as Etruria and south Italy to which it passed from Greece. In this fully developed Mycenean pottery we have the beginnings of the ceramic art of the classical times of Greece[1].

An amphora found in a chambered tomb bears on one of its handles three characters incised when the clay was yet soft. Like symbols were also found on a stone pestle and the fragments of a stone vessel.

Terra-cottas. There were many rude terra-cotta figures in the form either of a woman (Figs. 14, 16), or of a cow (Fig. 15). Most of the former have ornaments painted in bright red on a dead ground of light red, and breasts in relief, below which are rudely fashioned arms (Fig. 16), which Schliemann took to be horns "intended to represent the moon's crescent or the two horns of the cow, or both one and the other at the same time[1]." The head of the idol is very compressed and is usually covered with a large *polos*. The lower part is in the form of a gradually widening tube. There were also found idols with a very low *polos*, and some without any 'horns,' the whole upper part of the body as far as the neck being in the form of a disc; the head is uncovered and the hair is often indicated by a long tress on the back. There are others with a bird-like head covered or uncovered (*cf.* Fig. 18), with large eyes or 'horns,' but with two well indicated hands joined on the breast. There was also a figure, about six inches high, of an old and ugly woman; it is ornamented round the waist with zigzag lines.

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[1] Furtwängler and Loesche, *Mykenische Vasen*, pp. vi. *sqq*. In this invaluable work, to which reference will be very frequently made in these pages, the distinguished authors have subdivided the dull pottery into two classes, and the glazed into four.

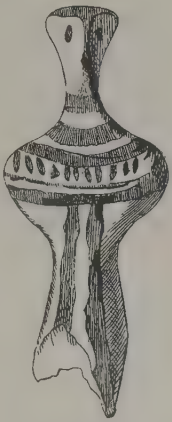

Fig. 14. Terra-cotta Idol, Mycenae.

Glass. There were numerous rosettes and beads of blue glass (*cyanus*).

Ivory. Various pieces of carved ivory were discovered. Some of these objects were carved with beautiful spirals and concentric circles (as also was a piece of wood). From a tomb in the Lower Town came an ivory head, showing a conical cap surmounted by a button.

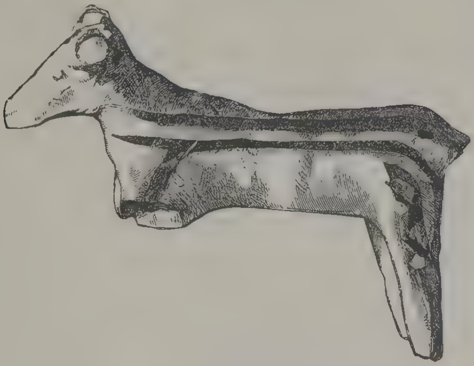

Fig. 15. Terra-cotta Cow, Mycenae.

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[1] *Mycenae*, p. 71, *sqq*.

Engraved stones. A white onyx engraved in intaglio shows a device of two cows suckling their calves[1]. Another stone repeats the fresco scene at Tiryns (p. 21) except that the animal is not a bull and is standing still. Another again shows a man in the act of swinging himself on to the back of a bull[2]. Such gems are commonly termed lenticular, and are pierced with a hole for suspension.

Closely connected with these engraved stones are the two gold signet rings, one of which has a hunting scene engraved on its bezel, the other a battle-scene[3] (Fig. 53). These rings consist of a piece of gold fashioned into the shape of a lenticular gem with a gold band attached.

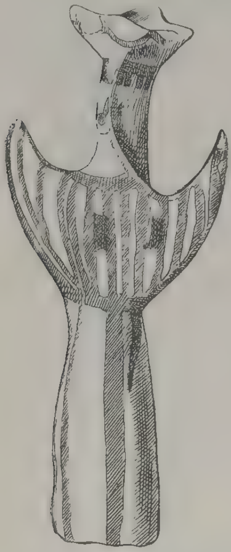

Fig. 16. Terra-cotta Idol, Mycenae.

The Lower Town. The most important remains are the eight so-called beehive tombs formerly known as 'Treasuries.' Three lie inside the wall of the Lower Town, five outside. The largest and best preserved is that popularly called the 'Treasury of Atreus' or 'Tomb of Agamemnon,' facing the Acropolis at a distance of a few hundred paces. It has a long approach (*dromos*) leading horizontally into the hill. Its walls are constructed of massive square blocks laid in horizontal courses like the masonry of the gates of the Acropolis. A lofty portal leads into the great domed chamber. Outside before each doorpost stood, on a low quadrangular base, a half-column of peculiar shape. They are shown by their fragments to have tapered downwards. They were ornamented in relief with spirals set in zig-zag bands, and narrow bands of lozenges. In the fragment of one of the capitals Furtwängler and others have seen the first step in the development of the Doric capital.

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[1] Schliemann, *op. cit.*, pp. 131—2. Schliemann aptly compares the device with the well-known type of the cow suckling her calf on the coins of Corcyra, Dyrrachium and Apollonia.

[2] Schuchhardt, *op. cit.*, pp. 122 and 351.

[3] Schliemann, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

Over the lintel a triangular space was left in the massive masonry, as in the Lion Gate. This was once filled with porphyry slabs adorned with spirals. The dome is 50 feet high and 50 feet in diameter, at the floor level. It is built of 33 rows of stones fitted without any cement. On the right of the dome lies a small chamber nearly square, which is entirely cut out of the rock. In the middle of its floor is a circular depression. If this was the grave, the body must have been buried in a contracted posture.

In the *dromos* of the 'Tomb of Clytemnestra' Schliemann found fragments of painted pottery "profusely covered with an ornamentation of key-patterns, zig-zag lines, stripes of ornaments like fish-spines, bands with very primitive representations of cranes or swans, or circles with flowers, and occasionally with the sign 卍." The doorway was flanked by two half-columns fluted their whole length like Doric columns, and resting on semicircular bases. They tapered slightly downwards.

In the floor of the *dromos* was an oblong hole, which yielded some gold ornaments and two bronze mirrors with ivory handles carved with female figures, palm-trees and doves.

Over eighty graves have been found lying in groups scattered up and down the slopes[1]. These tombs are rock-hewn chambers approached by rock-hewn passages. Each tomb contained several skeletons, and in those with two chambers bones were found in both. Cremation seems never to have been practised. The bodies had been set on the floor in a sitting posture, but no trace of embalming was observed.

The potsherds found in the *dromoi* all belong to the Mycenean age, none to a later. Before the doors bones not only of animals but also human beings were often found, doubtless those of victims.

Many objects of gold, bronze, ivory and earthenware were found either within or before the tombs. Many female idols of clay were found, especially in the poorer graves. Most of them wear a diadem, one has the breast naked and a large necklace, whilst a number made of glass paste show a woman clad in a skirt holding her two hands to her naked breasts; others show a woman with a child in her arms. There are ivory combs, and three ivory heads in profile representing a beardless man wearing a conical cap. Another ivory represented a woman with negro-like features in a flounced skirt, and wearing a necklace and a bracelet. There were bronze razors, three bronze brooches of the safety-pin type (described fully later on). Particularly noticeable are two iron finger-rings, and two fragments of what appears to be another ring. Many engraved Mycenean gems were also found. On one, two lions stand face to face (p. 281); their heads are united and appear as one (*cf.* Fig. 50).

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[1] Tsountas and Manatt, *op. cit.*; Frazer, *op. cit.* III. pp. 124 *sqq.*

Tiryns. In the south-eastern part of the plain of Argolis, on a low hill, divided by about a mile of marshy land from the sea, stand the ruins of Tiryns to-day, just as they did when Pausanias viewed them and compared them to the pyramids of Egypt.

The massive wall of Cyclopean masonry surrounds the whole citadel, built of huge blocks of limestone. The stones have mostly been rudely dressed on at least one face. They are not piled irregularly, but are laid as far as possible in horizontal courses, and were originally bonded with clay mortar. Round the upper citadel the wall is in places as much as 57 feet in thickness; its line is broken by many salient and re-entrant angles, and it is strengthened by towers and pierced by galleries and chambers.

The chief entrance lies nearly in the middle of the eastern wall, and consists of a passage eight feet wide through the citadel wall. The approach to this is up a ramp. Through a bastion built out from the line of wall on the western side a long narrow staircase leads up to the citadel. Its entrance from without is through a gateway, which has the shape of a pointed arch. There were also two posterns in the wall of the fortress.

The Palace. In 1884 Schliemann laid bare a prehistoric palace, so well preserved that its ground plan is for the most part well ascertained. This is of the same general plan as that discovered by Tsountas at Mycenae in 1886. Of all the prehistoric palaces yet discovered, that at Tiryns is far the best preserved, and is therefore of the highest importance. It stands on the uppermost of the three plateaus which form the Acropolis. Its portal is about 46 feet wide, and is composed of a middle wall, pierced by folding doors and covered by an outer and inner portico. Each portico has its façade embellished by two columns between two pilasters formed by the prolongation of the side walls, that is, a temple *in antis*. The gate opens into the great forecourt, around which two porticos and several small chambers may still be traced. At its north-west corner is another gateway similar in plan to the first. This gate leads into the principal court (the Men's Court), which is also surrounded by colonnades. In it was a large quadrangular block of masonry with a circular cavity about four feet in diameter, and less than three feet in depth. This was an altar, or rather *Bothros* (sacrificial pit). On the north side of this court two stone steps lead up to a vestibule with a façade of two columns between two pilasters. This was probably the *Aithousa*. It opens into a room serving as the antechamber (*πρόδομος*) to another large room (*μέγαρον*).

In the vestibule was found the splendid frieze of alabaster carved with spirals, rosettes and palmettes, and inlaid with blue glass (*κύανος*). From the vestibule one door led towards the bath-room, another to the Megaron. In the middle of it stood four wooden pillars (the stone bases are still *in situ*); in the space between the pillars stood the great hearth[1]. At the back of the Megaron stood a smaller quadrangle, the Women's Court, on which opens the Women's Hall. From it was access to various chambers, one of them approached by a stairway. A forecourt adjoined the Women's Court on the south-east, but beyond it all is a mere chaos of intersecting walls.

Many fragments of wall-plaster decorated with painting were found in the palace. Of these the most notable represents a bull at full speed with a man apparently leaping on the animal's back and seizing him by the horn, a subject found with a slight variation on one of the Vaphio cups. There is also a fragment of a border closely resembling the design of the stone ceiling at Orchomenus.

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[1] Schliemann, *Tiryns*, p. 222; Tsountas, *op. cit.*, pp. 44—55: Frazer, *Paus.* III. pp. 221 *sqq.*

The frescoes were painted in black, white, red, yellow, and blue[1].

Gold, Silver and Bronze. Only one small object of gold was found[2].

Of silver there was only found a simple signet ring with a star engraved on it.

There were few articles of bronze, but among them was the figure of a naked warrior, beardless, wearing a cone-shaped helmet; bronze chisels similar to those at Mycenae and Hissarlik; a bipennis similar to the two bronze double-axes found at Mycenae; a bronze saucer with two handles; bronze arrowhead without barbs, like those found at Hissarlik.

Of *iron* there was nothing but a lance head of late date found on the ramp.

Lead was found in considerable quantities, being commonly employed for stitching broken earthenware.

Stone. One diorite axe, exactly resembling those from Mycenae, and countless knives and arrowheads of obsidian were found. The arrowheads are without barbs. Nuclei of obsidian were found in large quantities, which shows that the knives and arrowheads were made on the spot. There were numerous spindle-whorls.

Pottery. Along with the obsidian knives and arrowheads Schliemann found monochrome hand-made and hand-polished pottery (Fig. 17), sometimes having excrescences pierced vertically for suspension, sometimes with incised linear ornament, lying in the stratum next the virgin soil. There was also painted pottery of the same types as those at Mycenae.

Terra-cottas. Female figures like those from Mycenae were very numerous. They were found everywhere in the ruins of the palace. Another type is "a sitting female as flat as a board, with great protruding eyes, bow-like prominent nose, and with no indication of a mouth. The head is adorned with a coronal; the breast with the breastplate peculiar to many archaic terra-cottas, the ends of which rise above the shoulders. A tuft of hair seems to be indicated on the occiput; the arms are stunted, stretched forward and bent, without hands; the tips of the feet are visible. Instead of a chair two legs, apparently growing out of the body of the idol, support it in a sitting posture[1]." Some are of a more advanced workmanship, and one has a bird in her lap.

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[1] Schliemann, *op. cit.*, pp. 296 *sqq.*, pls. XIII. and V., Tsountas, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[2] Schliemann, *Tiryns*, Pl. XXI. figs. *c*, *d*, *e*.

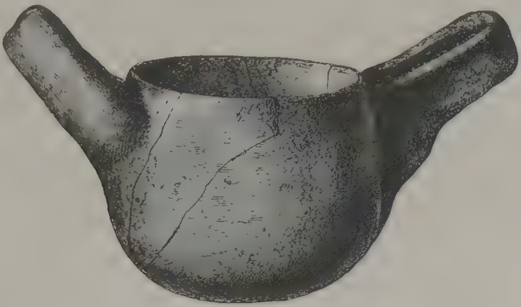

Fig. 17. Polished ware from lowest stratum; Tiryns.

There is another series of female figures standing upright, holding a pig under the left arm. A clay figure of the same kind has been found at Eleusis, and hence they have been regarded as Demeter idols. Cows of terra-cotta were also numerous.

Glass. The alabaster frieze inlaid with blue glass paste has been already mentioned.

Nauplia. At the eastern extremity of the plain of Argos stands the impregnable rock of Palamidi (Palamedes), "the Gibraltar of Greece," keeping ward over the rocky headland on which is built Nauplia, the port of Tiryns[2]. The latter lies about two and a half miles inland.

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[1] Schliemann, *op. cit.*, Pl. xxv.

[2] Frazer, *op. cit.*, III. pp. 141—2; Tsountas, *op. cit.*, p. 6, etc.

At Pronoia, a suburb of Nauplia, in 1889—90, in the base of Palamidi and close to the fortress-gate, a series of rock-hewn tombs was excavated. Each of them consists of a quadrangular chamber with a long narrow approach or *dromos.* The entrances to the chambers were closed with masonry. In some of the tombs bones mixed with Mycenean pottery were found in quadrangular depressions cut in the floors. In niches cut in the sides of the chambers or *dromoi,* which had been either closed with slabs or walled up, were also found bones and fragments of vases and terra-cotta statuettes. The 31 tombs excavated in 1892 in almost every case contained more than two skeletons, either laid at full length, or in a sitting posture. The majority of objects discovered were of terra-cotta.

Some gold ornaments were obtained, including six gold rosettes and two rings of gold leaf. Of bronze there was a spear-head, a brooch, and a mirror. There were necklaces of bone and glass, in the middle of one of which were two engraved gems with devices of animals, like some from Mycenae. On each of the handles of one vase from this group of tombs was incised a character not unlike the letter H, recalling the characters on the vase from Mycenae.

The Heraeum. Before any excavations were here made portions of the great retaining wall of the uppermost terrace were conspicuous to a great distance. These consist of huge irregularly shaped blocks of conglomerate heaped together in a rough Cyclopean style to support the upper terrace on which stood the older temple, destroyed by fire in 423 B.C. Three courses of these blocks in general are remaining. It was this Cyclopean wall that first drew the attention of Col. Gordon to the spot, and led to the discovery of the site. Prof. Waldstein, when director of the excavations conducted by the American School, cleared the upper terrace down to the living rock, and brought to light neolithic implements, a vast quantity of archaic pottery, terra-cottas (Figs. 18—21), bronzes and many other objects.

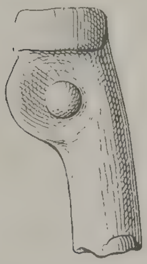

FIG. 18. Head of Idol; Heraeum.

Dr Hoppen has now examined the fragments of pottery found at the Heraeum (amounting to some 20,000), and by the kindness of Prof. Waldstein and Dr Hoppen I am able to give the result of this examination, which is not yet published. The fragments consist of rude hand-made pottery with incised linear ornament (Fig. 20), early wheel-made pottery with painted linear ornament passing into what is known as *Proto-Corinthian*, which in its turn passes into the fully developed pottery known as *Mycenean*: to the *Mycenean* succeeds *Dipylon* pottery (Fig. 21), *i.e.* geometrical patterns and human figures with triangular bodies. The succession is much the same as that which we shall find at Menidi in Attica.

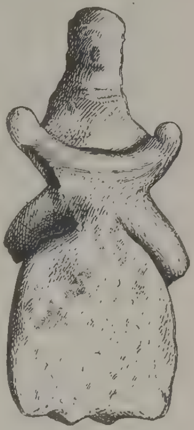
FIG. 19. Seated female Idol; Heraeum of Argos.

Near the Heraeum Prof. Waldstein discovered two beehive tombs, "which contained rich finds of Mycenean vases, terra-cottas, cut stones, etc.[1]"

To the south-east of the Heraeum a beehive tomb has been excavated, exhibiting Mycenean remains and also showing by its contents that it was still used for interments in classical times[2].

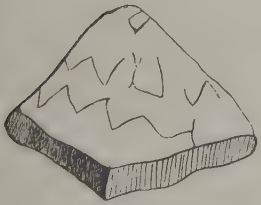
FIG. 20. Pottery with incised linear ornament; Heraeum.

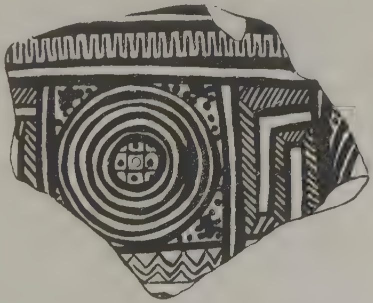
FIG. 21. Fragment of 'Dipylon' pottery; Heraeum.

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[1] *Report of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 1894–5.

[2] Schuchhardt, p. 151.

Midea is six miles distant from Nauplia and stands on a lofty mountain near the village of Dendra. The wall which protects the summit is built of great rough blocks, the interstices being filled with small stones. In one wall there is a gateway formed by three stones like the postern at Mycenae. Numerous fragments of Mycenean pottery are found on the Acropolis, which renders "it fairly certain that the place is indeed Midea[1]."

Epidaurus. Rock-hewn tombs similar to those at Nauplia have been found at Epidaurus[2].

Asine. There are some scant remains of Mycenean walls, though Schliemann affirmed that they were better preserved than the walls of Tiryns. They are built in true Cyclopean fashion with great blocks hardly fitted together. There is also a square Cyclopean tower built of large stones scarcely hewn on the outside and only rudely fitted together. Other parts show rough polygonal masonry[3].

Great masses of potsherds of the painted prehistoric kind characteristic of Mycenae and Tiryns are lying about, and there are great quantities of knives and arrowheads of extremely primitive form made of obsidian.

Corinth. Some Mycenean pottery is known which is said to have come from Corinth or its neighbourhood[4].

LACONIA.

Vaphio (*Pharis*). The bee-hive tomb at Vaphio was excavated in 1889. The *dromos* is about 99 feet long. In the earth filling up the approach Tsountas found many sherds of Mycenean pottery, some of them plain, some painted. There were also some small gold leaves and a broken amber bead. In the gateway leading to the chamber was a hole about six feet deep, probably a *bothros* (sacrificial pit). The tomb was built of hewn stones in horizontal courses. There is no second chamber opening off the first, as in the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenae. In the grave sunk in the floor was found an interment, probably that of a man laid at full length.

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[1] Frazer, *op. cit.*, III. p. 231.

[2] *Id.*, III. pp. 134—5.

[3] *Id.*, III. 299; V. 601—2.

[4] Furtwängler and Loesche, *Mykenische Vasen* (1886), p. 44.

Of gold there were the two famous cups, the very zenith of Mycenean craftsmanship, and a gold ring; two gold rings and two gold fish (on the floor of the tomb); two silver cups, a silver saucer with a gold rim. Of bronze there was a sword, seven knives, two spearheads, two axes, two daggers, a ring, a sceptre (?), a mirror. At the neck and breast of the body were about 80 amethyst beads and two engraved gems. Near the middle of the body were found 41 engraved gems, which were probably strung together and worn as bracelets. These gems are both of the glandular and lentoid types. The devices include lions, dolphins, oxen, geese, rams' heads, two-horse chariots, a dancing woman, etc. There was a ring of iron. Leaden discs were found at both the head and foot of the grave. The potsherds were few in number and all undecorated.

The gold cups are similar in size and shape, each has one handle and no foot. Each is decorated all round with reliefs. On one of them is a bull caught in a net, fastened at each end to a tree; the beast is half on the ground and lifts up its head bellowing in distress. On the right another bull is seen escaping. On the left a third bull has charged two hunters who have tried to bar his escape; he has knocked one down and is tossing the other on his left horn. Two palm trees on either extremity bound the picture. On the second cup is seen a bull as if at pasture. The centre is formed by two bulls standing side by side with their heads turned to each other in friendly fashion. On the left is another bull followed by a man who holds firmly with both hands a rope tied round the animal's left hind leg. The beast is lifting up its head and bellowing. Behind are two trees similar to those to which the net is fastened in the other cup. They are possibly olives or pines. The men are nearly naked, only wearing a girdle and loin-cloth, shoes, and straps on their legs half way up the calves. The man who holds the bull wears bracelets. The faces of all the men are shaven, but their hair is long and streams down their backs. M. Perrot has well argued that the cups are of native workmanship and not imported from abroad[1].

Kampos. In 1890 Tsountas opened another domed tomb at Kampos[2] on the west side of Mount Taygetus, not far from the site of the ancient Gerenia. The tomb was in a ruinous state, as the dome had fallen in. The sides of the *dromos* were built of small unhewn stones and clay mortar. The doorway is well preserved; its lintel is formed of three huge slabs of limestone. The walls of the chamber are built of hewn stones laid in courses intended to be horizontal, and the interstices are filled with pebbles. The tomb had been plundered long before, but it yielded a few gold ornaments of the usual Mycenean style, some gold leaves, two leaden statuettes of great interest, the one representing a man, the other a woman. That of the man resembles in style and dress the hunters on the Vaphio cups. There was an agate engraved with two goats, fragments of pottery either plain or only painted with bands, ornaments of blue glass, and a bone comb.

Arkina. Near the village of Arkina on Mount Taygetus, about six hours to the south-west of Sparta, Tsountas discovered (1889) a beehive tomb[3]. It is poor in construction and contents. The doorway was walled up. It was built entirely of small unhewn stones with open joints, except the lintel which was formed by three hewn blocks. There was found in it a gold ornament, a small bronze nail, some fragments of undecorated pottery, five white stone beads, and an elliptical stone perforated but not engraved. There were no signs of cremation, as the bones were lying in confusion, but nothing of the skull save the teeth was preserved.

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[1] Tsountas, *Ephem. Archaiol.*, 1889, pp. 136—72; Tsountas and Manatt, *op. cit.*, pp. 144—5; Frazer, *op. cit.*, III. pp. 135—6; Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, VI. pp. 405—410.

[2] Tsountas, *Ephem. Arch.*, 1891, pp. 189—91; Frazer, *op. cit.*, III. p. 137; Perrot and Chipiez, VI. p. 410; Tsountas and Manatt, *op. cit.*, p. 8, etc.

[3] Tsountas and Manatt, *op. cit.*, p. 8; Frazer, *op. cit.*, III. p. 136.

ARCADIA.

Though as yet little searched for Mycenean remains Arcadia has yielded sporadic Mycenean antiquities, such as an engraved gem from Phigalia[1].

MESSENIA.

Pylus. At Coryphasium (*Palaeo-Kastro*), which is identified with the Homeric Pylus, the home of Nestor, M. Laurent dug up a number of fragments of pottery in the cave of Nestor. These sherds form a series which extends from the earliest period down to Roman times. A handle of a large vessel pierced with a hole for suspension, and decorated with broad black-brown stripes, belongs to the pre-Mycenean epoch. There are many fragments of large vases of the late Mycenean lustrous style decorated with broad black horizontal bands on a pale yellow ground; the inside is coated with a black glaze[2].

CEPHALLENIA.

At the village of **Masarakata** there are the remains of a beehive tomb of small dimensions. The dome has fallen in. Not far from it a little to the south-east of the village there are other tombs of the Mycenean period of an irregular quadrangular shape with passages leading to them; both tombs and passages are hewn in the rock[3].

MEGARIS.

Megara. According to Schliemann fragments of a Mycenean vase and a Mycenean idol have been found on the acropolis at Megara[4].

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[1] Milchhöfer, *Anfänge der Kunst*, p. 54.

[2] Frazer, *op. cit.*, v. p. 613; *Bull. Cor. hell.* xx. (1896), pp. 388—390.

[3] Frazer, *op. cit.*, III. p. 143; *Mitth. Athen.* 11 (1888), p. 456; P. Wolters, "Mykenische Gräber in Kephallenia," *Mitth. Athen.* 19, pp. 488—490.

[4] *Tiryns*, p. 84; Furtwängler and Loesche, p. 53.

ATTICA.

Spata. Shortly after Schliemann's discoveries at Mycenae a landslip near Spata in the Attic Mesogeia revealed a great rock-hewn tomb with three chambers and a *dromos* or approach which yielded pottery and other objects similar to those found at Mycenae and Ialysus. This with a second and smaller tomb was excavated by Stamatakis.

Menidi. In 1879 in the plains north of Athens near the village of Menidi, a spot familiar to classical scholars under its ancient name of Acharnae, a domed structure of the so-called 'treasury' type was discovered by the villagers, and excavated by Dr Lolling[1]. This yielded not only a quantity of the usual Mycenean grave-gear, but also six skeletons lying undisturbed in the midst of the funeral offerings. These remains for the first time positively demonstrated the sepulchral character of these beehive structures. There were small objects of gold, silver, ivory, and blue glass, as well as six engraved gems similar to those found at Mycenae.

The fragments of pottery found in the *dromos*, or approach to the tomb, show an unbroken series of Mycenean, Dipylon, and Attic black and red figured vases. This, as has been pointed out, indicates an unbroken continuity of worship at the tomb[2].

Two amphorae bore characters like those on the stone pestle, the amphora, and stone vessel from Mycenae.

Since the discoveries at Spata and Menidi other Mycenean remains have been found all over Attica.

The Acropolis was cleared (1884—1889) down to the living rock, and the Pelasgic circular wall was thus laid bare. There were also found scant remains of a pre-historic palace with a rock-hewn stairway to afford a rear communication as at Tiryns.

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[1] *Das Kuppelgrab bei Menidi.* (Athens, 1880.)

[2] Schuchhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 298 ; Ridgeway, *Jour. Hell. Stud.* XVI. p. 78 (1896).

At **Halike** (the ancient Halae Aixonides) on the sea S.E. of Athens in 1880 a cemetery like that at Pronoia near Nauplia yielded many Mycenean remains.

At **Thoricus**, M. Staës in 1893 discovered a third tomb, in addition to two already known, and on the summit of the mountain were ruined buildings belonging, according to M. Staës, to two different periods: the Mycenean, properly so-called, and a still earlier one nearly contemporary with the oldest known Island civilization. Under the floors of some of the earlier houses (which were paved with flags) lay oblong or circular pits, which had served as graves, as was shown by the fact that in some of them were huge broken jars containing human bones. Near by lay many small hand-made vessels, probably funeral offerings. "Pottery abounded in fragments of nearly every style from the earliest monochrome (including vessels of the Trojan type) to the fully developed Mycenean." The primitive vases are sometimes ornamented with incised circles and zigzag patterns. A few fragments of dull-coloured unglazed vases occur with bands, spirals, and with various geometrical designs in black, red, chestnut, and white. Specimens of the second and third style of glazed vases are also found. Two of the three domed tombs are elliptical instead of circular. One of the elliptical tombs contained nothing but broken pottery of the Mycenean period[1]. At **Kapandriti** near the ruins of ancient Aphidnae remains corresponding to those of the oldest Thoricus period have been discovered. Dr Wide opened a tumulus containing ten graves, in which were found human bones inurned in *pithoi* as at Thoricus, as well as eleven old Mycenean vases including two of pure gold, and three gold earrings. The pottery at Kapandriti mostly consists of small black vases some of them plainly of Trojan type with roughly incised ornament, and large *phialae* of the Amorgus type with ears pierced for suspension.

Brauron, **Markopoulo**, and **Prasiae** have yielded each a cemetery belonging to the strictly Mycenean period. The tombs in these cemeteries are rock-hewn chambers. At Markopoulo twenty-two tombs were found, from which were obtained upwards of 200 vases, half-a-dozen bronze razors, and various other objects. Many lustrous vases were found, one of which was painted with figures of women[1].

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[1] Staës, *Ephem. Arch.* 1895, pp. 193 *sqq.*; Pls. 10—12; Tsountas and Manatt, *op. cit.* p. 383 *sqq.*

Eleusis has also yielded a beehive tomb, which is approached by the usual *dromos*, and is built of quadrangular blocks. Many fragments of Mycenean pottery, including the early black ware often adorned with incised linear ornament, as well as idols of the usual Mycenean types, have been found in the excavations here[2]. This black ware is very common at Troy, and is found at Mycenae, Tiryns (Fig. 17), on the Acropolis of Athens, at Thoricus, Aphidnae, Orchomenus in Boeotia, in Thessaly, the Aegean islands, etc.

Salamis. In 1893 M. Kabbadias discovered on the island near the navy-yard and not far from the ancient town more than 100 graves arranged in seven parallel rows. These graves are simple quadrangular pits, 3 to 4 feet in length, and $1\frac{1}{3}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 feet deep. The sides were lined with slabs of stone, and they were covered by two or three large slabs. There was no bottom stone, but in some cases it was said that there was a bed of sea-sand and pebbles. One body in a half-sitting posture, with the legs well drawn up, was buried in each grave. Among these graves were two circular pits lined with stone like the rest, one of which contained an earthen vessel full of bones, the other a similar vase full of ashes. The objects found in these graves are from the end of the Mycenean age. The vases are usually small and include false-necked amphorae, two-eared vases with wide mouths, and one-eared *skyphoi*. The pottery is ornamented with the usual bands, spirals, and zig-zags, and the colours are carelessly applied. The only gold objects were small hair-clasps, spirals of gold wire, and there were likewise plain bronze finger-rings, and bronze brooches of the type with the bow not parallel to the pin, but considerably curved[3].

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[1] Tsountas and Manatt, p. 166.

[2] Tsountas and Manatt, pp. 9 and 386; Furtwängler and Loesche, p. 40.

[3] Tsountas and Manatt, p. 388.

M. Miaulis, however, had long before excavated on Salamis a grave containing Mycenean pottery[1].

AEGINA.

Already in 1878 Mycenean remains had been found near the so-called temple of Aphrodite[2]. M. Staës has since discovered, near the harbour of the modern town and close to the so-called temple of Aphrodite, the remains of dwellings and many fragments of pottery[3]. This was once perhaps a primitive acropolis. The chambers are built of small stones bonded with mortar. The pottery ranges from two vases of the suspension type almost cylindrical in form to glazed fragments of the most advanced stage of Mycenean ceramics. The suspension vases are similar to one found on the Acropolis of Athens. There was dull black ware similar to that found at Kapandriti and presenting an island type; another vessel resembles a well-known Theraean type, whilst another is adorned with linear and spiral designs and checkers in black and white, and with alternate bands of black and white.

In the British Museum there is a splendid treasure of gold objects obtained from a tomb in Aegina some few years ago[4]. It comprises a beautiful gold cup, five necklaces, four pendants, four diadems, one bracelet of solid gold, five solid gold rings of nearly uniform weight and of the same standard as the gold rings and spirals from the royal graves at Mycenae (pp. 8 and 36), five finger-rings inlaid with glass paste, and fifty-four gold buttons such as would be fastened on a garment for ornament, in the same manner as the discs found in Grave III. at Mycenae. The cup is of pure gold and weighs 83·6 grammes. It has lost its single handle, and somewhat resembles the two-handled cup from Grave IV. at Mycenae, though the latter is not so shallow. Its decoration within consists of a central rosette surrounded by four returning spirals. It is a typical example of the Mycenean style. The diadems are adorned with punctured patterns of double rows of returning spirals between parallel lines and resemble those from Grave IV. at Mycenae. One pendant consists of two open-work plates, the upper one of which is embossed with a design of a man standing on a base like a lotus-tipped boat, and holding two waterfowl. The motive resembles that on a gem[1], on which is seen a female divinity grasping two swans. A similar design is on a bronze at Bologna, and on another in the British Museum. Another pendant exhibits a design composed of dogs, apes, pendant discs, and owls. On another ornament are pendant ducks. Another pendant is formed of a flat curved plate ending in two *repoussé* heads, the eyes and eyebrows of which were originally filled with glass, a small portion of which still remains; ten small gold discs depend from the chins of the terminal heads and the plate between them.

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[1] Furtwängler and Loesche, p. 41.

[2] *Id.* p. 41 (Taf. XXI. 155); a vase obtained in Athens but probably found in Aegina (3rd style). Near the temple of Aphrodite almost all kinds of Mycenean potsherds were discovered.

[3] Tsountas and Manatt, *op. cit.*, p. 388.

[4] A. J. Evans, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, vol. XIII. (1892—3), pp. 195—226; Perrot and Chipiez, vol. VII. pp. 236—44.

There is also a necklace of gold and carnelian beads, with pendants which consist alternately of glass paste and gold plate in the form of a hand grasping a woman's breast, from which hangs a small acorn formed of an olive-green stone in a gold cup (Fig. 22 D). In a sort of pit adjoining the temple of Aphrodite was found a very archaic terra-cotta image of a goddess with her hands grasping her breasts as in these pendants[2]. But a gold relief from Rhodes (Fig. 22 A) in the British Museum, now figured for the first time, shows a more complete analogy in gold, as do also two other gold reliefs in the case with articles from Sardinia in the British Museum (Fig. 22 B, C), one of which is also figured here for the first time. One is from the Blacas Collection, but the provenance of each is unknown[3]. All these resemble the little gold figure from Grave III. at Mycenae[4] (p. 10).

One of the gold rings has a bezel in the shape of a Boeotian shield, the interior of which is filled with a mosaic of pieces of blue glass.

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[1] Tsountas and Manatt, Fig. 99.

[2] Staës, *Eph. Arch.* 1895, Pl. 12.

[3] Prof. Furtwängler, who figured C (*op. cit.*, p. 48, Fig. 27), and who gives its provenance as Sardinia, was misled by the fact that the relief is in a case along with various objects from Sardinia.

[4] Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 182, Fig. 273.

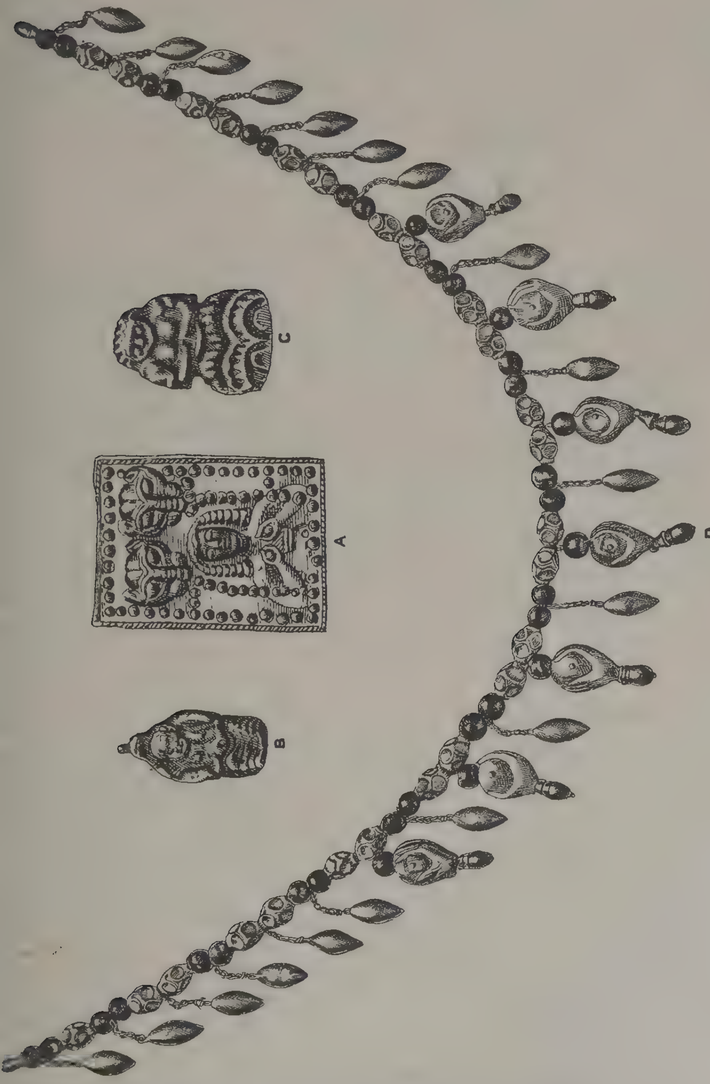

Fig. 22. A. Camirus. B. From Blacas Collection. C. From Hertz Collection. D. Necklace from Aegina.

The gold rings weigh in the cases 8·6 grams, in one case 8·7, and in the remaining one 7·6. The bracelet weighs 62·4 grams. Taking the heaviest ring as the normal standard weight, it gives a unit of 135·8 grains Troy, or just the same unit as I had long since pointed out as the standard in use at Mycenae, deduced from the gold rings and spirals in the acropolis graves[1]. The scales (p. 8) show that gold was weighed.

The bracelet contains this unit six times. The weighings made of the other ornaments, such as the gold discs, by my friend Mr Frederic Seebohm, show that they were made on the same standard.

CALAURIA.

Perched on a kind of saddle that connects the two highest pine-clad peaks of the island stand the ruins of the sanctuary of Poseidon. Here the Swedish archaeologists Wide and Kjellberg have carried on excavations, and have made clear the plan and arrangement of the various buildings on this famous spot. The objects brought to light were not important intrinsically, but most of them were found in the earth which had been heaped up in order to obtain a level area for the precinct enclosing the temple of Poseidon. Here were brought to light fragments of the various early kinds of pottery—Mycenean, Dipylon, Proto-Corinthian, and Corinthian[2].

BOEOTIA.

Orchomenus. On the slope of Mount Acontium at its eastern end stood Orchomenus, defended on the south and north by the steep sides of the ridge, at the foot of these declivities by the Cephisus on the south and the Melas on the north, and on the east by the great Copaic marsh.

The citadel approached by rock-hewn steps was fortified on the west and south by immense walls still standing to a height of 30 feet.

On the slope above the town is the famous beehive tomb known from antiquity as the Treasury of Minyas, just as the great similar structure at Mycenae was called the Treasury of

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[1] Ridgeway, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. x. (1889), p. 90; Ridgeway, *Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards* (1892), pp. 37—8.

[2] Frazer, *op. cit.*, v. p. 600; *Mitth. Athen.* xx. (1895), pp. 267—326.

Atreus. It was approached by a *dromos* in the usual way, but this was unfortunately used as a quarry some thirty years ago for the construction of a chapel, and accordingly its dimensions are not accurately known. This tomb, which Pausanias compared (as he did the walls of Tiryns) to the pyramids of Egypt, has, like the Treasury of Atreus, the unusual feature of a second small square inner chamber opening off the great *tholos*. In 1880 Schliemann excavated the interior which had long been blocked by fallen stones. The gateway is more than 18 feet in height. It had probably double folding doors, as is inferred from some curiously shaped grooves and socket. One vast block of the lintel still remains *in situ*. It is more than 15 feet long. The stone on its inner side is curved both horizontally, so as to follow the curve of the circular chamber, and vertically to follow the curve of the dome. The tomb is built of dark grey marble, except the roof of the inner chamber. The masonry consists of quadrangular blocks laid in horizontal courses. The stones are accurately fitted together, and many of them have holes with the remains of a bronze nail in each, which probably had originally fastened on bronze plates, perhaps shaped like rosettes, as round the holes may be traced circular grooves in the stone, and some fragments of bronze plates were found in the tomb. The side chamber is entered through a doorway and a corridor. The former narrows slightly towards the top, like the main entrance, and it is hewn out of the living rock. It seems to have been sunk as a shaft from above, and not excavated from the *tholos*. It was lined with walls of small rough stones and clay, and roofed with four slabs of pale greenish schist. The lower sides of these were carved in low relief with a beautiful pattern composed of spirals, rosettes and a kind of palmette.

The archaic pottery found at Orchomenus resembles that found at Mycenae and other similar sites. 'Painted pottery,' says Schliemann, " with spirals and other Mycenean ornamentation, also cows with two long horns, and the same variegated colours as at Mycenae, as well as goblets of the very same form and colour as at Mycenae, are generally only found down to a depth of about six feet below the surface of the ground, and at a greater depth monochrome, black, red, or yellow, hand-made or wheel-made pottery is found almost exclusively, analogous to that collected by me in the royal sepulchres at Mycenae. Very frequently here are the large hand-made black goblets or bowls, with a hollow foot and horizontal flutings in the middle, which I also found at Mycenae; also fragments of vases having on each side a horizontal excrescence with a *vertical* hole. But most fragments belong to vases having on each side excrescences with a *horizontal* tubular hole for suspension." Schliemann also found fragments of glazed or lustrous pottery, like the regular glazed Mycenean vases, in the tomb itself as well as in the lowest strata of shafts and trenches sunk by him higher up the hill. Some of these potsherds are adorned with painted rude designs[1].

Goulas. On a low rocky tableland rising abruptly on all sides from the Copaic plain stand the ruins of a very ancient fortress. This plateau, once an island in lake Copais, is called Gha, or Goulas, or Gla. The plateau at one side rises to a height of 200 feet abruptly from the plain, and on the edge of the precipice thus formed stood the great prehistoric palace, the ruins of which were excavated in 1893 by M. A. de Ridder. Round the plateau runs an immensely thick wall which is still standing to a considerable height in many places. Its average thickness is 17 to 19 feet. It is built of solid, though rude masonry. The blocks vary much in size, and are very roughly fitted together, the interstices being filled with small stones, not with mortar. The stones are roughly dressed, their outer surface is to some extent smoothed, and there is a tendency to lay them in horizontal courses. The walls are built not in a curved line, but in a series of retreating angles. This style of construction is a characteristic of the Mycenean age, for it occurs in the walls of the citadel of Hissarlik, in parts of the walls of Tiryns and Mycenae, and in the walls of the Mycenean fortress recently excavated in Melos[2].

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[1] Schliemann, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1881, pp. 122 *sqq.*, pls. XII.—XIII.; Frazer, *op. cit.*, v. pp. 188—91; Tsountas and Manatt, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

[2] Frazer, *op. cit.*, v. p. 121; Dörpfeld, *Troja*, p. 41 *sq.*; *id.*, *Mitth. Athen.* XIX. (1894), p. 383 *sq.*

There are no towers at Goulas except at the gates, which are four in number. The northern and southern seem to have been the principal gates. The north gate is flanked by two massive towers. The walls are two miles in extent.

The ruins of the palace stood within. Its plan can be distinctly traced. It consisted of two wings. The partition walls seem to have been coated with stucco which is still to be seen in many places. There are some remains of frescoes painted on the stucco. The outer walls of the palace are built of smaller blocks than the outer fortification wall, and are bonded with mortar.

Four bronze hinges were found near the stone thresholds of some of the doorways. Plates of lead were likewise discovered. The remains of pottery are scanty in the palace. There are fragments of cups and bowls rude in form, but all wheel-made except one. Only four fragments were glazed on the outside, one being black, the others yellow of various shades. One has its inside glazed with dark brown. Only two sherds of painted vessels were discovered: they were decorated with broad transverse bands of reddish brown or violet on a ground of creamy yellow.

In the enclosure were also fragments of coarse pottery, nearly always unglazed, the colour varying according to the clay. The glazed sherds are of a deep yellow, sometimes almost brown, and only one fragment—the foot of a cup—is painted with stripes of brown[1].

Thebes. Up to a short time ago Thebes had revealed no traces of the Mycenean age, but recent excavations enable us now to place the capital of Boeotia in the list of Mycenean sites. There are several rock-hewn tombs in the neighbourhood of the Cadmea, and from one of these a considerable number of Mycenean vases of the glazed type has been procured[2].

Lebadea (*Livadia*) has furnished already Mycenean pottery of the glazed kind[3].

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[1] Frazer, *op. cit.*, v. p. 126 *sq.*

[2] Furtwängler and Loesche, p. 43.

[3] *Id.* 42.

Tanagra has supplied already two Mycenean vases, one of them being of the characteristic false-necked type[1].

Chaeronea. In 1885 Lolling discovered at the village of Kaprana a grave which closely resembles the rock tombs at Nauplia[2].

PHOCIS.

Delphi. In 1894 the French excavators found a beehive tomb cut in the rock and approached by a short *dromos.* Of bronze there was a dagger, a knife, a razor, and a brooch, and there was Mycenean pottery of the lustrous kind "decorated with the usual lines and circles or complicated patterns that mark the transition towards the purely geometrical style of ornamentation." There was a fine false-necked vase adorned with two large octopuses well drawn and accompanied by geometrical patterns[3].

Lately Mycenean tombs have been found immediately below the middle point of the south wall of the sacred precinct, and two more on the site of the present museum. "All around the temple and altar the soil is reported to be full of Mycenean remains, including pieces of amber[4]."

Daulis. Mycenean pottery has been found at Daulis. The fragments hitherto brought to light seem to be mostly of the dull painted pottery, which is, as we saw, probably earlier in origin than the fine lustrous ware[5].

THESSALY.

Dimini. About three miles from Volo (the ancient Iolcus) there is a beehive tomb at Dimini. This was excavated in 1888. It has the usual *dromos,* which was blocked up at its outer end by a wall of rough masonry, as was also the doorway. The walls are built of small irregular blocks of limestone without mortar, the interstices being filled with small stones. In style and dimensions it resembles the tomb at Menidi. A round slab which had formed the keystone of the dome (as at Orchomenus) was found in the middle of the floor. In the *dromos* were some fragments of gold leaf, fragments of pottery, and remains of bones and ashes, no doubt sacrifices to the dead, for some of the bones are nòt human, and as we have seen above at Mycenae, the fact that some of the bones are human does not preclude them from having been those of victims.

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[1] Furtwängler and Loesche, p. 43.

[2] *Id.* 83.

[3] Homolle, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, December, 1894, p. 442; *id.*, *Bull. de Correspondance hell.*, XVIII. p. 195 *sqq.*; Frazer, *op. cit.*, v. p. 399.

[4] Frazer, *loc. cit.* (quoting Mr Cecil Smith).

[5] Frazer, *op. cit.*, III. p. 112; Furtwängler and Loesche, pp. 43—44.

On the floor of the chamber was a layer of ashes two inches deep, in which lay the dead and their grave-gear. Some of the bones, including a comparatively well preserved skull, had evidently not been subjected to the action of fire. Bones of animals were found in the tomb.

There were many small ornaments of gold, including about 60 rosettes and a ring; of bronze there were five arrow-heads; there was a very remarkable engraved gem of lapis lazuli, still retaining a thin wire in its perforation; there were many beads and other small ornaments of glass paste amongst which were some small tablets adorned with representations of the nautilus and the murex; there were some small objects of bone, and 20 real shells of the sea-snail called *Conus*.

The potsherds found inside the tomb were either plain or decorated only with broad bands[1].

Mount Ossa. Two small beehive tombs but conforming strictly to the usual type, being built of stone, and entered by a *dromos* and a doorway, have been found on the southern slopes of Ossa, north-east of Larissa. They contained little except pottery of a comparatively late period, to judge from the style of ornament, though there are forms that recall the prehistoric island types, and there is one vase with a beaked spout which closely resembles those from Grave VI. at Mycenae[2].

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[1] *Mitth. Athen.* IX. pp. 99 *sqq.*; *ibid.* XI. pp. 435—443; Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, VI. pp. 448 *sq.*; Frazer, *op. cit.*, III. pp. 139—40.

[2] Tsountas and Manatt, *op. cit.*, p. 395; *Mitth. Athen.*, 1896, p. 246.

Goura. In the ancient Phthiotis another beehive tomb was discovered by limeburners in 1896, who converted it without delay into a limekiln.

It resembled that at Dimini, and yielded gold and silver ornaments, and also some well-painted vases. According to an account published by the Ἄστυ "there were also terra-cotta whorls bearing hieroglyphics and designs like those found by Schliemann at Troy[1]."

TROAD.

Hissarlik. Dr Schliemann commenced his famous excavations on the mound of Hissarlik in 1871, believing that here would be found the site of ancient Troy rather than on the *Balidagh.* The mound of Hissarlik confessedly occupied the site of New Ilium, but most modern scholars, with the exception of Grote, had partly followed Demetrius of Scepsis, who denied that New Ilium was on the site of Old Ilium, and held that the latter was to be identified with the 'Village of the Ilians' (Ἰλιέων κώμη), thirty stades from New Ilium, ten from the hill of Callicolone, and five from the Simoeis. Its site therefore coincides with *Hanai-tepeh*, opposite *Bunarbashi.* But modern scholars saw the site of Troy in the ruins of Balidagh half-an-hour above Bunarbashi. Schliemann followed the local tradition, and excavated at New Ilium from 1871 to 1879. He found great fortification walls and gates, but what he declared to be the palace was only an assemblage of petty dwelling-houses[2] with small rooms and thin walls. In 1882 in the second stratum from the bottom were found the strong walls of extensive buildings, afterwards proved through the analogous structures at Tiryns and Mycenae to have been the principal chambers of a palace.

The 'Village of the Ilians' identified with the modern *Hanai-tepeh* has been proved by excavations to have been never more than an insignificant prehistoric settlement.

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[1] Tsountas, *loc. cit.*

[2] Schliemann, *Ilios*, 1880; *Troja*, 1884; Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations* (transl. by E. Sellars, 1891), pp. 32 *sqq.*

Down to 1890 the remains of seven superimposed cities had been brought to light on the hill of Hissarlik, as Dr Schliemann considered them.

First, on the native rock stood a very small settlement: its circuit wall and houses were built of small quarry stones and clay, nor were there any traces of bricks; stone implements predominated, those of metal being very rare; the pottery was of a baked black clay, and for the most part hand-made with perforated projections to serve as handles.

Next came the *second* city; its walls were of crude brick on stone foundations: the houses were of like structure, and so was the palace: the pottery is still rude and often grotesque. There was evidence that this town had been burnt. More recent excavations show that it had three successive circuit walls, and three superimposed groups of buildings inside them, from which it is inferred that this town had been twice enlarged and rebuilt, yet without much change in its general level. Between the *Burnt City* and the Graeco-Roman Ilion of the uppermost stratum lay four successive strata of poor village settlements. In 1890 Schliemann and Dörpfeld resumed work at Hissarlik, and began excavations in an undisturbed mound outside the south-west gate of the *Second City*, but inside the Graeco-Roman citadel. Seven distinct layers of building were now found above the ruins of the *Burnt City*. In the fourth of these, counting from above, *i.e.*, the *Sixth City* in chronological order, remains of very important buildings were discovered. These contained pottery of characteristic style and shape. Dörpfeld at once inferred from the find of Mycenean vase fragments that these "not only date the layer approximately, but allow us to draw the conclusion that the second stratum must be older than this stratum with the Mycenean vases,—how much older it is impossible to say, but the interval cannot have been a short one, as between the two lie three other strata of poor settlements[1]."

He summed up his results thus: (1) The sixth stratum presents a stately acropolis, with many large buildings, and an exceedingly strong circuit wall. (2) This acropolis flourished in the Mycenean age; (3) the far more ancient acropolis of the second stratum antedated the Mycenean age, and was repeatedly destroyed long before the time of the Trojan war. Dr Dörpfeld dates tentatively the lowest primitive settlement with walls of small stones and clay at 3000—2500 B.C.; (2) the prehistoric fortress with strong walls and large buildings of brick, which was thrice destroyed and rebuilt, which contains monochrome pottery, and many objects of bronze, silver and gold, he sets at 2500—2000 B.C. To the period 2000—1500 B.C. he assigns the three prehistoric village settlements built above the ruins of the second city with houses of small stones and brick, containing early Trojan pottery. The Sixth City with its fortress of the Mycenean age, its great circuit wall with tower and stately houses of well-dressed stone, containing advanced monochrome pottery of local fabric and with it Mycenean vases (which he considered imported), and which he takes for the Homeric Pergamos of Troy, he assigns to about 1500 B.C. Then come (VII. and VIII.) two village settlements, one of earlier, the other of later Hellenic times, above the ruins of the Sixth City, which contain local monochrome pottery and nearly every known variety of Greek ceramics. These two strata he places from about 1000 B.C. to the Christian era.

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[1] *Troja*, 1893; *Mitth. Athen.*, 1894, pp. 380 *sqq.*; Tsountas and Manatt, *op. cit.*, p. 368.

The utensils of the First City often correspond entirely in kind and in form to those of the Second, but yet the First has some distinct characteristics. The axes, knives, and saws are uniformly of stone. Most of the pottery is hand-made, although wheel-made is also known.

Bronze. No metal objects were found in the lowest stratum except a few knives, a thick ring, and several dozen pins from 4 to 4½ inches long, some of which have a round head, others a head in the shape of a spiral. There were two axes of porphyry, five of greenstone, three of jade. The implements made of jade are of small size. In the third stratum was found an implement of white jade, a material only found in China.

Almost all the pottery of the First City is of a lustrous black, but a few fragments of red, brown, and yellow ware were also found. Vases with handles are rare, their place being taken by small projections pierced either vertically or horizontally for suspensory cords. Ornament, as a rule, is only found on the interior of the cups, and is simply composed of zigzags, straight lines, and dots incised in the clay and then filled with white chalk. Sometimes rude attempts at the human face are employed for decoration. There were many spindle whorls both in the first and second strata. They also are adorned with incised lines filled with chalk.

The Second City has a great citadel wall well preserved, especially on the south. It had three gates, and within was the palace, which in its general plan seems to have resembled that at Tiryns.

The objects found within the citadel are of supreme interest, especially those contained in The Great Treasure discovered by Schliemann in 1873 buried deep in the fortress wall near one of the gates. All the articles were packed into one another in a rectangular mass, from which it is probable that they had been placed inside a wooden chest. Dörpfeld has suggested that there were casemates in the walls of Troy as in those at Tiryns, and that in one of these the treasure had been stored.

Gold. Two large diadems formed by a number of small chains. In one diadem the chains are composed of small heart-shaped leaves strung together with fine wire; the short chains terminate in little pendants like two spear-shaped leaves growing together on one stem; the long ones end in pendants closely resembling the idols mentioned below; they may however be imitated from a flower[1].

In the other diadem the chains are formed of double rings with a spear-shaped leaf after every three or four rings. They are terminated by campanula-shaped pendants ornamented down the centre by a line in *repoussé* and by a dot at each of the four corners. Two pairs of earrings made up of the same chains and pendants were found. There were 8700 small rings, pierced prisms, discs, buttons, and tiny bars. There were six bracelets, one of which was simply a wire welded into a circle, the other five are formed of three wires terminating with a knob at each end. There were about thirty pairs of earrings. There were short pins fixed to hollow heads, and which fit into sheaths provided with similar heads. There were three large cups (one of pale gold) a spherical bottle, and a two-handled cup, shaped like a broad boat; its body is of one piece, while the handles have been soldered on. It has a spout at each end.

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[1] *Ilios*, pp. 40—1; Schuchhardt, *op. cit.*, pp. 56 *sqq.*

Silver. There were several jars, one of which contained the gold ornaments. Two vases had covers like caps, and had instead of handles protuberances with vertical holes for suspension, like the earthenware vessels found in both the first and second strata. There are other vases, the largest of which has a handle. There was a small cup and a dagger, like those of bronze described below. There are six bars not unlike large knife-blades[1].

Bronze. There were spear-heads, daggers, and celts of copper. The spear-heads are of a flat shape and are not socketed, but furnished with tangs, in which there are usually rivet-holes. The daggers have a broad leaf-shaped blade terminating in a thick round tang, which ran through the handle, and was bent round it at the bottom. The axes are simple flat celts (Fig. 23). Analysis has shown these weapons to be composed of almost pure copper, the amount of tin being extremely small.

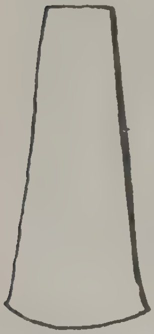

FIG. 23. Copper Celt; Hissarlik.

There were also pots, cups, and finally the hasp of the coffer which once held the treasure. There was a copper knife bent at one end, and arrow-heads of a simple unbarbed type known in Hungary; one example only was barbed. The moulds found with the copper weapons show that the latter were made on the spot.

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[1] They cannot be the Homeric *talanta*, as Schliemann supposed, for that only weighed about 135 grs. Troy, and is only mentioned in connection with *gold*, whereas the Trojan bars range from 190 to 171 grammes.

Lead. There was a small idol representing a nude female vith long curls over her ears, her arms crossed on the breast, nd a *swastika* on the belly.

Pottery. The most remarkable of the vases are imitations f the human face. As these develop they resemble the uman form more and more. At first the eyes and nose are nly scratched on the clay; then they are moulded, and then wo ears are added, the cover appears as a hat or conical cap, nd the old protuberances for suspensory cords become female reasts. Finally the vessel receives human arms, which are ven made to carry another vessel.

There are also vases imitating the lower animals, such as ig, mole, and hippopotamus.

Ivory. Objects carved in ivory were also found; for example, he handle of a knife.

Rude idols in stone were also found.

Burial. Two skeletons of warriors buried with their bronze pears were found in the second stratum. Most of the internents found by Schliemann appear to belong to the epoch fter the destruction of the Second City, for with the exception f the skeletons from the second stratum, Schliemann only ound urns containing fine ashes. Once a tooth was found in n urn, and once a skull wanting the under jaw. On the citadel wo urns were found on the virgin level of the First City. The act that an unburnt skull was found in an urn indicates that he practice of placing the dead in *pithoi*, as at Thoricus and lsewhere, was also in vogue in the Troad.

The smaller finds of gold, which took place chiefly in 1878 n various spots between the S.W. gate and the palace, show us he regular Mycenean forms where the spiral and rosette are upreme, as is seen in a bracelet, earring, and hair-pins. There re also gold discs recalling those of Mycenae. Finally, ycenean naturalism can be seen in a golden eagle.

In 1890 in the mound outside the S.W. gate of the Second ity were found the fragments of Mycenean pottery already nentioned. Such fragments had already been noticed among the pottery discovered in the earlier excavations, and Vienna had already possessed a vase found at Troy[1].

It is important to observe that the local monochrome pottery is found abundantly in all the strata, a fact which indicates a continuity of at least the great mass of the population.

SCYTHIA.

Pantacapaeum (*Kertch*). A beehive tomb in plan and construction closely resembling the beehive tombs of Greece was discovered at Kertch, but there was nothing in it. But recently a figure in the true Mycenean style has come to light in that region[2].

THE ISLANDS.

As far back as 1845 Ross called attention to the prehistoric cemeteries of the Cyclades, and at the same time he suggested that they might be attributed to the Carians, basing this assumption on the fact that marble idols, marble vessels, and knives of obsidian are found in them. Modern researches, such as those of Dummler and Bent, have largely increased our knowledge, and we know that the objects found in the island graves (which from one to another show a considerable advance) are "one and all the relics of an industry whose separate pieces offer enough variety to enable us to affirm that its season of activity covered a long series of years, yet sufficiently alike to admit of our attributing them to a single people[3]."

These graves are found in Amorgus, Antiparos, Cythnus, Ios, Thera, Naxos and the Eremonisian group to the south of Naxos, Rhenea, and Syra. 'In general,' says M. Tsountas, "the island civilization in its full bloom can hardly be distinguished from the Mycenean, nor can the latter be fully understood without reference to the former."

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[1] Furtwängler and Loesche, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

[2] *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmerien*, Atlas, pl. Aa, vol. I. p. cxxvii.; Frazer, *op. cit.*, III. 131; Bertrand and S. Reinach, *Les Celtes*, etc. p. 228.

[3] Tsountas and Manatt, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

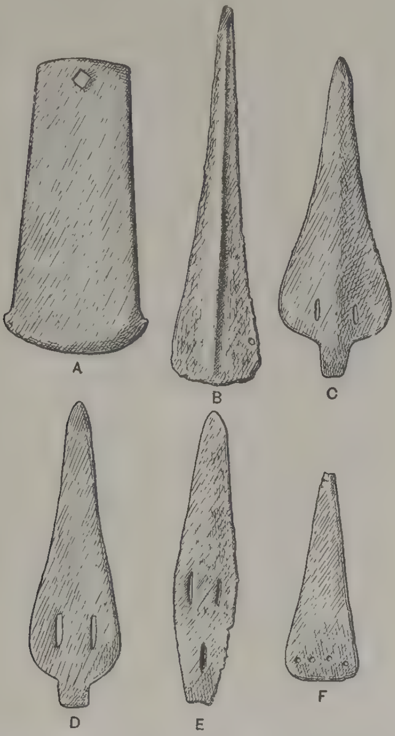

FIG. 24. Bronze Weapons: A. Celt; Cythnus or Naxos: B, C, D, E, and F. Spears and Daggers; Amorgus.

The graves are simply holes dug in the ground lined with slabs of marble or limestone, the horizontal bottom and covering being composed of heavier pieces. The lid was wedged by huge stones to prevent displacement, and it was then overlaid with a thin stratum of earth. The situation of the tomb is usually indicated by fragments of pottery strewn about. The vases were probably offerings to the dead. There is no trace of cremation. The dead must have been buried in a contracted posture, as the graves were too short to allow of a body being laid at full length.

These rude graves contain bronze weapons, such as daggers, spearheads, and wedge-shaped axes, but no swords (Fig. 24)[1].

There are quantities of stone vessels with holes for suspension. The graves commonly contain the well-known island statuettes made of Parian marble, which usually represent a nude woman (Fig. 25) with the arms folded on the breasts, such as those which have occasionally been found at Athens, Eleusis, Delphi, Sparta, and in Crete[2].

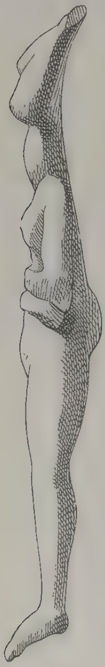

FIG. 25.
Island statuette.

The pottery is very rude, the only decoration being that formed by incised lines. Thus at Antiparos the only ornament on the early pottery is the herring-bone traced with the nail or a pointed tool, and holes for suspension appear instead of handles. The patterns incised on the island whorls are less elaborate than on the corresponding examples from Hissarlik. At Amorgus a single tomb has yielded no fewer than 500 of these whorls, but all are plain. The necropolis of Amorgus shows a considerable advance on that of Antiparos, for though the pottery is still very coarse and is only decorated with incised lines, by its side painted vases begin to make their appearance. The pieces still are very simple and exhibit little variety of form, and many have tubular holes instead of handles. Even when handles are seen they are narrow and clumsy and not freely detached from the body of the vessel. The patterns painted on the vases are entirely composed of the simplest combinations of geometric patterns such as chevrons, lozenges opposed to each other at the apex, vertical or slanting strokes, crosses, bands running round the vessel at different heights. Sometimes the neck and body are ornamented by what is regarded by some as a very free and conventional rendering of leaves, but animal forms are conspicuously absent. The culture exhibited by the pottery of Antiparos is about on a level with that brought to light in the lowest stratum of Tiryns. The marble vessels often recall the shapes seen in the pottery of Troy and Thera. In one case the craftsman has utilized a dark vein running through the marble to form a horizontal band around the body, which gives the vase the appearance of being painted. In Amorgus was found a box or urn which represents on one of its faces a house with a double sloping roof. The fine hatched lines seen above the slanting beams which form the loft may well represent a thatch of rushes.

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[1] The specimens here figured are in the Prehistoric Department of the British Museum.

[2] Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, II. pp. 176 *sqq.* (English trans.)

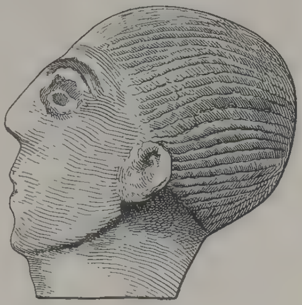

Fig. 26. Head of Island Statuette; Amorgos[1].

Articles of silver are also found in the island graves.

In Amorgus and Naxos there have been found at various times—whether in tombs or not, is uncertain—swords, axes and spearheads of bronze, which show no small advance in metal working over the older spearheads of Amorgus graves.

I here figure a small bipennis[2], apparently of copper, from Chios (Fig. 27). As the islands have thus yielded bronze weapons of a more advanced character, so too, in addition to the ruder kinds of pottery decorated with incised and dull painted linear ornament, have they already furnished many examples of the true Mycenean lustrous ware.

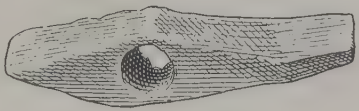

Fig. 27. Copper Bipennis; Chios.

For example, Cythnus has yielded a false-necked Mycenean vase, and there is at Athens a vase of true Mycenean glazed ware from Syrus, whilst in the French excavations at Delos, at least one piece of Mycenean glazed ware ornamented with concentric circles has already come to light.

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[1] This head was presented to the Ashmolean Museum by my friend Mr R. C. Bosanquet, M.A., to whom I am indebted for the photograph from which Fig. 26 is taken.

[2] The specimen here figured is in the Prehistoric Department, British Museum.

Lesbos has already furnished fragments of glazed Mycenean pottery (now in the British Museum); Sicinus has supplied a vase of the same early black ware as that commonly found at Mycenae and Orchomenus, whilst there is a false-necked Mycenean vase from Seriphus at Copenhagen[1].

Melos. This island had already produced sporadic objects of the Mycenean[2] and pre-Mycenean periods (Fig. 28), when in 1896 Mr Cecil Smith, then Director of the British School at Athens, began the excavation of a site at Phylákopi in the N.E. of the island. The prehistoric city stood on an elevation which falls sheer into the sea, and on the sloping ground N.E. from it. "Immediately behind it is a narrow shallow depression in the hills, the sides of which are honeycombed with tombs," the contents of which had already been rifled, "but the fragments of pottery lying around proved them to be of the Mycenean and pre-Mycenean periods." On the western side of the ruins many graves were likewise found consisting "merely of holes scooped out in an irregularly rectangular form, never large enough to contain a body full length." These too had been all previously plundered. Among the débris were found fragments of primitive hand-made pottery and obsidian knives.

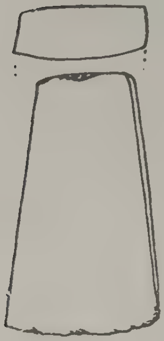
FIG. 28. Bronze Celt; Melos.

From the labours of Mr Smith[3] and his colleagues in 1896 and 1897, which were continued under Mr Hogarth[4] in 1898 and 1899, we now know fully this most important site, which occupies an area almost as large as Tiryns. Four superimposed settlements can be distinctly traced.

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[1] Furtwängler and Loesche, *op. cit.*, pp. 32—33.

[2] *Id.*, p. 32.

[3] *Annual of British School*, III. pp. 1—30; D. Mackenzie, *Annual*, IV. pp. 17—36; C. C. Edgar, *ibid.*, pp. 37—48.

[4] *Annual*, IV. pp. 1—17.

The First Settlement[1]. "The earliest deposits at Phylákopi afford evidence of human habitation (fragments of earthenware cooking utensils) without as yet any corresponding traces of walls. The inhabitants had probably no permanent stone structure, and may have used very rude dwellings like the hut dwellings of Apulia, and the cave and hut dwellings of Sicily."

The incised pottery of this earliest stratum bears the closest resemblance to that found at Stentinello in Sicily (p. 69). In this stratum was found a marble fragment of what might have been a basin or large bowl along with a fragment of some implement in black stone, and there were also obsidian knives. Among the Greek islands Melos has a monopoly of obsidian.

The Second Settlement affords ample evidence of house walls, having no connection with the later strong wall which goes right over them, but the town had as yet no fortification wall.

The houses have stone thresholds, and there is evidence that the walls were plastered.

The primitive incised ware of the earliest deposit with its crude herring-bone pattern dispersed over the whole surface never occurs in any part of the wall-region of the second settlement, while on the other hand the finely incised and hand-polished ware of the second settlement with its grouping and distribution of the geometric ornament never occurs in the earliest deposit. It is an equal sign of progress when the ware with geometric ornament in lustrous black paint on a white slip, which is equally typical in the second settlement, shows a similar sense of grouping and distribution of the ornament, which has nothing parallel to it among the incised fragments of the earliest class. Two typical examples of the large jar-like vessels with suspension holes, and two specimens of the beaked jugs, were found in this stratum.

Though there are these differences, "yet the affinity with the ware of the earliest deposit has to be as strongly emphasized." The fine incised geometric variety of the second settlement is only a survival of the primitive incised ware of the earliest deposit.

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[1] This summary is taken from Mr Mackenzie's paper cited above.

The Aegean linear signs make their appearance in the second settlement, and they especially coincide with the occurrence of painted geometric ware. Obsidian was very abundant.

The Third Settlement. Instead of an open town we have now a walled city. Mud plaster is here as in the second settlement employed to finish off walls. Painting on stucco now appears. One room was adorned with white flowers on a rich crimson ground. Other walls showed groups of flying-fish in blue, yellow and black paints with indications of rocks, seaweeds and sponges. There were even the fragments of a human figure in the same colours; it apparently held a net or a garment.

A few bronze pins were found, and the fragment of a lead vessel with incised lines marking the rim. Stone utensils—rubbers, mortars, pestles, saddle-querns—were in considerable quantity.

"In the pottery the transition from and the continuity with the previous period are equally well marked in this stratum." The more advanced painted geometric ware of the third town, with its ever-growing tendency towards curvilinear schemes, is only the finished outcome of the simpler painted geometric technique which goes along with the fine incised geometric ware of the second settlement.

This favourite fine incised geometric ware of the second settlement tends to be exceeded in quantity even in the same deposit by a geometric ware decorated with a lustreless black paint on a pale slip, which appears here for the first time. In the third settlement the victory is complete, and incised ware only survives in coarser household varieties that have no further significant history. Once, however, the now fully inaugurated medium of paint has come to be dominant, all further transformations take place in it alone, and accordingly we have within the third settlement itself, further, only to observe the transition from (1) an earlier phase which is prevailingly geometrical, to (2) a later period in which there is the marked tendency to transcend geometrical schemes entirely, and to pass over to (3) a naturalistic manner that quite prepares us for the advanced art of the wall-paintings.

The Fourth Settlement. This like the third was a walled town. The construction however is not so careful as in the previous stratum. Yet the house of this the fourth (Mycenean) town is an advance on those of the previous period.

"The highest stratum of all at Phylákopi is characterized by a survival of the principal species of pottery we have found to be typical of the third settlement alongside of other varieties that appear for the first time, and indeed increasingly in conjunction with imported and, as a rule, mature and even late Mycenean wares, which never appear in the third settlement. The continuity with the third city is apparent in the fact that some of the most mature types of the third class occur in the deposit of the Mycenean city. Thus the Fisherman Vase is shown by its clay to be native Melian work. This class of pottery is a later phase of the same technical skill evidenced by the wall-paintings of the third settlement, which thus survived until the influx of Mycenean art finally put an end to all native artistic endeavour at Phylákopi.

Native fabrics now tend to disappear, and Mycenean importations tend more and more to predominate, until at last they hold almost exclusive sway." Imported objects imitated in native material mark the transition.

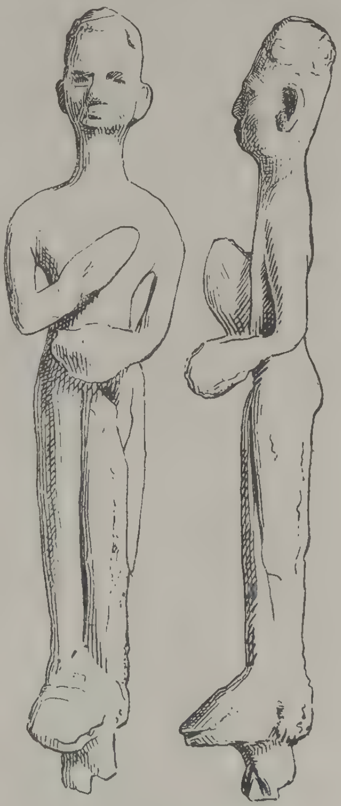

Fig. 29. Bronze Statuette; Melos.

In the Mycenean stratum were found three bronze chisels, a bronze two-handled vase, many fragments of a bronze bowl with turned rim, and a barbed arrow-head.

The most important object was a statuette (Fig. 29) of uncertain sex. This figure "obviously represents a very great advance on the level of art shown in the marble and terra-cotta idols. The striking feature is the almost exaggerated tendency to curved outline shown here, as opposed to the stiff angular forms of a marble figure[1]."

Not less remarkable is "a terra-cotta boat of the ordinary Mycenean fabric." The surface is creamy white, the details being indicated in black glazed colour[2].

"To an early stage of the Mycenean period belongs a series of terra-cotta idols, in the usual primitive types of female figures, with the drapery indicated by stripes of reddish-black; one of these has the arms raised beneath the drapery."

Thera. In 1868 the French geologist M. Fouqué excavated some houses, which had been buried by a mass of pumice in a volcanic eruption. The walls were similar in construction to those of the private houses at Mycenae and Tiryns. These walls were carefully coated with a stucco of pure lime, and painted with stripes and floral decorations in colours like those of Tiryns. Few objects in metal were found. These were only two gold rings and a bronze saw. Stone implements were found, and hand-made pottery, though most of the fragments were wheel-made. A curious chamber was found with the sloping rafters of a conical roof still in place[3]. This roof seems to have been supported by a central wooden pillar, as seems to have been the case in the side-chamber of the Atreus tomb at Mycenae. The pillar seems to have been of wood and probably diminished downwards, just as we find with actual pillars or copies of them at Mycenae, Spata, and Menidi. The ceramic art as seen in the pottery from beneath the pumice is superior to that of the vessels from the 'Second City' at Troy.

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[1] Cecil Smith, *Annual of Brit. School*, III. pp. 26—30, Pl. III. Mr Smith most kindly lent me the photograph from which is taken the illustration here given.

[2] C. Smith, *Annual*, III. pp. 22—3.

[3] Tsountas and Manatt, *op. cit.*, pp. 70, 237.

Thera also yields the same rude graves found in the other Cyclades, containing pottery for the most part decorated with incised lines, knives and arrowheads of obsidian, bronze daggers, spear-heads and wedge-shaped axes. From Thera likewise comes a very remarkable bronze sword adorned with a wedge-shaped axe inlaid in gold in the same style as the inlaid swords and daggers from Mycenae and Vaphio.

The island statuettes of marble in the form of a nude woman are frequent in the graves at Thera.

Cos, Calymnus, and **Carpathus** have all yielded Mycenean objects, especially pottery.

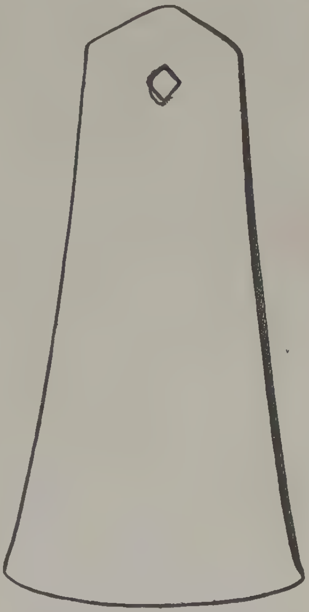

Fig. 30. Bronze Celt; Suria (probably ancient Nisyrus).

The small island of **Suria** or **Saria** (supposed to be the ancient Nisyrus) which lies north of Carpathus has already yielded three bronze implements, a knife of common type, a chisel in its form like those found at Cythnus, and a flat celt (Fig. 30) "nearly oblong in shape with a slightly convex edge, and narrowing towards the head, where is a diamond-shaped opening through which passed a rivet for fixing it in the handle[1]." It resembles the celt from Cythnus (Fig. 24, A). This type is also known in Cyprus (Fig. 33), and at Tel-el-Hesy (Fig. 31), in Syria[2].

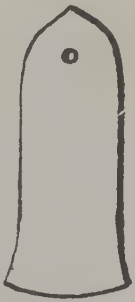

Fig. 31. Bronze Celt, Tel-el-Hesy.

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[1] H. B. Walters, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, vol. XVII. pp. 64—5.

[2] J. L. Myres, *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.*, XXVII. p. 172.

Rhodes.

Ialysus. It was at this famous spot that the civilization which we now term Mycenean first came to light. Here in 1868—71 Mr Biliotti opened 42 rock-hewn tombs, the contents of which were presented by Mr Ruskin to the British Museum. The tombs of Ialysus resemble in their arrangement the rock-cut sepulchres of Mycenae, Nauplia, and Spata.

The objects found comprised gold ornaments, silver and bronze; there were bronze spear-heads, swords, daggers, and arrow-heads; there were engraved gems, and many ornaments of blue glass.

The pottery is of the lustrous Mycenean type (Figs. 11, 12, 13), and its decorations consist of bands, spirals, and marine creatures, among which the cuttlefish and purple-fish are prominent. This pottery is held to be probably contemporary with that found in the tomb at Spata, and with the later pottery from Mycenae, but later than that discovered in Thera by Fouqué. The false-necked vase is among its types[1].

The bronze swords are held to be later than those found in the royal graves at Mycenae[2].

Crete.

Cnossus. Remains of a palace and Mycenean pottery from thence have long been known. Mr Evans[3] has now laid bare a palace two acres in extent with manifold corridors and chambers. In one room still stands a great throne, of alabaster once painted, with tracery and arcading. There were frescoes showing a life-size portrait of a youth, groups of women conversing, and bulls. A fountain was in the shape of a lioness' head with red enamelled eyes. There were numerous clay tablets analogous to the Babylonian. These are of two kinds: the great majority are in a linear script with occasional pictorial signs; the others (all found together) differ in shape from the former, and bear a pictographic type of writing identical with that on the seals of east Crete. Below all was a Stone Age stratum.

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[1] Furtwängler and Loesche, *op. cit.*, pp. 1 *sqq.*; Pls. I.—XI. and A, B, C, D, E; Tsountas and Manatt, p. 5.

[2] C. T. Newton, *Essays on Art and Archaeology*, pp. 246—302; Frazer, *Paus.* III. 147.

[3] *The Times*, 17 April, 1900; *Athenaeum*, 19 May, 1900, 23 June, 1900.

Goulas stands a few miles from the sea in the province of Mirabello. The site had been noticed by Admiral Spratt, and in 1894 Mr A. J. Evans made a full examination of its stupendous ruins. "Wall rises within wall, terrace above terrace, and within the walls, built of the same massive blocks of local limestone in rudely horizontal tiers, the lower part of the walls of the houses and buildings are still traceable throughout." "The whole site abounds with primaeval relics, stone vessels of early 'Aegean' type, bronze weapons, and Mycenean gems....In the mass of remains existing above ground, the ruins of *Goulas* exceed those of any prehistoric site, either of Greece or Italy, and there cannot be a doubt that we are here in the presence of one of the principal centres of the Mycenean world[1]."

Near the ancient **Gortyna** a rock-hewn tomb has been found. It has the usual beehive shape, and is approached by a horizontal *dromos*. Within were three small terra-cotta sarcophagi, which seem to have contained some crumbling fragments of bones. These sarcophagi were painted with patterns in the Mycenean style, and painted false-necked Mycenean vases were likewise found in the tomb.

At **Erganos** Prof. Halbherr in 1894 excavated three beehive tombs of the Mycenean period. One of them, which was in perfect preservation, contained six bodies, and several Mycenean vases[2].

At **Kurtes** near Phaestus and Gortyna there is a very ancient cemetery, in which Prof. Halbherr in 1894 excavated some graves containing Mycenean pottery of the latest period[1].

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[1] *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, vol. XIV. p. 277.

[2] Frazer, *op. cit.*, III. 140; *Amer. Jour. Arch.*, IX. p. 541.

At **Marathokephala** and **Anavlochos** Mr L. Mariani has found remains of Mycenean cities[2].

Crete has likewise furnished great numbers of the engraved gems of the Mycenean types. These are especially abundant in the south-east of the island. They are still worn by the Cretan women as amulets.

These gems sometimes bear characters identified with certain symbols found on the necks of vases from Mycenae, Nauplia, and Athens, which closely resemble those on the so-called Hittite gems found in Asia Minor, and are not at all unlike some of the characters in the ancient Cypriote syllabary[3].

These stones fall into five groups: (1) three-sided; (2) four-sided equilateral; (3) four-sided with two large faces; (4) with one engraved side, the upper part being ornamented with a convoluted relief; (5) stones of ordinary Mycenean type. Most of those described by Evans belong to the first three groups. These stones are all small. Evans traces two distinct kinds of writing on these objects, "The one is pictographic in character like Egyptian hieroglyphics, the other linear and quasi-alphabetic, much resembling the Cypriote and Asiatic syllabaries."

CYPRUS.

This great island has within recent years given abundant evidence that it was one of the great seats of the Mycenean culture, for many remains of that period have come to light, including all the most characteristic classes of antiquities[4], such as gold-work decorated with naturalistic designs, bronze weapons such as axes (Figs. 32, 33) of the same type as those found in the other islands, engraved gems of the usual Mycenean types, and pottery.

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[1] *Ibid.*, and *American Journal of Archaeology*, IX. (1894), p. 541.

[2] *Classical Review*, IX. p. 188 *sq.*

[3] A. J. Evans, "Primitive Pictographs," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XIV. pp. 272—370, and vol. XVII. pp. 327—395, pls. I—II.

[4] J. L. Myres and M. O. Richter, *Cat. of the Cyprus Museum, with a Chronicle of Excavations, &c.*, 1899.

The pottery of the Bronze Age in Cyprus falls generally into two classes. The earlier of these corresponds to that found in the 'Second City' at Hissarlik. It is represented by hand-made vases with perforations instead of handles for suspension, and is adorned with geometrical patterns, such as chevrons, lozenges, concentric circles, incised with a sharp tool when the clay was soft, the incised lines being then filled up with white. In the next period we find Mycenean vases in conjunction with local pottery, still hand-made, but covered with a white slip on which patterns are painted; and this is usually found in the shape of bowls, whilst there are also jugs of a thin gritty clay on which patterns are painted "in dull white or laid on in relief in the form of snakes or of cable patterns."

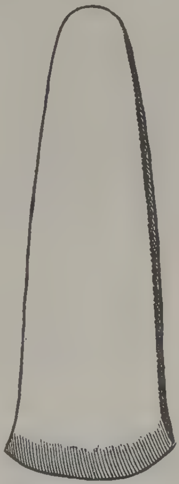

FIG. 32. Bronze Celt; Phoinikias, Cyprus.

The best representative class of Mycenean pottery in Cyprus is a large two-handled crater on a high foot adorned with bulls, trees, men and women, and chariots drawn by horses. Imitations in the white ware are common wherever the genuine ones are found in any numbers. The latter are commonly held to have been imported; but it is quite possible that some of these were native products. "Mycenean forms and motives pass over in force into Cypriote pottery of the transitional period, and largely determine the character of the early Graeco-Phoenician style[1]."

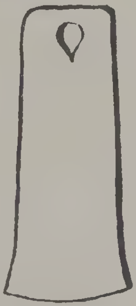

FIG. 33. Bronze Celt; Cyprus.

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[1] Myres and Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

The chariot-wheels are four-spoked[1].

But beside the 'Island' stones Cyprus has already supplied many cylinders (Figs. 34, 35)[2]. This circumstance marks her off from the rest of the Aegean area, and shows the affinity on certain sides of her culture with that of Asia Minor and Egypt.

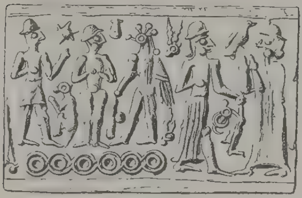

Fig. 34. Cylinder; Cyprus.

The cylinder is probably the oldest of all forms of engraved stones. It was in universal use in Mesopotamia from a very early time, and the discoveries of recent years have proved that even on Egyptian soil it precedes the scarab. That both cylinder and scarab were worn as amulets long before they were ever employed as signets can be made certain.

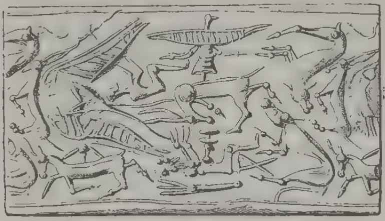

Fig. 35. Cylinder; Cyprus.

Paphos. At this famous site a few Mycenean antiquities were discovered in 1888 by Messrs Hogarth and Montague James, among which were two gold fibulae now in the Ashmolean Museum[3]. There was also Mycenean pottery. One fragment is decorated with a scale pattern.

Curium has yielded Mycenean antiquities of much interest, consisting of objects in gold, bronze, pottery and engraved gems, during the excavations carried on by Mr H. B. Walters, of the British Museum.

Enkomi, near Salamis, has been excavated by Dr A. S. Murray and Mr A. H. Smith, of the British Museum, and has produced a rich harvest of engraved gems, ivories, pottery and other antiquities.

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[1] Furtwängler and Loesche, *op. cit.*, Figs. 14—17 (pp. 27—29).

[2] Figs. 34, 35 are from unpublished specimens in the British Museum.

[3] H. B. Walters, *J. H. S.*, vol. xvii. p. 64.

The results of the excavations at Curium and Enkomi have now been published, but too late to be fully used here[1].

Kalopsida. On the denuded surface of the Bronze Age necropolis at this place Mr Myres found "one or two fragments of characteristic Mycenean pottery, though not in any undisturbed tombs."

In the remains of the settlement near were discovered hand-made pottery of a red or brown colour and for the most part very rude, and two massive but well-worked saucers of crystalline rock both still stained with a red pigment like that on the pottery from the tombs.

In one tomb on this site Myres found "a small crater-like vessel which had formed part of a ring-vase: such ring-vases are not common, but seem to be confined, in the Bronze Age, to the earliest tombs: and consequently their correspondence with similar forms among the Libyan red ware from Ballas and Naqada is the more noteworthy, as it is not improbable that the very similar fabrics of Libya and Cyprus are closely related."

Black ware adorned with punctures has also been found in Cyprus (Kalopsida) and has been compared by Mr Myres to similar black fabrics with white-filled punctured ornaments "which have been found, as native manufactures, in Libyan graves at Ballas and Naqada, and in upper Egypt, and at Ciempozuelos in Spain, at Beth Saour in south Palestine, at Kahun and elsewhere in Egypt."

Agia Paraskevi. Though in the tombs excavated in this celebrated Bronze Age necropolis in 1894, Mr J. L. Myres found no Mycenean vases, "fragments of many are strewn over the plateau."

Laksha Tu Riu. Here, in a tomb, Mycenean vases were found along with base-ring ware (mostly of the white painted variety), and painted ware with white slip (the Agia Paraskevi ware), but no red ware was found. The white slip ware is found at Hissarlik, Athens, in Thera, Egypt and south Palestine, but in this tomb only the common hemispherical bowls were represented and none with any specially elaborate ornament.

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[1] A. S. Murray, A. H. Smith, and H. B. Walters, *Excavations in Cyprus* (1900).

SOUTHWARK CENTRAL

Phoenikias, Alambra, Zarukas, Katidata, Linu and **Karpaso,** have all yielded Mycenean pottery[1].

The Mycenean vases found in Cyprus belong to the last period of that pottery when quadrupeds and human figures are included in the decorative motives.

LYCIA.

Telmessus. There is in the British Museum a false-necked vase procured at Telmessus by Prof. W. M. Ramsay[2].

EGYPT.

Kahun. A tomb at Kahun, near the mouth of the Fayum (which, says Prof. Petrie[3], "belongs to about 1,100 B.C., or within fifty years of that either way"), contained some dozens of bodies, and a great quantity of pottery, Egyptian, Phoenician, Cypriote, and Aegean. The principal vase of the Mycenean or Aegean class "is of a fine light brown paste with red iron-glazed pattern." The form and the design are evidently from the same factory as the two octopus vases, which also are known to have come from Egypt, one in the Abbott collection at New York, the other found at Erment, and now in the British Museum.

There are other stray Mycenean vases in European museums. Two are at Berlin, one of which was taken out of an Egyptian tomb of the Old Monarchy at Sakkarah[4]. There are several others in the Louvre, as well as two at Leyden.

Tel-el-Amarna. False-necked vases have been found here, 'perfectly formed examples,' says Petrie, "of the true pale brown paste, and iron glazed lines with discs surrounded by a circle of dots as the only ornament. They are of the wide shallow type, and are elegantly shaped." He also found several of an earlier time; they are of a deep globular form with broad iron-glaze bands, and no other ornament, painted on a base of Aegean paste.

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[1] Furtwängler and Loesche, *op. cit.*, pp. 24—26.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

[3] Flinders Petrie, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. XI. pp. 271—277.

[4] Furtwängler and Loesche, *op. cit.*, p. 31. It is held that the vase from Sakkarah may have been placed with a fresh interment in an old tomb.

M. Naville found at Khatana in very deep burials with scarabs of about 2,000 B.C., pieces of an archaic ware, some of which are like a well-known kind of Italian pottery. "The impressed pattern is like some early Italian rather than anything else," and "the incised black ware is exactly paralleled by some of the Italian *Bucchero* in its colour, its form, its vandykes, and its spot-pricking."

Petrie found great quantities of this kind of ware in the ruins of a town of the twelfth dynasty, 'about 2,500 B.C.,' at the mouth of the Fayum, where there are many varieties of foreign pottery. They belonged to vessels of rude types; some of them exhibit a fine hard thin light-brown paste of Aegean origin, with iron-glaze bands. The form is extremely rude. The vessels had no lip and no ornament about the mouth; simply a round hole is cut in the pottery, without any further decoration, a shape seen in the earliest Amorite pottery from Lachish[1].

Gurob. Here Petrie found five Mycenean false-necked amphorae decorated with iron-glazed bands under conditions which point to the reign of Amenophis III. as their date.

Abusis. At this place in the middle of the Delta a figure was discovered. "So far as the lower part of the figure is concerned it is exactly copied from the Greek island figures in marble, the treatment being quite unlikely in pottery, but imitating the rounded mass and shallow grooving of the stone." The figure is apparently that of a woman, and "the head shows the Libyan lock of hair, the sign of that race." The forehead exhibits markings which may be meant to represent tattooing, a practice still in use among the Libyans of to-day.

LIBYA.

At Naqada, in Egypt, Prof. Petrie in 1895 brought to light the remains of a people whom he termed the New Race[2], but who are now generally recognized as Libyans. Similar remains have been found at Ballas and Abydus (both, like Naqada, on the Libyan side of the Nile), and there seems now no doubt that they are the monuments of a race which formed one of the chief elements in the blend known as the ancient Egyptian.

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[1] Flinders Petrie, *loc. cit.*, p. 276.

[2] Flinders Petrie and Quibel, *Naqada and Ballas*, pp. 12—33, 55—9.

These remains go back to the Neolithic period, for the cutting implements are made of stone and flint. Presently copper makes its appearance as the material employed for various purposes of life. They used vessels of stone, and also hand-made earthenware in great abundance, the red and black polished varieties of the latter resembling certain Cypriote wares, and also the Amorite pottery found at Lachish.

In the graves female figurines have been found, some steatopygous, one of slighter type and tattooed. They buried their dead in a contracted posture, the body being often placed in an oblong earthenware cist[1], or jar.

ITALY.

Already Mycenean remains have been found or have been long known in different parts of central and southern Italy, and it is probable that since the attention of Italian archaeologists has now been directed to the question, many more such will be brought to light.

Bologna (*Bononia*). Under a house in the Via-Maggiore was found a stone, the back of which is rough, but the front bears in relief two quadrupeds standing on their hind-legs and resting their fore-legs on a column, which stands between them. The place where it was found is close to the ancient city wall, and it has been plausibly suggested that the relief may have stood over the city gate, like the lions at Mycenae[2]. Mr A. J. Evans has identified as Mycenean in design certain objects found at Bologna which belong to the late Bronze and early Iron Age.

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[1] J. de Morgan, *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Egypte*, 1897, pp. 203 *sqq.*; Petrie, *op. cit.*, pp. 8, 25, etc.

[2] Montelius, *La Civilisation primitive en Italie*, pp. 410—11, Fig. *h*.

ETRURIA.

In Etruria there are the remains of prehistoric walls at various well-known sites, such as Caere, Falerii, Saturnia, Pyrgi.

At **Caere** and **Falerii**[1] early black ware (Figs. 36, 37) similar to that obtained at the Heraeum of Argos and other 'Mycenean' sites has been found in considerable quantities.

At Falerii were found the two vases with linear ornament here given. One found in the necropolis (Fig. 36) is of a blackish and local fabric adorned with linear decoration representing winged horses (or hippocamps). The other is a blackish cantharus with two handles terminating in rams' heads and having its body decorated with bands of *graffiti*.

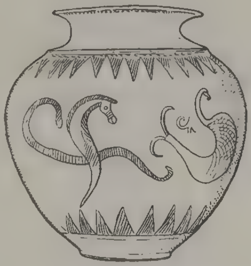

FIG. 36. Incised Black Ware, Falerii.

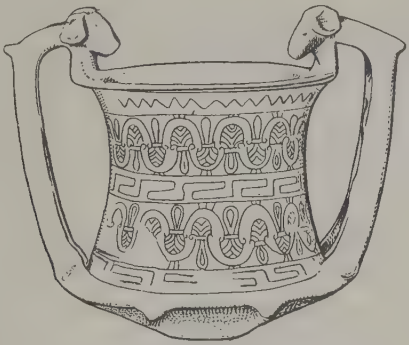

FIG. 37. Incised Black Ware, Falerii.

At **Tarquinii** (*Corneto*) a tomb has yielded objects of a Mycenean character. And a Mycenean gem has also been found with the device of a man between two divine beings[2].

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[1] *Monumenti Antichi*, Vol. IV. p. 571; Tav. vi.

[2] Furtwängler and Loesche, p. 48.

Quinto Fiorentino. Helbig has described a building found near this place which seems to resemble closely a Mycenean dome-shaped tomb[1].

LATIUM.

In Latium there are various prehistoric remains which show considerable affinity with the Mycenean culture of the mainland of Greece. These consist of walls of polygonal masonry of a rude kind, and gateways which exhibit as yet no trace of the principle of the arch in their construction.

Signia. The ruins of this famous city exhibit both a wall of polygonal masonry built without the use of mortar, the interstices between the large blocks being filled with smaller pieces of stone, as is also the case at Medullia, Aletrium, Artena Volscorum. The gateway is formed of two massive sideposts slanting towards each other and surmounted with a lintel formed of a single slab. This resembles the principle of the gateway seen at Tiryns and in other Mycenean doorways.

Olevano. Here the gateway is formed as at Signia, with the difference that the sideposts stand vertically, instead of sloping inwards as they approach the top.

Aletrium (*Alatri*) has a gateway similar in character to that of Olevano.

Arpinum (*Arpino*) has a gateway wherein a kind of pointed arch is formed by making each block of stone in the wall-ends project a little beyond the one on which it rests till the uppermost stones meet. The gate, as has been long pointed out, "closely resembles that of Mycenae, and those of other Mycenean structures."

This method of forming an arch was extended readily, as we saw, to the formation of a roof by the projection of each successive layer of stones in the dome-shaped Mycenean tombs.

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[1] Furtwängler and Loesche, p. 48; *Bull. dell' Inst.*, 1885, p. 193 *sqq.*

This principle of forming a roof is seen in Rome[1] itself in the vault of the old well-house of the Capitol called the Tullianum, where the lower part consists of overlapping horizontal blocks which formerly met in a conical roof, but are now truncated and capped with a mass of stones cramped together with iron[2].

Campania. There are two Mycenean vases (one in the Louvre, the other at Berlin) which have been found in Campania[3].

Terra d' Otranto. At San Cosimo near Oria Mycenean vases have been found. Fr. Lenormant obtained two false-necked vessels from thence which are now in the Louvre[4].

Calabria has now yielded a Mycenean gem (agate) on which is cut a deer suckling her fawn. Above is a dog running[5].

SICILY.

Syracuse. In 1871 at Matrenso about four miles west of Syracuse a grave was discovered which contained pottery of the Mycenean type. This tomb is far away from the oldest Greek necropolis of Fusco, and was a rock-hewn chamber of about 2½ metres in diameter and 1½ in height. It was approached by a *dromos*, in which were found two Mycenean vases of small size. In the grave were found some vessels of black ware. They resemble the archaic Italian *bucchero*[6].

Since 1890 Dr Paolo Orsi in his most successful and important excavations in the neighbourhood of Syracuse has demonstrated by numerous finds the existence in Sicily of the Mycenean culture.

He has excavated a remarkable neolithic station at Stentinello, and cemeteries of the Siculi at Melilli, Plemmirio, Castelluccio, and Finocchito. The results show that in the early rock-tombs which belong to a period before the appearance of fully developed Mycenean vases there are unglazed painted wares of considerable brilliancy, similar to those found in that part of Italy once occupied by the Iapygians, and to those from the cave-deposits of Liguria of the period transitional between the use of stone and metal[1].

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[1] Burn, *Rome and the Campagna*, p. xxiii.

[2] *Id.*, *op. cit.*, p. xxiii.; Middleton, *Ancient Rome*, I. pp. 151—3.

[3] Furtwängler and Loesche, p. 48.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] H. B. Walters, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, XVII. p. 69.

[6] Furtwängler and Loesche, p. 47; Helbig, *Hom. Ep.*, p. 67, *Ann. dell' Inst.*, 1877, pp. 56—58, Tav. E.

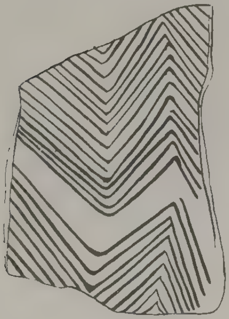

FIG. 38. Neolithic Pottery; Syracuse.

The pottery from the neolithic settlement of Stentinello is ornamented with patterns composed of dots and linear ornament such as lines irregularly parallel, chevrons (Fig. 38), and circles, either incised with an instrument when the clay was wet, or painted on. Sometimes the nail simply seems to have been employed[2].

SARDINIA.

In the British Museum there are beads of rock-crystal which Furtwängler compares to no. 307 in Schliemann's *Mycenae*[3].

SPAIN.

Even in Spain traces of a connection between the earliest remains and the primitive culture of the Aegean are not wanting. Certain kinds of pottery, spirals of metal, and little figurines afford indications of a connection with the eastern Mediterranean.

In Baetica have been found spirals in gold, silver, and bronze similar to those found in very ancient tombs in Sardinia, Etruria, and Argolis[4].

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[1] *Quattro anni di Esplorazioni Sicule nella provincia di Siracusa* (1890—93): Parma, 1894.

[2] Orsi, *op. cit.*, pp. 185 *sqq.*

[3] Furtwängler and Loesche, p. 48. It has already (p. 34) been pointed out that Furtwängler was misled in attributing to Sardinia the gold relief in the British Museum.

[4] H. and L. Siret, *Les Premiers Ages du Métal dans le Sud-est de l'Espagne*, p. 399.

Mr Salomon Reinach and Mr A. J. Evans have pointed out the parallelism between the Trojan and Aegean forms of primitive idols and those of Spain[1].

We have now passed in review the whole area throughout which Mycenean remains have come to light, and we are therefore in a position to form an estimate of the chief features of that remarkable civilization. It will be convenient to summarize them here. It was characterized by great skill in the art of building, as is evidenced (a) by its great fortress-walls and gateways such as those at Mycenae, Tiryns, Athens, Goulas in Boeotia, Hissarlik, Phylákopi, Goulas in Crete, Signia, and the other great prehistoric cities of Central Italy; (b) by the palaces, such as those at Tiryns, Mycenae, Athens, Goulas in Boeotia, Hissarlik, Cnossus; (c) by a great series of tombs ranging from the small rock-hewn pits found in Attica, Aegina, Amorgus, Antiparos, Thera, Melos, in which the dead were placed in a sitting posture, and occasionally inurned in large *pithoi*, as at Thoricus and Amorgus, through more elaborate rock-hewn sepulchres such as those at Nauplia, to the fully developed shaft graves of the acropolis at Mycenae, and finally passing into the great beehive tomb with the *dromos*, sometimes all being hewn out of the rock, but more frequently built of large blocks of stone as at Mycenae, Orchomenus, Volo, and Vaphio.

The portals of the beehive tombs, such as that of the 'Treasury of Atreus' and that of the 'Treasury of Minyas,' agree in structure with the gateways of the great fortresses and palaces.

There is no line of demarcation between any of these varieties of tombs, for they shade off into each other. Thus at Orchomenus we have one of the noblest examples of the beehive tomb as seen in the great dome chamber, and at the same time the second smaller chamber of the main tomb is in construction a shaft grave sunk from the top, and not cut from the side of the domed chamber. Again, in Cyprus we have a combination of the shaft and chamber in the rock-hewn tombs which continued down into late classical times.

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[1] A. J. Evans, *Primitive Pictographs*, p. 124.

As we saw different periods in the massive masonry of the great walls and palaces, so in the beehive tombs there are evidences of different stages in the art of construction.

In close connection with the shaft graves of Mycenae we found sculptured tombstones adorned with spiral ornamentation and panels containing scenes from human life, and we saw likewise at Orchomenus four roofing slabs decorated with a remarkable series of spiral ornaments.

The contents of the tombs show the same unbroken continuity. Thus at Mycenae, Vaphio, Menidi, Spata, Aegina, Ialysus, Enkomi, and Volo, gold objects of the same kinds, of the same technique, and decorated with the same motives consisting of spirals, concentric circles and naturalistic designs, have been found in more or less abundance. Some of these, such as the treasure from Aegina, show evidence of having been made at a later date by the free use of stones, both natural and artificial, in their structure, and in Cyprus there is evidence that certain of the Mycenean objects, as for instance those from Curium, are of a comparatively late date.

Silver, as has been long noticed, is of comparatively rare occurrence, and is generally more commonly met with in the islands than on the mainland. As down to the date at which the Second Book of the *Iliad*[1] was composed the Greeks looked to Alybe in Asia as the source from which silver was obtained, we need not be surprised at its rarity in the Mycenean times on the mainland of Greece, and at the fact of its occurrence being more frequent at Troy and in the Aegean islands, which were in closer proximity to Asia. Later on we shall see that the employment of silver may afford an important chronological test.

Bronze is the universal metal employed for weapons of offence, for iron only makes its appearance in a few graves which, from other reasons, we may regard as of a later date than those on the acropolis of Mycenae. Thus in the graves of the lower town at Mycenae, and in the tomb at Vaphio, the only places where iron has been found, it is only used for finger-rings, which shows that it was still not in general use for weapons, a conclusion confirmed by the fact that the weapons found at the same time are all of bronze.

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[1] *Il.* II. 857.

But there is evidence from many sites to show that their occupants had once been in the neolithic stage, for axes of diorite and knives of obsidian have been found at Tiryns, the Heraeum of Argos, in many places in Attica, including the Acropolis, in Melos, Thera, Cyprus, etc. It may be said that these neolithic inhabitants of Mycenean sites were an earlier race, subsequently expelled by the more civilized Mycenean people. The Pottery, however, renders this old supposition untenable.

We saw that at Tiryns, Hissarlik, the Acropolis of Athens, and the Heraeum, neolithic implements and rude hand-made pottery were found in the lowest stratum on the living rock, and we also saw that this rude, hand-made pottery often with incised linear ornament passes into the early wheel-made pottery, which preserves the same shapes and the same linear ornamentation (and from the latter to dull painted wares exhibiting the same principle of decoration), and that this ruder and coarser kind of pottery continues throughout all the cities at Hissarlik, through all the strata at the Heraeum of Argos, and that at Phylákopi in Melos there is a gradual upward movement from the earliest forms of pottery to the fully developed Mycenean lustrous ware. The lustrous pottery is widely spread, extending from Sicily in the west, and Egypt on the south, to Volo in Thessaly, and to the Troad. At places we can see not only its earliest stages rising one above the other as at Thoricus, but even continuing as in the *dromos* at Menidi from the early Mycenean through later Mycenean, and through the Dipylon or geometrical period, actually into the archaic black and red figured Attic vases of the historical epoch. The primitive kinds of pottery have affinities not only with the wares of regions such as Caria, Palestine, Libya, and Etruria, southern Italy, and Sicily, but even with those of Spain, where either there is no pottery of the true Mycenean period or only sporadic examples. The rude ornament of the primitive pottery is similar to that of the Danubian region, northern Italy, and the Swiss Lake dwellings. From this it would appear that whilst the same primitive culture was spread over the whole of the Mediterranean and even central Europe, on the other hand only in the Aegean basin did this primitive culture burst into its full artistic development. This is fully confirmed by the characteristic Mycenean decoration, in which marine animals and plants form the favourite motives. From this it is clear that the makers of the objects must have been a maritime folk. Within this Aegean area then must lie the *focus* or *foci* from whence the Mycenean culture was diffused. The conclusion to be drawn, therefore, is that over this wide area we have the remains of a people who commenced their career at the close of the Stone Age, when they buried their dead in rude pits burrowed out in the earth, into which the dead were put in a cramped, sitting posture, who used axes of stone and vessels either made out of the soft limestone and marble of the islands, or rude hand-made pottery, which was commonly furnished with suspension-holes bored through projections on the sides of the vases. These people soon became acquainted with copper, so abundant in Cyprus and Euboea, and later with the superior alloy of copper and tin known to us as bronze. Armed now with better implements and weapons, they advance in all the arts, become supreme as hewers of stone and builders of mighty edifices, not only for the living, but for the dead. But, though the departed are now buried in more spacious graves instead of in primaeval narrow cells (or jars) like those in Attica, Salamis, Amorgus, and elsewhere, nevertheless the dead are still placed in the same cramped posture, and to the last no trace of cremation is found.

We may, therefore, conclude that the authors of the Mycenean civilization had developed it in the area of the eastern Mediterranean (with, of course, certain influences from the peoples with whom they came in contact), and it is therefore plain that, in our search through the scant historical records of the early time for any evidence which may enable us to identify them with any of the nations, the echoes of whose names faintly reach us down the long aisles of time, we must view with suspicion the claims of any race whose traditions affirm that they entered the Aegean at a comparatively late era; in other words, we must search for the people who, according to tradition, are autochthonous in the basin of the eastern Mediterranean, who had the genius to develope on the northern side of the Sea a culture which may be regarded as independent of those of Egypt and Mesopotamia. The evidence so far clearly indicates that the grand step in development was taken neither on the coast of Asia Minor, nor in the islands, but on the mainland of Greece. This culture exercised a far-reaching influence in central, northern and western Europe. For if on the one hand the people of the Mycenean period received in Italy and Greece the amber of the Baltic, so they in turn sent up southern wares into the distant and mysterious regions beyond the sources of the Istros and the dense pines of the Hercynian forest, regions into which it was said by them of old time Heracles had once journeyed in his quest for the Hind of the Golden Horns.

When did this culture reach its zenith? It will be best at this point if we only use criteria derived from the monuments, and avoid as far as possible all arguments from literary tradition.

Archaeologists have relied chiefly on the evidence of certain articles of Egyptian origin found along with Mycenean remains, and which bear the cartouches of certain Pharaohs. But Pharaoh may prove a broken reed, on which the chronologist must not lean too heavily for fear it pierce his hand. We must therefore be very careful in using evidence from this source, unless it can be supported by independent testimony.

At Mycenae two fragments of Egyptian porcelain have been found, each of which bears the cartouche of Amenophis III., who reigned in Egypt about 1440—1400 B.C. One piece was discovered in a tomb in the lower city, the other in a Mycenean house on the acropolis. A scarab bearing the name of Thi, the wife of Amenophis III., was found in another house on the acropolis of Mycenae; in one of the Mycenean graves at Ialysus a scarab of Amenophis III. himself was discovered. Prof. Waldstein has found scarabs of Thothmes III. at the Heraeum.

But a scarab may be centuries older than the tomb or house in which it is found. Scarabs inscribed with certain kings' names were made and worn as much as a thousand years after the death of the kings whose names they bear[1]. Thus though the scarabs dug up at the Greek city of Naucratis are not older than the seventh century B.C., yet many of them bear the prenomens of Thothmes III., Seti I., and Rameses II. This is further proved by the occurrence of scarabs inscribed with the names of two kings. Thus there are scarabs which bear the names of both Thothmes III. and Seti I., another has those of Thothmes I., Thothmes II., and Seti I., another those of Thothmes III. and Rameses IX., and another those of Thothmes III. and Psammetichus.

No doubt the names of famous kings were placed on scarabs whose primary use was amuletic. Such scarabs were valued as potent talismans just as in India gold mohurs of Akbar (especially those with the date 1000) are highly esteemed as amulets, and for that reason are being continually manufactured by the goldsmiths. It is therefore just as absurd to date a Greek grave by a single scarab of Amenophis III. or Thothmes III., as it would be to assert that the contents of a Hindu grave were contemporary with Akbar, merely from the fact that a gold mohur of that monarch was found within it. Such scarabs cannot even give us a superior limit, for though it is certain that a scarab (or vase) with names of Amenophis III. cannot be older than the reign of that king[2], yet we must not say that a grave which contains such a scarab cannot be older than the scarab, for the grave may have been used for later interments, and the scarab may have belonged to one of the latter. It is clear then that but little stress must be laid on isolated scarabs.

On the other hand there is another class of Egyptian evidence which is of distinct value. Prof. Petrie at Gurob (p. 65) found five Mycenean false-necked amphorae decorated with iron-glazed bands under conditions which point to the reign of Amenophis III. as their date. The same explorer found a vase of Mycenean style (though not a false-necked amphora) in a tomb at Kahun, which he assigns to about 1100 B.C. He also found at Tel-el-Amarna a large quantity of fragments of Mycenean pottery in an environment which indicates the period 1400—1340 B.C.

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[1] Budge, *The Mummy*, p. 247.

[2] C. Torr, *Memphis and Mycenae*, p. 61; *cf.* J. L. Myres' review of Mr Torr's work, *Clas. Review*, 1896, pp. 447—453.

False-necked vases are seen in a fresco in the tomb of Rameses III. (*circa* 1200 B.C.). Wall-paintings in three tombs at Thebes of about the time of Thothmes III. (1600 B.C.) have been supposed to show Mycenean vases, but this is doubtful, as the vessels depicted are not the characteristic false-necked amphorae.

This evidence makes it fairly probable that the Mycenean civilization was fully developed in some parts of the Aegean area by at least 1200 B.C., and possibly two or three centuries earlier.

It must not be assumed that because the Mycenean style is found lingering in certain areas, such as Cyprus, into the sixth century B.C., its beginnings therefore must be late everywhere in Greece, or even in Cyprus.

It will suffice for the present to point out that unless the course of development was suddenly broken by conquest, there is no reason why the Mycenean culture should have come to a sudden end all over the Aegean. At Menidi in Attica it passed gradually into the art of the classical period. The doctrines of cataclysmic historians and archaeologists have wrought much mischief. The former too often assume that a conquest means a complete change of population, whilst the latter have fixed their eyes only on the finest works of Mycenean pottery, and have assumed that this great burst of art is due to the incoming of some new race. They might as well assume that the pottery of Wedgewood and Palissy prove that a new race had entered England in the 18th, and France in the 16th century. The humble vessels of everyday life are historically far more important than the works of fine art, for the latter only represent the life of the very few, the former show us that of the masses.

Certain it is that neither inscriptions in the Greek alphabet of historical times, nor coins, have been found in any of the great Mycenean sites in the strata which contained the Mycenean objects. These two facts must make us set the end of the Mycenean age on the mainland before 800 B.C. But as it extended over a long period, its prime cannot well have been later than the twelfth century B.C.

The scarcity of silver as compared with gold has been already noticed. Yet by the time of Solomon, 900 B.C., that metal was very plentiful in Palestine. Under the XVIIIth dynasty (*circa* 1400 B.C.) the Phoenicians supplied Egypt with silver, and under the new empire the supply had so increased that it was evidently much cheaper than gold, for the later texts always name silver after gold, whilst the older texts name them in reverse order[1]. From this consideration alone it would be hard to fix the date of the full Mycenean age any later than the tenth century B.C.

The absence of silver from the prehistoric remains of Attica is especially noteworthy, for that district in historical times derived immense supplies of silver from the mines of Laurium, which Aeschylus describes as 'a well of silver.' According to Xenophon these mines had been worked time out of mind[2]. When it is remembered that Thoricus stands actually on the silver district, it is all the more astonishing that no articles of silver have been found in the excavations. It is therefore hard to place the Mycenean period in Attica at a later date than the tenth century B.C. These considerations confirm the date inferred from the Egyptian evidence for the great days of Mycenean art.

We have very scanty data respecting the physical characteristics of the Mycenean people. The skulls discovered have usually been too decomposed to admit of measurement, but Mr Bent[3] was able to preserve one of those found by him in Antiparos. Its measurements show it to be abnormally dolichocephalic.

The evidence derivable from the Island statuettes, as far as it goes, points in the same direction. The marble statuettes are distinguished by the elongation of their rudely formed heads (Fig. 25). This may be due to the fact that these primitive idols were wrought out of thin slabs[1]. The setting back of the head in an oblique direction not only permitted the construction of a nose, but allowed more room for the due projection of the chin[2]. It is possible that the tendency to represent the head as abnormally dolichocephalic, which was primarily due to the nature of the material employed, may have been strengthened by the fact that the race who made them were themselves very dolichocephalic. This is rendered less improbable by the head of a statuette from Amorgos (Fig. 26), where although there is a great advance in technique the dolichocephalism is maintained, whilst the same characteristic is also prominent in the still more advanced bronze statuette from Melos (Fig. 29).

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[1] Ridgeway, *Origin of Metallic Currency*, pp. 146—7; Erman, *Aegypten*, p. 611.

[2] *De Vectig.*, II. 2.

[3] *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, V. p. 58.

The cranial data are but scanty, as only "some hundred or more well-authenticated ancient Greek crania of any sort" are preserved. "The testimony of these ancient Greek crania is perfectly harmonious. All authorities agree that the ancient Hellenes were decidedly long-headed[3]."

The Egyptian skulls of the Stone Age exhibit the same dolichocephalism as well as other characteristics which recall the Island type[4].

Yet as the physical anthropologists cannot agree upon any principles of skull measurement, the historical inquirer must not at present base any argument on this class of evidence.

But our first real knowledge of the physical aspect of the race, who produced the Mycenean culture, has now been given to us by the discovery at Cnossus of a beautiful "life-size painting of a youth with an European and almost classical Greek profile" (p. 58).

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[1] Blinkenberg, *Antiq. Premycen.*, p. 16.

[2] C. Smith, *Annual of Brit. School*, III. p. 28.

[3] Ripley, *Races of Europe*, p. 407.

[4] Petrie, *Naqada and Ballas*, pp. 52—3; De Morgan, *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Égypte*, 1896, p. 269.

CHAPTER II.

WHO WERE THE MAKERS?

δεῖ δέ, ὥϲπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων, τιθένταϲ τὰ φαινόμενα καὶ πρῶτον διαπορήϲανταϲ οὕτω δεικνύναι μάλιϲτα μὲν πάντα τὰ ἔνδοξα περὶ ταῦτα τὰ πάθη, εἰ δὲ μή, τὰ πλεῖϲτα καὶ κυριώτατα· ἐὰν γὰρ λύηταί τε τὰ δυϲχερῆ καὶ καταλείπηται τὰ ἔνδοξα, δεδειγμένον ἂν εἴη ἱκανῶϲ.

Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.*, VII. 1, 5.

WHAT people produced the Mycenean civilization is the most important problem in archaic Greek history[1]. Any attempt to solve it must be conducted with extreme caution and freedom from dogmatism.

It is evident from the wide diffusion of their remains that the race which produced these works was one which must have possessed in its time great political power around the basin of the eastern Mediterranean. Such a race can hardly have perished without leaving some echo of its deeds behind, for in some parts of the area which they once occupied, as in Attica at the tomb of Menidi, there seems to be evidence that there has been no break in the continuity of the local worship and local art of pottery from the Mycenean age proper down to the Attic red-figured vases.

The Greeks above all other people have left to us copious traditions respecting the early history of their land, its first occupiers, their inter-relations, and their racial divisions. As we find an unbroken continuity in the history of the pottery produced in Attica, and know that the people who once made the gold rings found in the tombs of Mycenae, which may be dated as at least prior to 1200 B.C., and the rings and gold ornaments found in a Mycenean grave in Aegina of about the eighth century B.C., used the same standard for weighing gold as that which was employed by the Greeks of classical times (known as the Euboic), there is every reason for believing that the continuity of historical tradition from the earlier period was equally unbroken at least in certain areas, which the Greeks themselves are unanimous in declaring had suffered no change of inhabitants from the very remotest epoch.

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[1] W. Ridgeway, "What People made the objects called Mycenean?" *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, XVI. (1896), pp. 80 *sqq.*, of which this chapter is an expansion.

In the Homeric poems we have a picture of an age and a civilization closely resembling that revealed to us from the tombs of Mycenae. It is not then strange that scholars with but few exceptions have followed the opinion of Dr Schliemann, who thought that he had found in the graves on the Acropolis of Mycenae the very remains of Agamemnon, Cassandra and the attendants, who perished with him on the return from Troy, done to death by the craft of Clytemnestra and her paramour Aegisthus. It is argued that no one was so likely to be buried in those splendid tombs, with all their accompaniments of gold and costly vesture and carved ivory, as the monarch whose family is especially linked in legend to Mycenae. But even from the first there were scholars who had misgivings and doubts about this too facile identification, for under a critical survey many discrepancies between the culture of the Mycenean age and that set forth in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* revealed themselves. As time has gone on these difficulties have forced themselves with an ever-growing pertinacity on the attention of the learned, who have, however, for the most part shut their eyes to the evidence and contented themselves by either yielding an unquestioning homage to the Achean authorship of the Mycenean culture, or have soothed their doubts by the reflection that, though there might be difficulties, they were of no moment, and that for the sake of mere trivialities, it was not well to disturb the convenient and pleasant doctrine that, in the remains brought to light in our days, we had before us the tangible monuments of the Homeric age.

But if we apply our minds calmly to compare the series of facts obtained from Mycenean sites on the one hand, and from the Homeric poems on the other, we shall find that many of the discrepancies are not trivial, but are really such as those on which we base wide distinctions in race and time, as we study the history of other peoples and other regions of Europe and Asia.

From the results of our survey in the last chapter, it is clear that the men of the Mycenean times were in the Bronze Age, that is, they employed bronze for their *cutting* weapons, for they had discarded stone and had not yet obtained iron.

If we were now to begin an inquiry into the question of what race created the objects found in Great Britain belonging to the Bronze Period, we should probably set about it somehow thus: Literary tradition tells us that before the people now called English were finally evolved by the amalgamation of the various races which lived in the island, there were dominant here, successively, peoples commonly termed now Celts, Romans, and Saxons. But at no time were the Saxons the sole occupants of the island, although their speech ultimately became the language of almost all of it. For they subdued and assimilated to themselves the people whom they found already in the island, whom we usually describe as Romano-Britons; the latter again consisted but to a small extent of Romans, even applying that term to the heterogeneous mass of colonists and soldiery from all parts of the Roman Empire sent here, the chief element being the old population conquered and assimilated to the Roman culture.

Of this 'Celtic' population we get some scanty accounts from the ancient writers, such as Caesar, Diodorus, Strabo, and Tacitus. Even this literary evidence has not escaped the suspicions of the sceptic. For instance, the *Annals* of Tacitus have been regarded by some as the forgery of Poggio, the finder of the manuscript at Fulda. This charge has however been swept away, just as a literature on the subject as copious as that on the Bacon-Shakespeare craze was springing into existence, by the discovery of indubitable evidence that there was a MS. of the *Annals* at Fulda centuries before Poggio's time.

But even those who do not dispute the authenticity of the *Annals* raise grave suspicions as regards the veracity of Tacitus in certain matters, just as Caesar's truthfulness in respect to his invasions of Britain has been doubted by others.

Yet after all this scepticism no one questions the general truth of the statements of these historians—that the Romans came into England and found it already occupied not only by different tribes, but by different races.

For the coming of the Saxons we have certain traditional evidence, certain statements about Hengist and Horsa, which are frequently regarded by clever men as fabulous, certain documents bearing the names of Nennius and Gildas, the Ecclesiastical History of Bede, an Anglo-Saxon Chronicle written by the monks at Peterborough, and a poem called the *Lay of Beowulf* which gives us a picture of Anglo-Saxon life, what weapons they used, and how they fought. This poem may be roughly regarded as standing in the same relation to early English life and manners as Homer does to those of early Greece. Though monkish chroniclers are constantly held to be liars, no one doubts now that there was a coming of the Angles and Jutes and that in the process of time they gradually conquered most of England, the last echoes of their long wars being heard in the Arthurian legends. Some of the older population, pressed hard in their old homes, went and settled in Armorica among their cousins from whom they had been separated for centuries.

Now it would be easy to find some antiquary who held that the bronze weapons found in the Anglo-Saxon parts of England were of Anglo-Saxon origin. A famous antiquary ascribed almost every earthwork seen anywhere in England to Carausius, the barbarian who made himself Emperor in Britain. If one said to such a person, 'What evidence have you that they are Saxon?' he would reply that the description of the mode of fighting, the dress and weapons of the Saxons given in the *Lay of Beowulf* fitted exactly the bronze weapons in England, for they had shields and spears, and battle-axes and swords. If you pointed out to him that the Saxon poem spoke of these weapons as made of iron, he would say 'I admit that it is a difficulty, but the resemblances are so many that the discrepancies may be jettisoned.' He would not get many to support him at the present day. Yet we shall see that the attitude of Greek archaeologists in dealing with the Mycenean age is not more rational. We may take then as fairly truthful the statements that Celtic tribes, whether 'red Celts,' or 'black Celts,' or Picts, were spread over all this island, and that it had a native name of its own before the Romans came and called it by a name derived from some one tribe, Britannia (instead of Albion), a name in its turn replaced by that of England, an appellation derived from the Angles who gradually absorbed into their own tribal name all the other tribes of the island.

If we find in certain areas, into which according to the written traditions of Romans and Saxons neither of these races ever got, bronze implements and pottery of a peculiar kind, we shall be fully justified in regarding these objects as not the creation of Roman or Saxon, but of the races who are said by the written traditions of the Romans to have been the occupants of the whole island at the time of Caesar's invasion. If we find that in Cornwall, where English is now the only language, down to 200 years ago, another speech still lingered on which was not Teutonic, but clearly shown by its remains to be one of the Celtic languages, we shall most certainly be justified in holding that the fact of a people now speaking the English language is no proof that they were originally Anglo-Saxon, or belonged to any branch of the Teutonic race. It is equally possible and it is not improbable that the same process took place in early Greece, as it certainly did in Italy, where Latin became the language not merely of the cognate Umbrian and Oscan peoples, but even of the Etruscans, who are held by no few to have spoken a non-Aryan tongue. Race after race made its way into the Greek peninsula, and these races were divided into numerous tribes. Pelasgians, Acheans, and Dorians in turn were the dominant races, and into each in turn came tribes perhaps of different origin, who came to be called by the name of the master race, Pelasgians, Acheans, or Dorians, and eventually in turn came under the all-embracing name of

Hellenes, just as the descendants of the Neolithic and Bronze Age inhabitants of Britain, of the Belgic tribes who later conquered its south-eastern parts, of Roman settlers, of Saxons, Angles and Jutes have all been merged into the common name of English. This certainly is the view of the early state of Hellas given by Thucydides; and the analogy of all other countries shows that his doctrine is sound:—"Before the Trojan war Hellas appears to have done nothing in common; and as it seems to me the whole of it as yet had not even this name; nay, before the time of Hellen, the son of Deucalion, it does not appear that this appellation existed at all, but that in their different tribes, and the Pelasgian to the greatest extent, they furnished from themselves the name (of the people). But when Hellen and his sons had grown strong in Phthiotis, men invited them for their aid into the other cities and, from associating with them, separate communities were now more commonly called Hellenes: and yet not for a long time after could that name prevail amongst them all. And Homer proves this most fully; for, though born long after the Trojan war, he has nowhere called them all by that name, nor indeed any others but those that came with Achilles out of Phthiotis who are the very original Hellenes, but in his poem he mentions Danaoi, Argeioi, and Achaioi[1]."

Scholars are now practically unanimous in regarding the civilization of the Mycenean age as the product of that Achean race, whose deathless glories are enshrined in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Yet learned men are not without misgivings respecting this identification, and various differences more or less important have been pointed out between the civilization of Mycenae and that of the Homeric Greeks. For instance the latter burnt the bodies of their dead, whilst on the other hand the graves of Mycenae prove that the bodies were buried intact, possibly in some cases embalmed.

It is therefore perhaps worth while to reconsider the question anew, taking a brief survey in turn of the various races who once dwelt on the spots where these remains have been discovered, and, after a careful use of the strictest method possible in rejecting and selecting the various elements, finally to indicate that which seems the fittest to survive.

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[1] I. 3.

It is obvious that we must start our search in a region, or regions, where (1) Mycenean remains are found in great abundance, and (2) where we can show from the Greek writers that no great number of separate races ever dwelt.

On looking down the list of places where objects of the Mycenean period have been found, two areas especially lend themselves to such an inquiry—Peloponnesus and Crete. The consensus of the Greek writers assures us that the former was mainly occupied by three races, two of whom—the Acheans and Dorians—came in successive waves. Thus in Laconia in historical times we find three distinct layers of population: (1) the Spartiates who formed the ruling caste, the descendants of the Dorians who at some period later than the composition of the Homeric poems entered Peloponnesus, and conquered certain portions of it; (2) the Perioeci, who represented the descendants of the Acheans, conquered by the Dorians; (3) the Helots, the descendants of the race which the Acheans found in possession of the land, and whom they reduced to serfdom in those districts which they conquered. These Helots were almost certainly the same race as the Arcadians, who in their native fastnesses seem to have been able to keep out both Achean and Dorian.

In the Homeric poems we find Argolis with its cities such as Mycenae, and Laconia with Sparta its capital, held by the Pelopidae. In classical times Dorians are the rulers of both districts.

It is in this part of Hellas that we meet the chief remains of the Mycenean epoch, and we may well assume as a starting-point that the remains are the outcome of either the Acheans, or that old race that preceded the Acheans.

Let us now turn to Crete, where, as already stated, extensive remains of the Mycenean age have been brought to light. As it is an island far removed from the rest of Greece, it was much less likely to have its population mixed by constant advances of other tribes, such as took place in the history of northern Greece and northern Italy. In the case of the latter a roving tribe might at any time descend from Balkan or Alps, but in the case of Crete only people equipped with ships could enter it.

In the *Odyssey* we get a very explicit account of Crete and its inhabitants[1]:—

"There is a land called Crete in the midst of the wine-dark sea, a fair land and a rich, begirt with water, and therein are many men innumerable, and ninety cities. And all have not the same speech, but there is confusion of tongues: there dwell Acheans and there too Cretans of Crete, high of heart, and Cydonians there and Dorians of waving plumes and goodly Pelasgians. And among these cities is the mighty city Cnossus, wherein Minos when he was nine years old began to rule, he who held converse with great Zeus, and was the father of my father, even of Deucalion, high of heart."

In this most important passage the poet gives us a complete ethnology of Crete. Most scholars will admit that some one of the five races here enumerated—Acheans, Eteocretes, Cydones, Dorians[2], Pelasgians—has produced the 'Mycenean' remains found in that island. It is absurd to suppose that either the

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[1] XIX. 170 *sqq.*:

Κρήτη τις γαῖ' ἔστι, μέσῳ ἐνὶ ϝοίνοπι πόντῳ,
καλὴ καὶ πίειρα, περίρρυτος· ἐν δ' ἄνθρωποι
πολλοὶ ἀπειρέσιοι καὶ ἐννήκοντα πόληες.
ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα μεμιγμένη· ἐν μὲν Ἀχαιοί,
ἐν δ' Ἐτεόκρητες μεγαλήτορες, ἐν δὲ Κύδωνες,
Δωριέες τε τριχάϊκες, δῖοί τε Πελασγοί.
τοῖσι δ' ἐνὶ Κνῶσσος, μεγάλη πόλις, ἔνθα τε Μίνως
ἐννέωρος βασίλευε, Διὸς μεγάλου ὀαριστής,
πατρὸς ἐμεῖο πατὴρ μεγαθύμου Δευκαλίωνος.

τοῖσι is read by Eustathius and a good many MSS.: τῇσι is the common reading, but the feminine gender was readily suggested to the copyist by μεγάλη πόλις. It is not Homeric to refer back to ἐννήκοντα πόληες four lines above, especially when five masculine names have intervened.

The English version given is that of Butcher and Lang.

[2] The Dorian settlers in Crete had come not from Peloponnesus after the subjugation of that region, but according to Andron (Frag. 3) (Strabo 476, and Diodorus IV. 60) they had passed thither from their ancient home in Histiaeotis in upper Thessaly before the rest of their nation had advanced into lower Greece. This effectually disposes of the assertion that this passage of the *Odyssey* must be later than the Dorian invasion of Peloponnesus.

Eteocretes or Cydones ever held such a dominant position on the mainland of Hellas as to have founded Mycenae and Tiryns, or Orchomenos, or to have occupied Attica and the Acropolis of Athens. The voice of history could not have been so completely hushed, if such had been the case. As it is, all the writers of antiquity are dumb. We may therefore reject both the True-Cretans and Cydoneans. We are therefore left with three races, Acheans, Dorians and Pelasgians, from whom to select the engravers of the true 'Mycenean' gems and the builders of the great structures of Cnossus and Goulas.

We have had Acheans and Dorians as two of the three races one of whose number in Peloponnesus must have been the producer of Mycenean remains. The third race I have only alluded to as that found surviving in the Helots of Laconia and the aboriginal inhabitants of Arcadia. Who were this people? The ancient authors give us abundant notices of a people who dwelt in Peloponnesus before the Achean conquest, and those who hold that in the statements of the ancients there is at least a solid kernel of historical truth will readily admit that a race of great power once reigned in the chief cities of Argolis and Laconia before the Achean invasion.

To those who approach the ancient historians in that peculiar spirit of scepticism which is ready to declare that certain statements of Thucydides or Herodotus are false, but who at the same time are building theories of the early history of Greece out of passages in these very authors, I cannot appeal. My immediate object is to show that in the Peloponnesus there lived a race antecedent to the Acheans and Dorians, whom the ancients knew under the name Pelasgi. To venture to write about this race is enough to bring down on the writer grave suspicions that he is one of those who deal with Druids, and who see in the Great Pyramid the key to mystic systems of chronology and astrology.

Accordingly, with a view to showing that a man may believe in the historical reality of the Pelasgi, and may with safety still be allowed to mix with his neighbours, let me say that I can quote the opinions of four historians, whose scepticism or sobermindedness no one has yet called in question—Niebuhr, Thirlwall, Grote and E. Curtius.

But not only have these four great historians believed in the existence of the Pelasgians, but when we come to examine the writings of any of the living scholars, who have dealt with the questions arising out of the beginnings of Hellas, whether they treat it from the purely historical, archaeological, or religious standpoint, we shall find them invariably either avowedly or tacitly accepting as a factor the existence of this early race. Thus Dr Eduard Meyer[1] concludes that the Pelasgians had a real and important historical position in Thessaly, although he rejects the traditions that connect them with Peloponnesus. Again M. Perrot and M. Chipiez in their fine work on the archaic age of Greece assume without dispute that before the coming of the Acheans the Pelasgians formed a large part of the population of what was later known as Hellas.

Mr L. R. Farnell in his excellent work on the *Cults of the Greek States* also accepts the Pelasgians as an important element in the primitive period.

Finally, Dr Walter Leaf, in his useful editions of the *Iliad*, accepts the truth of the Pelasgian tradition not only for Thessaly, but for Peloponnesus. This list could be largely augmented, but the names here cited are sufficient for my present purpose, for as most of these writers either are or were supporters of the claims of the Acheans, their belief in the Pelasgians is free from all suspicion of any lurking desire on their part to resuscitate that ancient people.

I can best express the feelings with which I approach this subject by quoting the vigorous words of Niebuhr[2]: "The name of this people, of whom the historical inquirers in the age of Augustus could find no trace among any then subsisting, and about whom so many opinions have been maintained with such confidence of late, is irksome to the historian, hating as he does that spurious philology which raises pretensions to knowledge concerning races so completely buried in silence, and is revolting on account of the scandalous abuse that has been made of imaginary Pelasgic mysteries and lore. This disgust has hitherto kept me from speaking of the Pelasgians in general, especially as by doing so I might only be opening a way for a new influx of writings on this unfortunate subject. I was desirous of confining myself to such tribes of this nation as are mentioned among the inhabitants of Italy; but this would leave the investigation wholly unsatisfactory, and the one I am now about to commence does not pretend to make out anything else than Strabo, for instance, if he set what he knew distinctly before his own mind, might have given as the result."

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[1] "Die Pelasger" (*Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, Erster Band, Halle, 1892), pp. 112—13.

[2] *History of Rome*, I. 26—7. (Eng. trans.)

At this point of the inquiry it is sufficient for my purpose to point out that Acusilaus[1] (sixth century B.C.) included under the name of Pelasgia all Greece as far as Larisa and Pharsalia, that Herodotus states that Greece was anciently called Pelasgia[2], and that he included under the common name of Pelasgians the Athenians[3], the Arcadians[4], the Ionians of Asia Minor[5], the Lemnians[6], the Samothracians[7], and the people of Creston[8]. Again, Ephorus, quoted by Strabo[9], states that Peloponnesus had been called Pelasgia in ancient times, a statement supported and confirmed by Aeschylus not only in the extant play of the *Supplices*, in several passages (referring especially to Argolis), but also in the lost play of the *Danaides*, referred to by Strabo (*loc. cit.*): "Aeschylus states in his *Suppliants* and *Danaides* that their race (Pelasgian) is sprung from Argos that lies around Mycenae." The still older testimony of Hesiod, quoted likewise by Strabo in the same passage, makes the Pelasgians Arcadian in origin.

We therefore have good ancient tradition that, in addition to the Acheans and Dorians, a third race, and that the Pelasgi, had once been of great power in Peloponnesus, especially in Argolis and Arcadia. These three peoples—Pelasgians, Acheans, and Dorians—are identical with those of whom one must have been the creator of the Mycenean remains of Crete. As scholars admit that it is the same race who has left those remains everywhere, it must be one of the three races who made those objects found in Crete who produced them elsewhere. But as the distinct voice of all Greek history avers that these same peoples, whom we found in Crete, once occupied positions of primary importance in Peloponnesus, the conclusion is irresistible that it was one of the same three races who produced the Mycenean remains of Peloponnesus.

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[1] Frag. 11.
[2] II. 56.
[3] I. 56.
[4] I. 146.
[5] VII. 94.
[6] VI. 137.
[7] II. 51.
[8] I. 57.
[9] 220: *καὶ Ἔφορος τὴν Πελοπόννησον δὲ Πελασγίαν φησὶν κληθῆναι.*

If then the conclusion is so strong with reference to the authorship of the Mycenean remains found in two of the most important regions where objects of that peculiar civilization are found, then there is a high probability that the same kind of remains, no matter where they are found, is the product of one of these three races. If we can then, by means of the criteria afforded us by the Greek writers, ascertain which of these three races produced the Mycenean objects found in one or more of the areas given above, we may reasonably conclude that this race is the creator of this great civilization.

We shall now work backwards from the better known to the less known. Of our three claimants for the pre-historic glories of Argolis and Laconia, the Dorian comes latest. He is the occupant of both in the classical days of Greece; behind him stands the Achean, a remnant of whose race in historical times still occupies the district of Achaia, and in the evil days of Hellas forms the Achean League, the last bright flash that came before the end. Between Dorian and Achean then must be the first combat, whilst the Pelasgian waits in the dark background of Greek history as Ephedros to fight the victor of the first bout.

The Dorian has been put forward as a candidate in the writings of Busolt and Pöhlmann, but the weight of evidence is certainly against him[1]. The general view has been that he it was who swept away that old civilization so clearly limned for us in Homer. This view seems the true one. We have a clear picture of the habits of life of the Spartans, who were the foremost in power of the Dorians in historic times. To attribute the building of great Cyclopean walls to a people whose boast it was to live in a town of unwalled villages, and who were so notoriously incompetent in the conduct of siege operations, would indeed be ridiculous: and we see that the Dorians of

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[1] Cf. Schuchhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

Argolis never occupied in historical times the great fortresses of Mycenae and Tiryns. It would be no less absurd to ascribe the beautiful works in gold, silver, bronze, pottery and ivory from the graves of Mycenae to a rude and barbarous race, by whose constitution the use of the precious metals was forbidden and who in their manner of life are still a proverb for homely simplicity. Though the Acheans of the Homeric poems are in the early Iron Age and are using iron freely for all the purposes of life, yet bronze is much employed. With the Dorians who conquered the Acheans iron is almost the only metal in use. Not even money of bronze was used in Sparta, but only bars of iron. How can we reasonably suppose such a people to have built the acropolis tombs of Mycenae, where not a scrap of iron has been discovered? If necessary the geographical argument might be used, but it will be sufficient if I point out that there is not a jot of evidence that the Dorians ever occupied the Troad, where Mycenean remains have been found in quantity. The claims of the Dorian must give way before those of the Achean, who is portrayed in the Homeric poems as dwelling surrounded with costly articles of gold, silver, bronze and ivory. The race who lived in royal splendour must certainly be preferred as claimants to that under whose domination Mycenae was only the dwelling-place of the owl and the bat, or at most the stall of shepherds or the fastness of revolted serfs.

The final struggle now comes between the victorious Achean and the Pelasgian Ephedros. Before we enter on this stage of the investigation it will be advisable to rehearse the conditions of the problem. We want a race, (1) who can be shown by Greek history and legend to have from the earliest period occupied the various localities in which Mycenean remains have been found; (2) a race, whose civilization as set forth in the ancient writers coincides with that unveiled at Mycenae, or at least does not differ from it; (3) who used a form of pictographic writing in Crete, Attica and Peloponnesus similar to that in use on the so-called Hittite seals found in Asia Minor and to the Cyprian syllabary. In reference to the first condition, it will be admitted that if we find Mycenean remains in any area which the unanimous witness of antiquity declares was never occupied by the one race, but was occupied by the other, the latter race has a superior claim. If we find this taking place not in one but in two or more areas, the claim becomes irresistible. With regard to the second condition, that of civilization, it will be admitted that if the civilization of the Acheans as exhibited in Homer is found to differ materially from that of pre-historic Mycenae, the latter must be regarded as belonging to the older race. For what we have already arrived at in the case of the Dorians forbids us from considering the Mycenean civilization of a later age than that of the Homeric Acheans.

Let us now take the various regions in which Mycenean remains have been found in the order in which we enumerated them above; discussing briefly the historical evidence for the occupation of each by Acheans and Pelasgians.

PELOPONNESUS.

Greek traditions with one accord declare that Peloponnesus was inhabited in the earliest times by the Pelasgians. I have already quoted a statement of Ephorus that Peloponnesus was called Pelasgia. That historian wrote in the 4th century B.C., but he drew his information from very ancient sources, the old genealogers such as Hesiod. As Strabo gives a summary to which I have already referred of the salient features of the traditions respecting the Pelasgi, and as the statements of the older Greek writers embodied in it show unmistakably that Peloponnesus was a chief seat of the Pelasgian race, I shall give it *in extenso*:—

"That the Pelasgians were an ancient tribe holding a leading position over all Hellas, and especially among the Aeolians who occupied Thessaly, all are agreed. But Ephorus states that he thinks that being originally from Arcadia they chose a military life, and having persuaded many others to the same course they shared their name with all, and acquired wide renown both among the Hellenes and among all the others, wherever they happened to come. For as a matter of fact they became colonists of Crete, as Homer states. For example Odysseus says to Penelope—

> ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα μεμιγμένη· ἐν μὲν Ἀχαιοί,
> ἐν δ' Ἐτεόκρητες μεγαλήτορες, ἐν δὲ Κύδωνες,
> Δωριέες τε τριχάϊκες, δῖοί τε Πελασγοί,

and Thessaly is called the Pelasgian Argos, the part that lies between the mouths of the Peneius and Thermopylae as far as the mountain district that lies along Pindus on account of the Pelasgians formerly having ruled over these parts, and the poet himself applies the name Pelasgic to the Dodonaean Zeus—

> Ζεῦ ἄνα Δωδωναῖε Πελασγικέ.

Many have likewise asserted that the nations of Epirus are Pelasgian, because the dominion of the Pelasgians extended so far. And as many of the heroes have been named Pelasgi, later writers have applied that name to the nations over which they were the chiefs. For as a matter of fact they spoke of Lesbos as Pelasgia, and Homer calls the Pelasgians the neighbours of the Cilicians in the Troad—

> Ἱππόθοος δ' ἄγε φῦλα Πελασγῶν ἐγχεσιμώρων,
> τῶν οἳ Λάρισαν ἐριβώλακα ναιετάασκον.

Hesiod was Ephorus' source for the doctrine that their origin was from Arcadia. For he says:—

> υἱέες ἐξεγένοντο Λυκάονος ἀντιθέοιο,
> ὅν ποτε τίκτε Πελασγός,

but Aeschylus in his *Suppliants* and his *Danaides* says their race is from Argos that lies round Mycenae; and again Euripides says that Peloponnesus was called Pelasgia, and again in his *Archelaus* says:—

> Δαναὸς ὁ πεντήκοντα θυγατέρων πατὴρ
> ἐλθὼν ἐς Ἄργος ᾤκισ' Ἰνάχου πόλιν,
> Πελασγιώτας δ' ὠνομασμένους τὸ πρὶν
> Δαναοὺς καλεῖσθαι νόμον ἔθηκ' ἀν' Ἑλλάδα.

Anticleides states that they were the first to settle the regions round Lemnos and Imbros, and further that some of these along with Tyrrhenus the son of Atys set out into Italy, and the writers of the *Atthis* relate that the Pelasgians were at Athens also, and that owing to their being wanderers, and roaming about like birds to whatever places they chanced to come, they were called Pelargi (Storks) by the people of Attica."

The statements here given from Hesiod, Aeschylus, Euripides and Ephorus point clearly to an extensive occupation of Peloponnesus, and that very part too where Mycenean remains are especially common. Their evidence may be supplemented by that of Herodotus who states that the Ionians were the descendants of the Pelasgians, the ancient inhabitants of Peloponnesus, who had been overpowered by the Acheans[1]. This statement is accepted as probably true by most modern writers[2]. There cannot be much doubt that if the Pelasgians ruled the district lying around Mycenae, it must have been prior to the Achean occupation of the same region. For there can be no reasonable doubt that the Dorians found the Acheans as the rulers of Argolis and Laconia. The short extract given from Strabo can be greatly amplified from other Greek sources, and the legends of the Acheans themselves in every case presuppose the existence in Peloponnesus of ancient and powerful cities only recently acquired by the Acheans, and also of entire regions still unconquered, occupied as in the case of Arcadia by the old inhabitants. This can be best shown as we discuss the early history of each of the districts in which Mycenean remains have been discovered. The accounts of the Tragic poets, Hesiod, Herodotus, and Ephorus, are quite in accord with the knowledge afforded us by Homer. It is the glories of the sons of the Acheans that are sung in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and it is from these poems that we reconstruct our picture of the Achean civilization. But if we hearken to what these epics tell us of the Acheans, we must give equal heed to what they tell us of a prior age, and people into whose heritage the Acheans entered and to whose civilization they were assimilated.

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[1] I. 145.

[2] So Dr Leaf, *Homer, Iliad*, Bks. I.—XII., p. xi. note.

ARGOLIS.

Let us hear tradition concerning the beginnings of Argolis.

"It was Phoroneus son of Inachus that first brought mankind together; for hitherto they had lived scattered and solitary. And the place where they first assembled was named the city of Phoronicum. Argos, the son of Phoroneus' daughter, reigned after Phoroneus, and gave his name to the district. Argos begat Pirasus and Phorbas, Phorbas begat Triopas, and Triopas begat Iasus and Agenor. Io, the daughter of Iasus, went to Egypt, either in the way that Herodotus states, or in the way commonly alleged by the Greeks. Iasus was succeeded on the throne by Crotopus, son of Agenor, and Crotopus had a son Sthenelas. But Danaus sailed from Egypt against Gelanor, son of Sthenelas, and he deposed the house of Agenor." Lynceus on the death of Danaus came to the throne. He had a son called Abas, and Abas was the father of Acrisius and Proetus. Acrisius had a daughter Danae, and she became mother of Perseus. Proetus had a son Megapenthes[1].

In all this there is not the slightest hint of any Achean element. On the other hand we find evidence in Homer that Argolis had but recently come under a new domination. Let us now take the great towns individually.

Mycenae. The seat of Agamemnon, 'king of men,' was not an ancient inheritance of the dynasty of the Pelopidae. Atreus, the father of Agamemnon and Menelaus, was the first of his race who reigned there. Thucydides gives us most definite information on the point:—

"It is said too by those of the Peloponnesians who have received the most certain accounts by tradition from their forefathers, that Pelops first acquired power by the abundance of riches with which he came from Asia to men who were needy, and, although a newcomer, gave his name to the country; and that afterwards still greater power fell to the lot of his descendants, as Eurystheus was killed in Attica by the Heraclidae, and Atreus was his mother's brother, and Eurystheus, when joining in the expedition, entrusted Mycenae and the government to Atreus on the ground of their connection (he happened to be flying from his father on account of the death of Chrysippus); and when Eurystheus did not return again they say that at the wish of the Myceneans themselves through their fear of the Heraclidae, and also because he appeared to be powerful and had courted the commons, Atreus received the kingdom of the Myceneans and all that Eurystheus ruled over; and that thus the descendants of Pelops became greater than the descendants of Perseus[1]."

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[1] Paus. II. 15, 5—16, 3.

In any case the dynasty only began with Pelops, the father of Atreus, and therefore its rule at Mycenae must have begun at the utmost only two generations before the date represented in the Homeric poems. There is no contradiction in Homer of the belief of Aeschylus that another and very ancient people had held the country round Mycenae. It was one of the three cities held expressly dear by Hera[2].

But it is also one of the towns called 'rich in gold' (πολύχρυσος) in Homer, the other two being Ilios and Orchomenos in Boeotia, called the 'Minyan.' The latter cities were both of ancient prosperity, and it is on the whole more probable that Mycenae is called by a similar name because it was likewise famous for its long continued wealth and splendour, and not because it had suddenly sprung up under one or two reigns. The legends fully confirm this, for the walls of Mycenae are ascribed to the same Cyclopes who built those of Tiryns for king Proetus, but Proetus was certainly not Achean, as we shall see very shortly. Thus Euripides[3] speaks of them as the work of the Cyclopes. Pausanias saw at Mycenae the "subterranean buildings of the sons of Atreus, where they hid the treasures of their wealth. There is likewise the grave of Atreus, and the graves of all those who after their return from Ilios along with Agamemnon Aegisthus feasted and then murdered"; he saw also those of Cassandra and her twin sons that she bare Agamemnon, and that of his charioteer[4]. But though Greek tradition linked with the names of Atreus and Agamemnon the graves of the Acropolis of Mycenae, and the beehive tombs outside, nevertheless the foundation of the great walls and the Lion gateway, in spite of all the temptation there was to connect them likewise with the Atreidae, were ascribed to an older time and race. Thus Pausanias[1] says, "that Perseus was the founder of Mycenae is known to all the Greeks." The hero on his return home after accidentally killing, with his quoit, his grandfather Acrisius, constrained Megapenthes, son of Proetus, to exchange kingdoms with him, and thereupon built Mycenae. Again Pausanias, after mentioning the final overthrow of the city by the Argives in 468 B.C., says "nevertheless there still remain both other portions of the surrounding wall, and the gate, and on it stand lions. But they say that these likewise are works of the Cyclopes, who constructed for Proetus the wall at Tiryns."

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[1] I. 9.

[2] *Il.* IV. 51—2.

[3] *Iph. Aul.* 1500.

[4] II. 16, 5.

Tiryns. When we come to this famous fortress, we can get more definite statements about it and its foundation and mythical history than respecting the earliest days of Mycenae.

In Homeric times it is but of little political importance. No chieftain of any note comes from it. Once only is it named, and that with a number of the lesser towns of Argolis, which sent contingents to Troy[2]. But in that place we find it already renowned for its great walls, which Pausanias said might be compared to the pyramids of Egypt for their marvellous size. These walls were ascribed by later tradition to king Proetus, who employed in their construction the Cyclopes from Lycia. So Pausanias has told us in the passage just quoted[3].

The story of Proetus is no figment of the late Greek writers, any more than is the tradition of Cyclopean workmen. But whilst the latter is sanctified by Pindar[4], who speaks of the *Κυκλώπια πρόθυρα* of Tiryns, and by Euripides in the *Hercules Furens*[5], the name of Proetus meets us in one of the most famous passages in Homer as the husband of the wicked Stheneboea, who, having in vain tempted Bellerophon, falsely accused him to her husband. Proetus was a righteous man, and shrank from the pollution of slaying Bellerophon, so he sent him to his father-in-law, the king of Lycia, having given him those σήματα λυγρά, inscribed in a folded tablet, around which controversy has so often raged, and to which we shall presently return (p. 210).

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[1] II. 15, 4.

[2] *Il.* II. 559.

[3] *Cf.* Strabo 373.

[4] Fragment 151.

[5] *Herc. Fur.* 495.

Proetus was brother of Acrisius, father of Danae. "The sons of Abas son of Lynceus divided the kingdom. Acrisius remained at Argos, but Proetus got possession of the Heraeum and Midea, and Tiryns, and all the seaboard of the Argive land, and there are marks of the settlement of Proetus at Tiryns."

The Lynceus from whom Proetus was descended was that single one of the sons of Aegyptus who escaped the murderous hands of the daughters of Danaus through the tender-heartedness of the 'splendide mendax' Hypermnestra. The story is too well known to need repetition here.

Io, daughter of Iasus of Argos, whether she finally reached Egypt by a series of overland journeys, according to the version of the legend given by Aeschylus, or, as Herodotus states[1], by sea, there gave birth to Epaphus 'the swarthy,'—ὁ Δῖος πόρτις βοός.

Danaus and Aegyptus were the descendants of Epaphus (p. 217). They quarrelled. Danaus was the weaker and determined to return to Argos, the original home of his race. On his way back to Greece he put into Rhodes, and there set up the idol of Athena at Lindus. He and his daughters finally reached Argolis, pursued by the sons of Aegyptus who wished to obtain their cousins in wedlock, as set forth in the *Suppliants* of Aeschylus. Danaus and his daughters claim protection from the king of Argos on the plea that they are his kindred. This monarch is named Pelasgus by Aeschylus, and Argos is called by the dramatist a city of the Pelasgians. According then to Greek tradition of a very early date these refugees from Egypt were of the old Pelasgian race, and there is not a single trace of any connection between the Acheans and Tiryns and Argolis in this early stratum of legend. Proetus therefore is a descendant of Io, and one of that ancient Pelasgic race who, according to Aeschylus, reigned in Argos, that Argos that lay around Mycenae. The term Argos has given rise to much confusion, and at this point a few words on this subject will not be out of place. In Homer Argos regularly means (1) the whole region which we commonly term Argolis. This is evident from various passages such as *Il.* VI. 153, and *Od.* III. 263; Aegisthus at Mycenae is spoken of thus: ὁ δ' εὔκηλος μυχῷ Ἄργεος ἱπποβότοιο. (2) Argos is used of a city, the city called Argos in historical times. It was probably the oldest site in Argolis, perhaps that once called Phoronicum. For Hera names Argos first of the three cities which are most dear to her.

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[1] I. 2.

The Argos so beloved ought to be a place of great antiquity; however, at Argos, up to the present, no Mycenean objects have been found. It is not unlikely that the Argos of later times was called Larisa originally, for the acropolis always retained that name[1]. In that case the old Phoronicum was probably situated at the Heraeum. There was also a shrine at the historical Argos of Demeter Pelasgis. This connects Argos with the Pelasgians. The confusion between Mycenae and the district in which it was situated was easy, and after the downfall of Mycenae and the rise of the new Argos of the Dorian period, the dramatic writers usually spoke of Mycenae as Argos. If we sum up the results of the traditional accounts of Argolis, they are as follows: (1) there was an ancient autochthonous race; (2) this race were the builders of Tiryns and Mycenae; (3) Tiryns arrived at its political zenith under Proetus; (4) it was only in the time of Megapenthes, son of Proetus, that Tiryns lost the headship of Argolis, which now shifted to Mycenae, when the latter reached its highest pitch of splendour under Perseus and his descendants; (5) towards the close of this dynasty the Acheans entered Peloponnesus; (6) there was an intermarriage between the house of Perseus and that of Pelops; and (7) on the death of Eurystheus, the last Perseid king, Mycenae and Argolis passed over to the new Achean dynasty, who held it till the coming of the Dorians, when Argos became the capital of Argolis.

We saw (p. 3) that while the walls of Tiryns show only Cyclopean masonry, those of Mycenae exhibit also the polygonal and ashlar styles. The former is universally and the latter is generally admitted to be later than the Cyclopean. Thus the archaeological evidence confirms the tradition that the great days of Tiryns were anterior to those of Mycenae.

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[1] Paus. II. 24, 1.

Nauplia. This was the ancient seaport of Argolis. It stood twelve stades distant from Tiryns. Here, as we saw, Mycenean remains including examples of the pre-Phoenician script have been found. Its founder was Nauplius, son of Poseidon and Amymone; he was therefore an autochthon; Palamedes was his son. The latter was the inventor of writing, according to a Greek tradition up to the present treated with the same scepticism with which the story of Cadmus being the introducer of the Phoenician letters into Greece was received until our own generation, when increased knowledge has shown the statement to be intrinsically true. When we deal with the question of Mycenean pictographs, we shall return to him (p. 211).

According to Pausanias, Danaus planted an Egyptian colony there. In historic times the city still kept apart from the rest of Argolis, and it was only at a later period that it became the port of Argos. It continued long to be a member of that very ancient amphictyony which worshipped Poseidon at Calauria. We shall find Nauplius in close relations with the Pelasgian kings of Tegea, engaged in trading to Mysia and north-western Asia Minor. Once more the Greek tradition points clearly to a pre-Achean history for Nauplia.

The Heraeum and **Midea.** In a passage already quoted Pausanias[1] tells us that Proetus obtained the Heraeum, Midea and Tiryns as his share. In another passage[2] he tells us that Proetus built a temple of Hera; "after coming to Sicyon from Titane and as you pass down to the sea, there is a temple of Hera, and they say that the founder was Proetus the son of Abas." Proetus is thus associated with the building of Hera-shrines, and also possessed the Heraeum. Pausanias, embodying the beliefs of the Greeks, believed that the Heraeum belonged to the pre-Achean time. In that case we may well regard the early remains found at the Heraeum and

[1] II. 16, 2.

[2] II. 12, 2.

the accompanying Egyptian scarabs as going back to a period when the Acheans had not yet set foot in the Peloponnesus.

Even if we had not the evidence of Homer for the existence of Proetus and Perseus, we might nevertheless place considerable confidence in the native traditions. For in the Heraeum we have an immemorial shrine, where the continuity of religious cult and tradition remained unbroken, no matter who was the master of Argolis. Hence it was that the Argive chronology was computed according to the year of the consecration of the priestess of Hera[1]. The historian Hellanicus (480—395 B.C.) wrote a history of the priestesses of the Argive Hera, which must have been of great importance for Greek chronology. The statues of the priestesses which seem to have been set up in the lifetime of each stood in front of the temple[2], and thus served to check the accuracy of written or oral tradition. Evidently much importance was attached to these statues, for Pausanias[3] tells us that although the temple had been burned down (423 B.C.) through the negligence of Chrysis (or Chryseis) yet "in spite of this great calamity the Argives did not take down the statue of Chryseis, and it still stands in front of the burnt temple."

In the temple there would have been the dedications of many generations, and these memorials remained as the permanent records of a long past until destroyed by fire. But prior to that mishap Hellanicus had compiled his history of the priestesses, and the tradition was therefore uninjured.

The Heraeum records must have existed for many generations before Hellanicus compiled his work in the fifth century B.C., and they would thus extend back far before the coming of either Dorian or Achean to the days of Proetus of Tiryns. Later on we shall discuss at greater length the value of temple and priestly tradition.

There are some grounds for thinking that the oldest approach to the Heraeum was from the south-east, that is from the direction of Tiryns, the capital of Proetus.

But as we saw, the walls of Tiryns are entirely of the strictly Cyclopean masonry of which the oldest parts of the wall of Mycenae are constructed. It is therefore inferred with good reason that the wall of Tiryns is older than that of Mycenae. We may certainly say that as it does not show the two later styles of masonry which are seen at Mycenae, it did not undergo any such modifications of architecture as were effected at Mycenae, and that therefore the political energy of Tiryns had run its course before the ashlar and polygonal styles had come into use.

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[1] Thuc. II. 2.

[2] Paus. II. 17, 3.

[3] II. 17, 7.

The evidence therefore, which is afforded by the different avenues to the Heraeum, and the styles of architecture still visible at Tiryns and Mycenae, is in strict agreement with the history of Argolis contained in tradition.

Epidaurus. The legends give us little about this town. Its eponymous hero was Epidaurus, but "who dwelt in the country before Epidaurus came," Pausanias knew not: "the natives could not inform me who were the descendants of Epidaurus. They say, however, that the last king who reigned over them before the Dorians came into Peloponnesus was Pityreus, a descendant of Ion, the son of Xuthus. He, they say, surrendered the land to Deiphontes and the Argives without striking a blow, and retired with his people to Athens, where he settled (pp. 187, 650)[1]. "According to the Eleans Epidaurus was a son of Pelops; but according to the Argives and the epic called the *Great Eoeae* the father of Epidaurus was Argos the son of Zeus, but the Epidaurians father Epidaurus on Apollo."

The paucity of tradition in the case of this town is probably due to the departure of the old population. The Dorian settlers would not have the local traditions, and hence the many conflicting stories about Epidaurus. However it is remarkable that the pre-Dorian dynasty traced their descent from Ion, the eponymous hero of the Iones, who, as has been already shown, were the descendants of the Pelasgians of the Peloponnesus.

But as in some accounts Ion is made the son of Xuthus son of Achaeus, we cannot say that the legendary history points solely to a Pelasgian dynasty at Epidaurus.

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[1] Paus. II. 26, 2—3.

Asine. The people of Asine were Dryopians, and according to Pausanias[1] they were "the only people of the stock of the Dryopians who still pride themselves on the name." These Dryopians had passed into Peloponnesus from Parnassus. The Dryopes had once dwelt in Dryopis, a district of what was in later times Doris, and lay between Melis and Phocis. The Dorians conquered it, and it was from this new home that later on the Dorians started to invade Peloponnesus. Herodotus[2] says that the Dryopians had been driven from their ancient home by Heracles and the Melians. There therefore can be little doubt that the Dryopians of Asine and Hermione were not Dorians nor Acheans, but belonged to the older race, to which also belonged the people of Styra in Euboea, who according to Pausanias[3] were also Dryopians although they were ashamed to call themselves by that name. This statement is an instructive example of the manner in which ancient ethnic and racial names pass into desuetude, a practice which we must presently treat at greater length.

Corinth. This famous city had in its early days been known as Ephyra. As such it meets us in Homer when Glaucus recites his pedigree to Diomede:—"there is a city Ephyra in the recess of steed-nourishing Argos; there dwelt Sisyphus. Sisyphus had a son Glaucus, who begat Bellerophon[4]." Pausanias[5] says:—"Like every attentive reader of Homer, I am persuaded that Bellerophon was not an independent monarch, but a vassal of Proetus, king of Argos. Even after Bellerophon had migrated to Lycia, the Corinthians are known to have been still subject to the lords of Argos or Mycenae."

Pausanias also points out that in the "army which attacked Troy, the Corinthian contingent was not commanded by a general of its own, but was brigaded with the Mycenean and other troops commanded by Agamemnon. But Sisyphus had another son by name Ornytion. This Ornytion had a son Phocus who was fathered on Poseidon. This man migrated to Tithorea in Phocis, but Thoas his younger brother abode in

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[1] IV. 34, 11.

[2] VIII. 43.

[3] IV. 34, 11.

[4] *Il.* VI. 152—4.

[5] II. 4, 2.

Corinth. He begat Damophon, and Damophon begat Propodas, and Propodas begat Doridas and Hyanthidas." In the reign of these last two kings the Dorians marched against Corinth.

This succession of kings shows not a trace of any Achean dynasty at Corinth. The story points to the conclusion that on the Achean conquest the chiefs of Corinth submitted to the conquerors and were allowed to retain their ancient heritage as vassals of Mycenae under its new dynasty as they had been under its old.

This conclusion is supported by the early history of the neighbouring district of Sicyon, which was ruled by chiefs of the same royal line as those of Corinth and Attica. Pausanias gives the complete list from Aegialeus the first inhabitant, whom the Sicyonians declared to be an aboriginal. His son was Europs, who begat Telchis, who begat Apis. "This Apis grew so powerful before Pelops came to Olympia that all the country south of the isthmus was called Apia after him." Apis begat Thelxion, who begat Aegyrus, who begat Thurimachus, who begat Leucippus, who had a daughter Calchinia. She had by Poseidon a son Peratus, who succeeded his grandfather; Peratus begat Plemnaeus, who begat Orthopolis, who had a daughter Chrysorthe, who bore to Apollo a child called Coronus; he begat Corax and Lamedon; Corax died childless, and Epopeus, who had come from Thessaly, usurped the kingdom, but on his death Lamedon regained it.

Lamedon married Pheno daughter of the Athenian Clytius. "Afterwards having gone to war with Archander and Architeles, sons of Achaeus, he induced Sicyon to come from Attica and fight for him, and gave him his daughter Zeuxippe to wife." Sicyon succeeded Lamedon, and the city was named after him. Sicyon was said to be son of Metion son of Erechtheus. Hesiod says that he was a son of Erechtheus, but Ibycus says that he was a son of Pelops. Sicyon had a daughter Chthonophyle, who (they say) bore a son Polybus to Hermes. He gave his daughter Lysianassa in marriage to the king of Argos, Talaos the son of Bias; and when Adrastus fled from Argos, he came to Polybus at Sicyon; when Polybus died, Adrastus sat on the throne of Sicyon. When the latter was restored to Argos, Ianiscus, a descendant of Clytius, the father-in-law of Lamedon, came from Attica and became king. On the death of the latter Phaestus, who was said to have been one of the sons of Heracles, reigned in his stead; but when Phaestus in obedience to an oracle migrated to Crete, Zeuxippus, son of Apollo and the nymph Syllis, is said to have succeeded to the throne. After the death of Zeuxippus Agamemnon led an army against Sicyon, and against its king Hippolytus, son of Rhopalus, son of Phaestus. Alarmed at the advance of the army Hippolytus agreed to be subject to Agamemnon and to Mycenae. This Hippolytus was the father of Lacestades. But Phalces son of Temenus, with his Dorians, seized Sicyon by night; however, as Lacestades was also an Heracleid, Phalces did him no hurt, and shared the government with him. "From that time the Sicyonians became Dorians and formed part of Argolis[1]."

In all this native tradition there is no trace of an Achean dynasty having reigned in Sicyon, though there is a clear reference to the coming of the Acheans, by the mention of Archander and Architeles (p. 112), and in the later story that Sicyon was a son of Pelops. Sicyon had never any Achean population, but like Corinth it was a native feudatory of the Achean monarch of Mycenae.

Although a majority of the Corinthians asserted that Corinthus, their eponymous hero, was the son of Zeus, Pausanias says that nobody else ever seriously maintained this assertion[2]. In the prose history of Corinth ascribed to Eumelus, it was said that first of all Ephyra, daughter of Ocian, dwelt in this land; and that afterwards Marathon, son of Epopeus, son of Aloeus, son of the Sun, fleeing from his father, migrated to the coast of Attica, and that when Epopeus died, Marathon went to Peloponnesus, and having divided the kingdom between his two sons, Sicyon and Corinthus, returned himself to Attica, and that from Sicyon and Corinthus the districts that had been called Asopia and Ephyraea received respectively their new names.

Later on we shall see reasons for the desire of the Corinthians to claim their descent from Zeus, instead of from Poseidon, who however remained the chief male divinity of the Isthmus; from him Aloeus and Epopeus were descended, and on him at least one member of the royal house of Corinth was fathered. The consensus of tradition renders it highly probable that the earliest pre-Dorian inhabitants of Corinth were not Acheans but Pelasgians.

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[1] II. 5, 5—7, 1.

[2] II. 1, 1; *cf.* Pind. *Nem.* VII. 105.

To sum up the results of an examination of the places in Argolis where Mycenean remains have been found, we find that Mycenae has a pre-Achean origin assigned to its walls and gate the same as that assigned to Tiryns. The latter has nothing Achean associated with it. Proetus is its founder, and Pausanias connected with him the remains existing in his time. The Heraeum is linked to Proetus, and so too is Midea; and Nauplia is considered non-Achean, with a population settled there by Danaus. Corinth has a distinctly non-Achean dynasty, Asine is a seat of the very ancient non-Achean Dryopians, whilst at Epidaurus the only thing that the people knew was that their old kings were descended from Ion. The remains then found in these places must, if we allow any weight to tradition, be assigned to a people who preceded the Acheans. This people the Greeks knew as Pelasgians.

The evidence from ancient statements as regards the relative importance of Argos, Mycenae, and Tiryns, is clear. Argos became the centre of political life after the Dorian conquest. In the period of the Achean domination beyond doubt Mycenae was the seat of Atreus and of his son Agamemnon, who 'over many islands and all Argos ruled.' But even before the coming of the Pelopidae and the Acheans Mycenae was apparently the political head of Argolis, for it was there that Eurystheus, the last of the Perseid kings, had his capital. At that time Tiryns seems to have occupied only a secondary place, but according to the legends at no long time previously Tiryns was the most important city in Argolis. This is shown by the story of Proetus, who was, as we have seen, brother of Acrisius, and thus uncle of Danae, and grand-uncle of Perseus. The great walls and palace are ascribed to Proetus and the Cyclopean artificers whom he brought from Lycia. According to Pausanias Proetus was the more powerful of the two brothers, for whilst Acrisius had only Argos, Proetus had the seaboard, Midea, and also the Heraeum. The pre-eminence of Tiryns at this date is proved by the fact that its sovereign had possession of the great fane of Argolis. The rise of Mycenae is attributed to Perseus by the legends, and this is confirmed by Homer. For, as we have just seen, by the time when the *Iliad* was composed, Tiryns had lost her position and had sunk into political insignificance.

Let us now turn to Prof. Waldstein's excavations, and see if the statements of tradition are confirmed or disproved by the archaeological facts.

He holds that there is some evidence for believing that the most ancient approach to the Heraeum was from the side that looks towards Tiryns, whilst the later road was from the side of Mycenae; the latter in turn was superseded in historical days by the great approach from the side facing Argos, the centre of political life under the Dorians.

It was natural that the Heraeum should belong to whatever Argolic city was dominant at the time, for the immemorial shrine of the Argive Hera was a possession of supreme importance.

At this stage it may be well to consider how far the traditional chronology may agree with or differ from that which we have inferred from the monumental evidence.

According to the traditions the palmy days of Mycenae must be assigned to the reign of Perseus and his line. Perseus by Andromeda had Electryon, Alcaeus, Sthenelus, and Gorgophone. Electryon succeeded his father, married Anaxo, daughter of his brother Alcaeus, and begat Alcmene, the mother of Heracles, whose son Tlepolemus took part in the Trojan war. Sthenelus succeeded his brother Electryon, and he was succeeded by his son Eurystheus, the oppressor of Heracles. On his death Atreus the son of Pelops is chosen king. Gorgophone daughter of Perseus was mother of Tyndareus, the last of the old line of Sparta, and father of Helen and Clytemnestra. By all the lines of descent here given Perseus lived four generations before the Trojan war, which is set at

1184 B.C. Perseus therefore flourished about 1300 B.C. But he had overthrown Megapenthes, the son and successor of Proetus king of Tiryns, whose *floruit* may therefore be placed about 1350 B.C. Proetus was third in descent from Danaus, whose date therefore falls about 1450 B.C.

Again, the evidence derived from the Egyptian sources indicates that the fully developed Mycenean period coincides with that of the XVIIIth Dynasty (1500—1100 B.C.). But the coming of Danaus and the Achean conquest both fall within this period. The traditional chronology therefore coincides in a remarkable degree with that of the pure archaeologists, who have arrived at their conclusion independently of all tradition, which most of them hold in utter contempt.

That the date assigned to the expedition known as the siege of Troy cannot be much later than 1184 B.C. is rendered probable by the fact that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* show no knowledge of the Dorian invasion, or of any Greek colonies in Ionia, for Miletus, which was in later days to be the queen of Ionia in the Catalogue of Ships, is still a city of the 'barbarous-speaking Carians.' Again, there is no trace of any Achean settlements in Italy or Sicily. In the face of these considerations it is hard to place the composition of the two great epics later than 1000 B.C. But the poems often indicate that the siege of Troy had taken place several generations earlier, and accordingly the great deeds of Achilles and Diomedes and Odysseus must be set in the twelfth century B.C.

It seems then as if we must not lightly discard the traditional chronology of early Greece.

LACONIA.

In the *Odyssey* we find Menelaus, the son of Atreus, dwelling at Sparta in a house of great splendour, adorned with gold, silver, ivory and amber. The current idea of an Achean palace is made up from this palace at Sparta, that of Alcinous the Phaeacian, and that of Odysseus at Ithaca. The frieze adorned with blue glass from the palace at Tiryns is compared to that in the house of Alcinous. But are we justified in considering the Spartan or the Phaeacian palace Achean? Menelaus occupies that at Sparta in virtue of his marriage with Helen, the daughter of Tyndareus. There was a very ancient dynasty there of which Tyndareus was the last king. This dynasty can be shown from the ancient pedigrees to be not Achean.

That the ancient genealogies may be used for questions of race was the opinion of Niebuhr. Such pedigrees can be easily remembered and transmitted, as amongst the chieftain families of all countries they are held of supreme importance. If Homer is sufficient as a witness, it was so in early Greece. There are constant recitations of pedigrees in the Poems; and further, that such were part of the lore imparted by the elders to the younger, is shown by the words of Nestor, who tells how Tydeus had discoursed to him—

πάντων Ἀργείων ἐρέων γενεήν τε τόκον τε[1].

We may therefore reasonably take as a fair piece of evidence for race the pedigree of Tyndareus. He was the son of Oebalus and Gorgophone. Gorgophone was the daughter of Perseus, who was the son of Danae, who was the daughter of Acrisius, whose Pelasgian pedigree we have already proved. Oebalus was the son of Cynortas, who was the son of Amyclas, who was the son of Lacedaemon, who was the son of Zeus. Tyndareus is thus descended on the father's side from the autochthonous founders of Lacedaemon and Amyclae without any suspicion of any strain of the blood of the new Acheans, the sons of Xuthus, the son of Hellen, that king of Thessaly from whom the Acheans traced their descent.

We may therefore reasonably conclude that the palace at Sparta occupied by Menelaus and Helen, where Telemachus visited them, was the ancient residence of Tyndareus and the old kings of Sparta. That it was more splendid than the usual residence of an Achean chief is certain from the words in which the poet describes the wonder and admiration that filled Telemachus and his comrade Nestor's son.

If it be said that it was because of the great wealth and rich store of gifts brought back by Menelaus from his wanderings that the two young princes were lost in admiration at the embellishments of gold, silver, ivory and amber, our answer is ready. Such palaces were known elsewhere in Homer's world. The palace of Alcinous is indeed splendid, with its four pillars round the great hearth in the centre of the Megaron, and its frieze of blue glass (*θριγκὸς κυάνοιο*). But the Phaeacians are certainly not Acheans. They build with huge stones which have to be dragged (*ῥυτοὶ λίθοι*). This fact seems to link their architecture to the Cyclopean masonry of Mycenae and Tiryns[1]. But we shall have to return to them later on.

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[1] *Il.* VII. 128.

Now if we take the house of Odysseus as the type of the Achean chieftain's palace, how different is it from that of Menelaus and Alcinous! There is no sumptuous adornment of cyanus or amber or ivory. The most elaborate article in it is the great bedstead formed out of an olive tree, and carved by Odysseus himself, which was built into his bedchamber. The stage of art is totally different in each, if we contrast the sumptuous decoration of Spartan and Phaeacian chambers with the wood-carving of the other. Moreover, the incorporation of a living tree into the structure of the house recalls the primitive house-building of the tribes of upper Europe, such as the Argippaeans, who in winter reared a wigwam round the great trees under which they always dwelt[2].

There is also another curious piece of evidence which indicates that the Acheans are but new-comers in Laconia. Menelaus tells Telemachus that his desire has been to bring Odysseus from Ithaca with all his folk, and to settle him near himself, after having laid waste for this purpose some neighbouring city—

μίαν πόλιν ἐξαλαπάξας
αἳ περιναιετάουσι, ϝανάσσονται δ' ἐμοὶ αὐτῷ[3].

It cannot be meant that Menelaus would destroy a free Achean town, occupied by his own followers; but if there was an older population, lately half subdued, yielding a sullen homage, and always a source of danger, we can well understand the desire of Menelaus to bring in Achean chiefs with their followers to occupy and garrison the country. The evidence then points in favour of an older race of great power and civilization in Sparta before the Acheans got possession.

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[1] *Od.* vi. 267.
[2] Herod. iv. 23.
[3] *Od.* iv. 176.

We have now seen the positive evidence from Homer and the Greek traditions as given by Aeschylus and others for the existence of a pre-Achean race in Peloponnesus, a race which Aeschylus knew as the Pelasgians. Let us now see how far this is compatible with the legends which embody the earliest history of the Acheans and their first entry into the Peloponnesus. Achaeus, the eponymous hero of the race, was the son of Xuthus, the son of Hellen, the son of Deucalion, king of Thessaly[1]. Achaeus however in some stories appears with very different parentage and accompaniments. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus[2], Achaeus, Phthius, and Pelasgus are sons of Poseidon and Larisa. They migrate from Peloponnesus into Thessaly and distribute the Thessalian territory between them, giving their names to the principal divisions. Their descendants six generations later were driven out of Thessaly by Deucalion.

This was, says Grote, "to provide an Eponymus for the Acheans in the southern districts of Thessaly." Pausanias accomplishes the same object by a different means, representing Achaeus, the son of Xuthus, as having gone back to Thessaly and occupied the portion of it to which his father was entitled. Then, by way of explaining how it was that there were Acheans at Sparta and not at Argos, he tells us that Archander and Architeles, the sons of Achaeus, came from Thessaly to Peloponnesus and married two daughters of Danaus. They acquired great influence at Argos and Sparta, and gave to the people the name of Acheans.

Herodotus[3] also mentions Archander, son of Phthius and grandson of Achaeus, who married the daughter of Danaus.

Strabo, following Ephorus, says that "the Achaean

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[1] Paus. VII. 1, 1—8.

[2] I. 17. Larisa as mother indicates that they came from Larisa in Argos.

[3] II. 98.

Phthiotae, who with Pelops made an irruption into Peloponnesus, settled in Laconia, and were so much distinguished for their valour that Peloponnesus, which for a long period up to this time had the name of Argos, was called Achean Argos; and not Peloponnesus only, but Laconia also, was thus peculiarly designated. From Laconia the Acheans were driven out by the Dorians, and went and settled in what was known as Achaea properly so called, expelling the Ionians therefrom[1]."

Here then we have the Greek traditions respecting the coming of the Acheans into Peloponnesus. These stand out distinct in themselves from any of the statements about the Pelasgians, and therefore embody a different line of evidence. Does this harmonize with or does it contradict the statements of Hesiod, Aeschylus, and Ephorus about the Pelasgian occupation of Peloponnesus? It plainly supports them. For Herodotus makes Archander the Achean marry a daughter of Danaus, a statement in which he is supported by Pausanias, although there is a slight variant in the pedigree, Herodotus making Archander son of Phthius and grandson of Achaeus, whereas Pausanias makes Achaeus and Phthius brothers. Yet in either case the story assumes that there was an ancient race of great importance of which Danaus was king, in full possession of Argolis and Sparta. The story told by Strabo of the coming of the Acheans under the leadership of Pelops makes a similar assumption, for if there is any story in Greek legend which keeps to one positive version, it is that Pelops the Phrygian was a late comer into Peloponnesus, where he found ancient dynasties in full sway, and that he gained his kingdom by marrying Hippodamia, the daughter of Oenomaus. We have seen above how his son Atreus got the throne of Mycenae and supplanted the ancient Perseid line, and how his grandson Menelaus, by marrying Helen, the heiress of Tyndareus, gained possession of Sparta. If the sceptic point with derision to the wide difference between the story of Herodotus and Pausanias and that told by Strabo, our answer is that such different stories of the first coming of the Acheans are by no means incompatible with historical truth. Who can tell when the Saxons first entered England? One story of their coming represents Hengist and Horsa as coming in to aid the British king Vortigern against the Picts and Scots, and settling in the south of England; but on the other hand it is not at all improbable that the earliest Saxon settlements were in Northumbria. Who can tell whether the Danes who settled in Ireland first got their footing at Dublin or Waterford? The fact is that when the tide of colonizing and conquest begins to flow, different bodies of invaders make their appearance, almost simultaneously in some cases, at different points; sometimes small bodies of men seeking new homes pave the way (such as Archander and Architeles of the Achean legend), to be followed later on by far larger bodies of population.

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[1] 365.

The incoming of valiant strangers who marry the daughters of the old kingly houses is no mere figment of the Greek legend-mongers. History is full of such. Strongbow the Norman aids Dermot MacMorogh and marries his daughter Eva; and in more modern days Captain John Smith married the Indian princess Pocahontas, from whom the best families in Virginia are proud to trace their descent.

Again the story of the Phrygian Pelops leading the Acheans may raise a sneer of incredulity. But it must not be forgotten that at all times and especially in barbaric days it is the chieftain's personality which is the weightiest factor. If a man of great personal prowess arises, men of other races are quite ready to follow him. How many of the countless hordes who followed Genghis Khan were of the same race as their captain? In our own time we have seen with what readiness the Zulus were willing to follow as their chief the Englishman, John Dunn.

As the Achean legends assume the existence of an older race in Peloponnesus it will not be sufficient for the sceptic to assail our position by denying the existence of the Pelasgians in Peloponnesus on the ground that the Hesiodic genealogy is a pure fabrication[1]; he must also be prepared to cast away as utterly worthless the Achean legend, which not only falls in with the Pelasgic legend, but fits exactly into the statements of the Homeric poems.

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[1] Eduard Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

MESSENIA.

The traditional account of the earliest settlement of Messenia is as follows:—"They say that the land was once uninhabited, and that it received its first inhabitants in the following manner. Lelex reigned in the country which is now called Laconia, but which was then called after him Lelegia. When he died his elder son, Myles, succeeded to the kingdom. Polycaon was a younger son, and therefore remained in a private station, till he married an Argive wife, Messene, daughter of Triopas, son of Phorbas. Now Messene was proud for her father, for he was more illustrious and powerful than any Greek of the day; and she thought scorn that her husband should remain a private man. So they gathered together a host from Argos and Lacedaemon, and came to this country, and the whole land was named Messene after the wife of Polycaon."

Messene and her husband built their palace at Andania[1].

Tradition thus identifies the primal Messenian stock with the early Pelasgian people of Argolis and Laconia.

The Messenians therefore ought to be of the same race as the serf populations of Argolis and Laconia. Nor are we without good evidence for the connection between the Helots and Messenians, for Thucydides[2] tells us (speaking of the revolt of the Helots and certain of the Perioeci in 464 B.C.) that "most of the Helots were the descendants of the old Messenians, who were enslaved at the time with which all are acquainted, and for this reason the whole body of them were called Messenians." This is corroborated by another passage in the same historian wherein we are told that one of the reasons why Demosthenes seized Pylus and planted a garrison of Messenians from Naupactus there was that they 'spoke the same dialect as the Lacedemonians[3].'

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[1] Paus. IV. 1, 2.

[2] I. 101.

[3] IV. 3.

Pylus. In Homer the Messenians are under the rule of Nestor, the son of Neleus, who dwelt at Pylus, which under the Dorian domination was named Corphasium. But Neleus was not of the ancient royal house of Lelex and Messene, for he was an invader from Iolcus in Thessaly, a fact which seems to have had no inconsiderable bearing on the action of the mass of the people when the Dorians came.

'The old Messenian commonalty,' says Pausanias, "was not driven out by the Dorians, but submitted to be ruled by Cresphontes, and to give the Dorians a share of their land. These concessions they were induced to make by the suspicion with which they regarded their own kings, because they were by descent Minyans from Iolcus[1]."

Another passage of Pausanias[2] describing the settlement of Neleus tells us that the latter had conquered Pylus, having come with the Pelasgians from Iolcus. The territory conquered had belonged to a tribe called the Epeans, who continued to occupy a portion of their ancient land, and later when the Eleans conquered another portion of the same area, the whole district was known as Triphylia, 'the land of the Three Tribes.'

The evidence makes it clear (1) that the earliest inhabitants were of the same race as the ancient population of Argolis and Laconia, who were of the stock called by the early writers Pelasgian; (2) that these were long ruled by native kings; (3) that in the movements of tribes brought about by the conquest of Thessaly by the Acheans of Phthiotis a body of Minyans, one of the Pelasgian tribes, as will soon be shown, were driven out of their ancient home at Iolcus on the Pagasaean Gulf and that they had under the leadership of Neleus sought a new home in Peloponnesus, and had made Pylus their capital; (4) that no Achean conquest of Messenia had ever taken place; (5) that no Achean dynasty had ever reigned at Pylus or in Messenia; (6) that the mass of the population which accepted the rule of Cresphontes instead of that of the Neleidae, was either of the old Peloponnesian Pelasgian stock, or was descended from the Pelasgians of Thessaly.

We may therefore conclude with some confidence that only to the Pelasgians can be assigned that long series of pre-Mycenean and Mycenean pottery discovered in the so-called cave of Nestor at Pylus.

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[1] iv. 3, 6.

[2] iv. 36, 1.

ARCADIA.

We have now come to the last of the districts of Peloponnesus which has, up to the present, revealed Mycenean remains in any form.

If the existence of such remains can be proved for Arcadia, the consequences are of the very highest importance for our quest. Up to the present we can only point to a few Mycenean objects, such as an engraved gem of the pure Mycenean type found at Phigaleia in the south-west corner of Arcadia, and terra-cotta idols from Tegea. To reason dogmatically from the finding of one or two objects of this description which might very well be waifs, would be indeed foolish. On the other hand to say that Arcadia does not contain Mycenean antiquities because as yet no large group of them has been discovered, would be still more so. For at any moment the spade may present us with ample confirmation of the indications given by the Phigaleian gem. Attica herself has only at a comparatively recent date given up any of her buried treasures of this description, and yet Attic soil has been more ransacked than any part of Greece. But if we can show that there were monuments in Arcadia, venerated as ancient in the days when the *Iliad* was written, and that these monuments were of the same kind as those found at Mycenae, we shall have proved an important step; and though up to the present there has been no scientific investigation of any such remains in Arcadia, if it can be proved that such Mycenean antiquities exist as native in the district, it will be indeed hard to maintain that they are of Achean or Dorian origin, unless we are prepared to give the lie direct to all Greek history. 'Arcadia,' says E. Curtius, "the ancients regarded as a pre-eminently Pelasgian country; here, as they thought, the autochthonic condition of the primitive inhabitants had preserved itself longest, and had been least disturbed by the intrusion of foreign elements[1]."

This assertion may be taken as a sound historical fact, for Thucydides[2] expressly tells us that Arcadia was the one part of Peloponnesus which had known no change of inhabitants. Pausanias[3] relates that "the Arcadians say that Pelasgus was the first man who lived in this land (Arcadia). But it is probable that there were other people with Pelasgus, and that he did not live alone; for otherwise what people could he have reigned over? In stature, valour, and beauty, however, he was pre-eminent, and in judgment he surpassed all his fellows[4]; and that, I suppose, was why he was chosen king of them by them. The poet Asius says of him, 'godlike Pelasgus on the wooded hills the black earth bore, that mortal men might live.' When Pelasgus became king he contrived huts, in order that men should not shiver with cold, nor be drenched by rain, nor faint with heat. He also devised shirts made of pigskins, such as poor folk still wear in Euboea and Phocis. It was he, too, who weaned men from the custom of eating green leaves, grasses, and roots, of which none were good for food and some were even poisonous. On the other hand, he introduced as food the fruit of the oak-trees, not of all oaks, but only the acorns of the *phegus* oak. Since his time some of the people have adhered so closely to this diet that even the Pythian priestess, in forbidding the Lacedemonians to touch the land of the Arcadians, spoke the following verses:—

> There are many acorn-eating men in Arcadia,
> Who will prevent you; though I do not grudge it you.

They say that in the reign of Pelasgus the country was named Pelasgia."

If Myceneau remains are indigenous in Arcadia, it is certain that they are not Achean. Twice are the Arcadians mentioned in the *Iliad.* In the Catalogue a contingent of no less than sixty ships was manned by the men of Arcady[1]:—

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[1] *History of Greece*, I. 173.

[2] I. 2.

[3] VIII. 1, 4.

[4] Strabo, as we saw above, following Ephorus, states that the Arcadians were Pelasgians, and in another passage, to which we shall have to refer later on, he say that they preserved the Aeolic dialect.

> *οἳ δ' ἔχον Ἀρκαδίην ὑπὸ Κυλλήνης ὄρος αἰπύ,*
> *Αἰπύτιον παρὰ τύμβον, ἵν' ἀνέρες ἀγχιμαχηταί,*
> *οἳ Φένεόν τ' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Ὀρχομενὸν πολύμηλον,*
> *Ῥίπην τε Στρατίην τε καὶ ἠνεμόεσσαν Ἐνίσπην,*
> *καὶ Τεγέην εἶχον καὶ Μαντινέην ἐρατεινήν,*
> *Στύμφηλόν τ' εἶχον καὶ Παρρασίην ἐνέμοντο.*

Who was this Aepytus, whose grave was so famous as to be a well-known landmark when the *Iliad* was composed, and what was the nature of this tomb? Answers are ready for each question. We shall take them in reverse order. Pausanias[2] saw this very monument in the second century A.D. "The grave of Aepytus I looked at with special interest, because Homer in his verses referring to the Arcadians made mention of the tomb of Aepytus: it is a mound of earth of no great size enclosed by a circular kerbing of stone."

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[1] *Il.* II. 603 *sqq.*

[2] VIII. 16, 3, *ἔστι μὲν οὖν γῆς χῶμα οὐ μέγα λίθου κρηπῖδι ἐν κύκλῳ περιεχόμενον.* It is important to notice that Pausanias describes other tombs similar in construction to that of Aepytus in Arcadia. One is that of Phocus the son of Aeacus at Aegina, who was slain by his half-brother Peleus. "An altar that rises but little above the ground" was said to be the tomb of Aeacus. Beside the Aeaceum is the grave of Phocus "consisting of a mound of earth surrounded by a circular basement and surmounted by a rough stone." (II. 29. 9.) The other was that of Oenomaus near Olympia, "a mound of earth enclosed by a retaining wall of stones." (VI. 21. 3.) That Oenomaus belonged to the pre-Achean period is certain, as the story of the coming of Pelops and the murder of Oenomaus is inseparably bound up with the Achean conquest of Peloponnesus. In the case of Phocus we cannot produce the same evidence from the legends, for he is the son of Aeacus, but Aegina and Salamis are not only rich in Mycenean remains, but signs of a transition from the genuine Mycenean form of inhumation to the Homeric cremation have been discovered in the Mycenean cemetery at Salamis. Pausanias saw a similar tomb also in Arcadia: "at Phoezon is a tomb enclosed by a base of stone and rising but little above the ground"—"They say that the tomb is that of Areithous, surnamed Corynetes, 'Club-man,' on account of his weapon" (VIII. 11, 4; cf. *Il.* VII. 10, 142 *sqq.*). The grave of Auge, daughter of Aleus of Tegea, who became wife of Teuthras, was at Pergamus on the Caicus: "it is a mound of earth enclosed by a stone base and surmounted by a bronze figure of a naked woman" (Paus. VIII. 4, 9). Areithous and Auge are both non-Achean.

We have already spoken of the well-known circular stone enclosure on the Acropolis of Mycenae, which Schliemann took for the Agora; but which Tsountas has explained as a ring of stonework to keep the earthen mound over the graves together. This Arcadian grave seems to support Tsountas, as here we have a tomb similarly constructed. If this grave seen by Pausanias was really the tomb of the Aepytii, we may now be certain that such graves are non-Achean in origin, though Achean conquerors may have buried their dead in them, just as Romans buried in British barrows and Saxons in Roman cemeteries. This grave was probably the object of periodical sacrifices like that of the hero Phocus, son of Ornytion, at Daulis. If that were so there would be an unbroken tradition of the occupants of the tomb down to the time of Pausanias[1]. It was on Mount Sepia that Aepytus met his death from the bite of a snake (*seps*), "and here they made his grave, for they could carry the corpse no farther." This tradition seems still to linger round the spot, for in the mountains to the west of Cyllene a peasant told M. Beulé a story of a prince who had perished by the bite of a serpent, and had been buried on the mountain with all his treasures[2]. The interment of Aepytus in a lonely spot far away from his city is in strong contrast to the general practice of burying chiefs in the very heart of their towns—Agora, or council-chamber—or even over the very gate, in order that the spirit of the dead might keep watch over his people. It is therefore probable that the divergence from the usual practice in the case of Aepytus was due to some exceptional cause.

Aepytus was the son of Elatus, who was the son of Arcas, who was the son of Callisto, who was the daughter of Lycaon, who was the son of Pelasgus, who was the son of Earth.

Aepytus begat Aphidas, who begat Aleus, who succeeded his grandfather Aepytus, and made Tegea his capital. He begat Lycurgus, who succeeded his father, and begat Ancaeus, who sailed to Colchis in the Argo, and was afterwards killed by the Calydonian boar. Lycurgus was succeeded by Echemus, son of Aeoropus, son of Cepheus, son of Aleus. Agapenor, son of Ancaeus, son of Lycurgus, succeeded Echemus, and led the Arcadians to Troy. Later on he settled at Paphos in Cyprus[1].

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[1] Sir W. Gell saw a tumulus surrounded by a loose stone wall, which he dentified as that of Aepytus, but the locality does not agree with that given by Pausanias. Cf. Frazer on Paus. VIII. 16, 3.

[2] *Études sur le Péloponnèse*, p. 179 *sq.* (cited by Frazer, *loc. cit.*).

In this pedigree there is not a trace of any Achean conquest. In spite too of the fact that Agamemnon furnished the Arcadians with ships, Agapenor went to Troy as the leader of an independent contingent, and not as a mere vassal of the king of Mycenae, as were the Corinthians and Sicyonians.

But nearly seven centuries prior to Pausanias we can find some very important evidence touching Aepytus, which is of great weight for the early history and archaeology of not only Arcadia, but also all Peloponnesus.

Pindar in the sixth Olympic ode celebrates the praises of Agesias of Syracuse, who had gained a victory with the mule-car at the Olympic games of 468 B.C. The poet recites the lineage of the victor, from which we know that he was a member of the famous family of the Iamidae, who held the office of Treasurers of the oracle of Zeus at Olympia, and the hereditary priesthood at Stymphalus 'the mother city of the Arcadians.'

When Archias the Heracleid set forth from Corinth to found Syracuse (732 B.C.), he took with him the forefather of Agesias to be a joint-founder (*συνοικιστής*). But wherever they might be, it would seem that this race of seers always retained their connection with Arcadia, for we find that Agesias was a citizen of Stymphalus (where Pindar's ode was first to be sung) as well as of Syracuse, whither, as we learn from its concluding verses, the ode was to be sent across the sea later on.

"O Phintis, yoke me now with all speed the strength of thy mules that on the clear highway we may set our car, that I may go up to the far beginning of this race." So sings the poet and soon he adds, "to Pitane by Eurotas' stream must I be gone betimes to-day. Now Pitane, they say, lay with Poseidon the son of Kronos, and bare the child Euadne with tresses iris-dark.

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[1] Paus. VIII. 4, 5—5, 2.

And her maiden travail she hid by her robes' folds, and in the month of her delivery she sent her handmaids and bade them give the child to the hero son of Elatos to rear, who was lord of the men of Arcady, who dwelt at Phaisane, and had for his lot Alpheos to dwell beside. There was the child Euadne nurtured, and by Apollo's side she first knew the joys of Aphrodite.

But she might not always hide from Aipytos the seed of the god within her: and he in his heart struggling with bitter strain against a grief too great for speech betook him to Pytho that he might ask of the oracle concerning the intolerable woe. Then Euadne beneath a thicket's shade brought forth a boy in whom was the spirit of God." The "golden-haired god" sent kindly Eleutho, and by easy travail Iamos came forth to the light. She deserted the child, but Apollo made two bright-eyed serpents feed him "with the harmless venom of the bee." The child was found in the brake of rushes, "his tender body all suffused with golden and deep purple gleams of the flowers of the *Ion*; wherefore his mother prophesied that by this holy name (Iamos) of immortality he should be called throughout all time." But when he reached the ripeness of youth, "he went down into the middle of Alpheos, and called on wide-ruling Poseidon his grandsire, and on the guardian of well-built Delos," and prayed, "and he stood beneath the heavens and it was night." Then Apollo took him to the Cronian hill at Olympia and gave "a twofold treasure of prophecy, that for the time then being he should hearken to this voice that cannot lie"; but when Heracles should come "and should have founded a multitudinous feast and the chief ordinance of games, then again on the summit of the altar of Zeus he bade him establish another oracle, that thenceforth the race of Iamidae should be glorious among Hellenes. With this family good luck abode[1]."

This is no mere vaunting of a 'silver-faced' Muse, for that the Iamidae exercised a great influence at Elis, Corinth, and Sparta as well as in Arcadia can be demonstrated from the prose writers.

Thus it was Tisamenus the Iamide who accompanied the Greek host in the capacity of soothsayer and offered the sacrifice before the battle of Plataea. Like Agesias, he was a good seer and valiant with the spear. For he had almost won the pentathlum at Olympia when he only lost the victory through one bout in the wrestling match: and he was one of the few persons whom the Spartans admitted to the right of citizenship[1]. Pausanias[2] saw at Sparta the tomb of this branch of the Iamidae which had changed thither their abode from Elis.

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[1] E. Myers' translation.

But thirty years earlier another member of this famous race had wrought great service for Croton in her final struggle against Sybaris (510 B.C.). The Sybarites declared that the Crotonians had vanquished them by the aid of foreigners, but "the Crotoniates on the other hand maintain that no foreigner lent them aid against the Sybarites, save and except Callias, the Elean, a soothsayer of the race of the Iamidae; and he only forsook Telys, the Sybaritic king, and deserted to their side, when he found on sacrificing that the victims were not favourable to an attack on Croton[3]." If this story does little credit to the honour of Callias, it shows that his mantic skill was believed to be above all suspicion.

In the great battle in which the Mantineans and all the other Arcadians overthrew Agis the Spartan king, Thrasybulus the son of Aeneas, one of the Iamidae, prophesied victory for the Mantineans and himself took part in the battle[4].

The evidence here presented is sufficient to convince any ordinary reader that from the eighth down to the second century B.C. the Iamidae occupied a position of extraordinary prominence and importance in Arcadia, Elis, Corinth, Sparta, Magna Graecia, and Sicily. But there is also good reason for believing that long before the eighth century B.C. they had already attained to exceptional celebrity and power. For otherwise we cannot explain why Archias the Heracleid should make one of them a 'joint-founder' with himself of Syracuse. No ordinary priest or soothsayer would be associated in such a fashion with a child of Heracles in a great colonial enterprise. If on the other hand the tradition is in the main true, then it is easy to show why

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[1] Herod. IX. 33.

[2] Paus. III. 12, 8.

[3] Herod. V. 44.

[4] Paus. VIII. 10, 5.

Archias chose one of a family of immemorial antiquity, and above all possessed of peculiar mantic powers. This is confirmed by two pieces of evidence which may not be set aside lightly. The first is the significant fact mentioned by Pindar that the Iamidae had control of an oracle at Olympia even before they became the caretakers of the altar of Zeus on the introduction there of the cult of that deity. That there were at Olympia the survivals of rites older than the cult of Zeus is demonstrated by the fact that far down into classical times there was an annual sacrifice to Cronus, under the control of an ancient priestly family called Basilae. As we shall see later, the myth of the wrestling between Zeus and Cronus for the possession of the Cronan hill probably refers to the introduction of the worship of Zeus. The second argument in favour of the extreme antiquity of the family and pedigree of the Iamidae is that though they had become the keepers of the altar of Zeus at Olympia and though that god had in name got possession of the Lycaean Mount, yet the Iamidae traced their descent not from Zeus, but from Poseidon, the god worshipped by the Helots at Taenarum, the god whom we shall find predominating in Arcadia, and who helped the Arcadians against the Spartans, and whose cult we shall presently see acting as the common bond of union between the Ionians of Asia Minor, the descendants of the ancient Pelasgian inhabitants of Peloponnesus. Nought but the strongest ties of immemorial antiquity can explain why the Iamidae continued to be citizens of the little Arcadian town of Stymphalus. The fact that this stock had spread from Arcadia to Elis and Corinth distinctly corroborates the Hesiodic tradition that Arcadia had been a great centre from which the Pelasgic stock had spread its influence. To the pedigree of the Iamidae we shall have occasion to return when we deal with that of the Butadae, which like that of the Arcadian family was derived from Poseidon (p. 152).

That Poseidon and not Zeus should continue to head the genealogical tree of the Iamidae is all the more surprising when we remember that in the late writers Pelasgus, who according to Asius was the son of Earth, was made the son of Zeus, just as the Corinthians sought to affiliate Corinthus to

Zeus, though their hero was of a stock which traced its lineage from Poseidon.

Let us now return to Aepytus and his tomb. There is little reason to doubt that the offerings at the grave of such a hero would be kept up with great care even under ordinary circumstances. The evidence of the pottery in the *dromos* at Menidi, as well as that of Pausanias respecting the tomb of Phocus, puts this beyond cavil. But when we realize how indissolubly Aepytus was linked to the chief priestly and mantic family not merely of Arcadia but of all Peloponnesus, it is hardly conceivable that at any period from the time when the Catalogue of Ships was composed down to the Christian era there would have been any break in the continuity of worship at the tomb of Aepytus and consequently any breach in the tradition respecting its occupant.

Now let us revert for a moment to the pedigree of Aepytus. That hero was grandson of Arcas the son of Callisto daughter of Lycaon. Callisto according to the legend was for her evil behaviour turned into a bear by Artemis.

If it be objected that as Callisto was turned into a bear[1], she must therefore have been simply a totem, and that consequently Lycaon and Pelasgus are mere later additions, the answer is that in that case such famous persons as Pandion, the father of Procne and Philomela, and Nisus the father of Scylla, must be expelled from two of the best known of Greek legends. The fact is that there are abundant instances of metamorphism into birds and beasts in early Greece beside cases which may possibly be taken as totems. Did Circe make totems of the companions of Odysseus?

Nor can it be urged with much weight that in the name of Arcas, Callisto's son, we have a further proof that his mother was a bear totem. The bear appears as a type on the local coins of Mantinea, but it is strange that if the Arcadians really considered themselves 'Bears,' that animal never appears on the well known series of federal coins of Arcadia. Even if this had been the case, it would not be the slightest proof that the Arcadians considered themselves descended from a bear totem, any more than the seal (φώκη) on the coins of Phocea, or the apple (μῆλον) on those of Melos, is evidence that the Phoceans and Melians thought themselves sprung from a seal or an apple. Such *types parlants* are very common on the coins of the Greeks, who liked this canting heraldry just as much as our mediaeval forefathers. But in a later chapter we shall discuss the question of totemism in early Greece.

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[1] Another version made Arcas son of Zeus by Themisto.

There can be no question as to the genuine Pelasgian origin of the tomb of Aepytus mentioned by Homer. Aepytus is fourth in descent from Lycaon. The sons of Lycaon play a part of primary importance in the mythical period. For this reason I think it better to quote Niebuhr's summary of the evidence relating to them and its value than to give a statement in my own words:—

" Pherecydes (Dionysius I. 13) states that Oenotrus was one of the twenty sons of Lycaon son of Pelasgus, and that the Oenotrians were named after him, as the Peucetians on the Ionian Gulf were after his brother Peucetus. They migrated from Arcadia (Dionys. I. 11) seventeen generations before the Trojan war, with a multitude of Arcadians and other Greeks; who were pressed for room at home. And this, says Pausanias (*Arcad.* c. III.), is the earliest colony, whether of Greeks or barbarians, whereof a recollection has been preserved. Other genealogers have stated the number of the Lycaonids differently. The names found in Pausanias amount to six and twenty and some have dropped out of the text. Apollodorus (III. 8, 1) reckons them at fifty, of which number his list falls short by one. Very few in the two lists are the same; Pausanias has no Peucetus, Apollodorus neither him nor Oenotrus, but the strangest thing is that though their names mark them all out as founders of races or of cities, still the latter mythologer makes them all perish in Deucalion's flood. It is clear that he or the author he followed must have already mixed up a legend about certain impious sons of Lycaon, who perhaps were nameless, with the tradition which enumerated the towns of Arcadia and such as were of kindred origin under the names of their pretended founders. Legends of this sort will not be looked upon by any as historical, but in the light of ational pedigrees like the Mosaical, such genealogies are leserving of attention inasmuch as they present views concernng the affinity of nations which certainly were not inventions f the genealogers, themselves early writers after the scale of ur literature, but were taken by them from poems of the same lass with the *Theogony* or from ancient treatises or from revalent opinions. But if we find them mentioning the Pelasgian nation, they do at all events belong to an age when hat name and people had nothing of the mystery which they ore in the eyes of the later Greeks, for instance of Strabo; nd even though the Arcadians have been transformed into Hellenes, still a very distinct recollection might be retained of heir affinity with the Thesprotians whose land contained the racle of Dodona; as well as of that between these Epirotes nd other races which is implied in the common descent of Maenalus, and the other Arcadians, and of Thesprotus and Oenotrus from Pelasgus. Nor does this genealogy stand alone n calling the Oenotrians Pelasgians; evidence to the same ffect, perfectly unexceptionable and as strictly historical as the ase will admit of, is furnished by the fact that the serfs of the talian Greeks, who must undoubtedly have been Oenotrians, vere called Pelasgians" (Steph. Byz. v. Χῖος).

Niebuhr's estimate of the genealogies seems to me to be ust. Let us test this method by appealing to modern experince. The people of Uganda give the following account of heir origin. A man by name Kintu ('Thing') came out of the ar north-east, found the land unoccupied and there settled. From Kintu is descended the royal family still reigning in Uganda. A list of thirty-three kings from Kintu down is preerved by oral tradition, as the art of writing was unknown. Stuhlmann[1] gives the list in three forms, as taken down by imself, Wilson, and Stanley. There are but slight variations n the three, though Stuhlmann's order sometimes differs from hat of the two others. Stuhlmann infers from the story of Kintu that a folk had come down from the north-east, and had radually become the masters of the land. No reasonable man vill dispute his conclusion. Why then should we treat with contempt the genealogies of a people who had possessed methods of writing from the second millennium B.C., and why should we assert that because there are discrepancies in the lists as they have reached us, they are therefore utterly fictitious? No one in his senses will maintain that the series of Uganda kings is a pure invention because the lists of Stuhlmann, Wilson, and Stanley differ in some details.

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[1] *Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika*, pp. 191—4.

Indeed the method of treating with scepticism all genealogies or myths which show variants is radically unsound. For it tacitly assumes that there are no variant accounts of real historical occurrences. Let us take some well known incidents from modern times. Though Kinglake wrote the history of the Crimean War within the lifetime of the men who played a leading part in the campaign, yet the conflicting accounts respecting the charge of the Light Brigade at Balaclava have never been reconciled. Furthermore, the reports written on the battle-field and published in the *Times* often differ materially from the narrative compiled laboriously by the historian. Yet this much is certain—that there was a war in the Crimea about the middle of the nineteenth century, that the British and the French were allied against the Russians, and that the former were victorious in several battles and captured a fortress called Sebastopol.

If we go back to Waterloo, we are confronted with conflicting statements on certain points. Yet all admit that there was a great battle between the British and Prussians on the one hand, and the French on the other, and that the British were commanded by Wellington, the French by Buonaparte.

The famous act of disobedience committed by Nelson at the battle of Copenhagen, when he put his telescope to his blind eye, is by some declared to be untrue. Yet no one on that ground will deny that there was such a person as Horatio Nelson.

The fact is that the modern historian when writing contemporary history often finds himself beset by the difficulty experienced by Thucydides in ascertaining the truth of the episodes in the Peloponnesian War, through the 'thrice nine years' of which he had lived. For he complains of receiving very different accounts of the same incident from different eyewitnesses.

Though Polybius and Livy may differ in details, yet no one doubts that there was such a person as Hannibal, against whom Rome had a life and death struggle for some sixteen years.

Though Thucydides cites only the quarrel between Corcyra and Corinth and the siege of Potidaea as the proximate causes of the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, some of his Athenian contemporaries held that it was largely due to the personal spite of Aspasia towards the Megarians. Yet we do not for this discrepancy condemn Thucydides' history as a mere tissue of inventions.

It was a matter of dispute whether Xerxes had sailed round Mount Athos, or through a canal, intersecting it. Some held that Themistocles died naturally, while others averred that he had poisoned himself with bull's blood. Yet no one has yet denied that there were such persons as Xerxes and Themistocles, and that there was a great battle at Salamis.

On the other hand when there is no variation in the statements of different writers touching the same incident, the sceptic is prone to say that the accounts have no independent value, for *B*, *C*, and *D* are simply repeating the statement of *A*, and that as *A* is unsupported by independent testimony he has probably concocted the tale. This last method of attack contains an element of truth, for as we have demonstrated the exceeding difficulty of getting complete agreement touching the details of historical occurrences, it is highly probable that if there is no variation of any kind in several accounts of the same event, these reports have not come from several independent witnesses, but are simply the repetitions of a single testimony. Yet it does not follow that because an account depends on a single authority, it is not worthy of belief. For if the writer is found trustworthy in statements which can be checked by other independent authorities, or by modern excavations, he is entitled to our credence. Thus though Herodotus is often our only authority for certain events, he is found to be so trustworthy in cases when he can be tested not only by other ancient writers, but by modern archaeological discoveries, for example those at Naucratis, that we can without hesitation believe his unsupported statements respecting the battle of Marathon.

We have seen already (p. 89) that certain modern writers[1] discredit the Hesiodic account of the Arcadian origin of the Pelasgi. If we follow this line of doctrine, we simply declare that all early tradition is worthless. The Hesiodic genealogy is presumably a work of at least as early as the 7th century B.C. If it is argued that a genealogy compiled by one who presumably was a Boeotian is of no value, the answer is that unless Hesiod embodied some very ancient tradition of the pedigree of the sons of Pelasgus and Lycaon he certainly would not have made them so prominent in the ancestry of Hellas. For why should a Boeotian so glorify the Arcadians? It is certainly a case where the critics must be prepared to show motive. If the tradition were Arcadian or Peloponnesian instead of being derived from a Boeotian source, the critics would have at once cried out that it was a palpable invention of the Arcadians for purposes of self-glorification.

Genealogies were kept with great care, and even in countries where the art of writing is unknown, efficient records are not wanting. Thus though the Incas of Peru had not attained to a system of writing, being in this respect behind their great contemporaries, the Aztecs of Mexico, they nevertheless had a system of mnemonics, consisting of strings of different colours variously blended and knotted. These were called *quipus.* The old men of the Incas kept school and taught the boys the annals of their race and their genealogy by the aid of the *quipus.* But men in a far lower state of culture, such as the natives of Torres Straits, keep a kind of diary or record by means of cords and knots. By such artificial contrivances it was possible to keep an exact account of the number of generations even though the name of one ancestor in the pedigree might be forgotten or blundered, a thing not very likely among people who had no other literature to distract their thoughts.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that the early inhabitants of the shores of the Aegean, who showed such an extraordinary power of self-development and receptivity, and who devised a system of writing at so remote a date, would have even before that invention made use of mnemonics similar and at least not inferior to those of the ancient Peruvians and the modern natives of Torres Straits. But as the Aegean people were using a form of writing at the time of the Twelfth Dynasty of Egypt, there is a high probability that they would have records at least as good as the Incas.

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[1] Eduard Meyer, *Die Pelasger*, pp. 53—66.

That the earliest use of writing was probably for keeping pedigrees and family annals, derives support from the fact that our earliest Greek inscriptions, such as those of Thera, are brief records on tombstones, which give simply the name of the dead man and his father. The same holds true of the old Gaulish inscriptions, and the early Irish in the Ogham script. This principle is still seen at work in "the short and simple annals of the poor" rudely cut on the tombstones of our country churchyards.

Of course there are many who will say that all local legends and genealogies, such as those given by Pausanias, are worthless, on the ground that such stories are only too easily manufactured. But though at the first glance this may strike some as a serious objection, yet it can be shown from Pausanias himself by the Method of Differences that the fabrication of local legends was not so easy even for the picturesque imagination of a Greek, as has been commonly held by the hypersceptical school of historians. For Pausanias points out that it is very difficult to learn much about the history of Messenia, owing to the conquest of that country by Dorians and Lacedemonians:—

"Beside the Scias is shown the grave of Idas and Lynceus. It is natural to suppose that they were buried in Messenia rather than here (Laconia). But though the Messenian exiles have been restored to their homes, their calamities and long exile from Peloponnesus have effaced from their memory much of the ancient history of their country, so that it is now open to any one to lay claim to traditions to which the true heirs have forgotten their right[1]."

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[1] III. 13, 1.

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This likewise is probably the reason why Pausanias could learn so little about the early history of Epidaurus (p. 103), for the mass of the old population had fled on the coming of the Dorians.

But what we have just seen of the history of the Iamidae, and its connection with Aepytus, shows that on the Arcadian side there is much more than the mere statements of the despised genealogers to support the Hesiodic tradition embodied in Ephorus. We have therefore a tradition emanating from a non-Arcadian poet supported by real historical testimony found in Arcadia down to the Christian era. The doctrine that Arcadia was a great centre of the Pelasgian stock is fully borne out by the unchallenged facts that the house of the Iamidae even when they had firm foothold in the leading states of Hellas still continued to hold and value the office of priest in a petty town of Arcadia, still continued to trace their family tree from Poseidon and the sons of Pelasgus; all this points to Arcadia as a centre from which certain influences radiated out into other parts of Greece, to Italy, the islands, and Asia Minor.

Indeed Arcadia was and is such a region as those which in all parts of the world have been and continue to be the cradles of vigorous broods, which through pressure of population at home are from time to time driven to seek new dwellings, and send forth swarms of warriors who fall upon the less warlike inhabitants of plains and fertile areas. Arcadia possesses a magnificent climate not sufficiently hot to enervate its children, and amply supplied with rich and well-watered mountain pastures which nurtured herds and flocks in such numbers, that the name of Arcadia has passed into literature as the type of a rich pastoral country with a hardy race of shepherds accustomed to an active life amid their native hills and to defend their flocks from the attacks of bears and wolves. It was such a region as this that in Italy poured forth at the time of a *ver sacrum* its swarms of bold Samnite warriors into the plains of Campania and lower Italy to lord it over the cowardly tiller of the soil and the vinedresser, and it is in the beautiful valleys of the Himalayas that are cradled the bold tribes who cause such constant trouble on our Indian frontier. An ancient law of their nature impels them to descend into the rich plains of Hindustan to make swordland of them, and to make serfs of the ryots, as their kindred has done age after age through the long course of written history and unwritten tradition.

The geographical and climatic characteristics of Arcadia then are exactly those which are found elsewhere to produce the same results as those indicated in the early legends and history of Arcadia. In the historical period when no longer could bodies of men sally forth as of old from their homes in the mountains to win fresh lands, the Arcadian still followed the law of his race and went forth to serve as a mercenary wherever any king or potentate was ready to hire a hardy spearman. Once more we can find ready parallels in our own history. When the Highland clans could no longer with impunity harry the Lowlands of Scotland, they found an outlet for their ancient instinct in the newly-formed regiments of Highlanders, and so the tribesmen of the Himalayas are already finding an outlet for their warlike habits in the ranks of our Indian army.

But it is useless to attack the Arcadian origin of the story without at the same time demolishing that embodied by Aeschylus, which connects Argolis with Pelasgians. It cannot be said that Aeschylus is slavishly following the Hesiodic story, for he says nothing about Arcadia. The modern sceptic will accordingly argue *ex silentio* and say that the Hesiodic version is false, for Aeschylus knows nothing of it. But Aeschylus in his *Suppliants* and *Danaides* was not writing a handbook of historical geography, nor a monograph on the Pelasgians. Argos and its history are the central point of his drama, and he accordingly alludes incidentally to its ancient inhabitants, the Pelasgi. There is then nothing contradictory in the statements of Hesiod and Aeschylus; nor yet again are their statements disproved by the fact that there were Pelasgians in Thessaly and at Dodona in early days. But, as we saw above (p. 90), Herodotus held that the Iones were the descendants of the old inhabitants of Peloponnesus, and as he likewise held that the Iones were of the Pelasgian stock, he must have held that the ancient inhabitants of Peloponnesus were Pelasgians. Again, because Herodotus knew of Pelasgians in his own time who dwelt on the Hellespont and at Creston, who spoke a language which was not Greek, this is no argument against the existence of this people at an earlier date all over Greece. It might as well be argued that because we find in parts of Great Britain, such as Wales and the Highlands of Scotland, and parts of Ireland, people known as Celts and who speak a language which is certainly not English, no such people ever extended over all Great Britain and all Ireland, in the regions where English has been for centuries the only language. The Pelasgian language of Creston and Scylace may have been as closely allied to Greek as Lycian and Phrygian, or as old Celtic or Umbrian and Oscan were to Latin, and yet Herodotus would call it a non-Greek tongue. Herodotus and Thucydides held that the Pelasgians had merged into the Hellenic body, a view attested by like occurrences in other countries, such as England, France, and Spain, where the Welsh, Bretons, and Basques, who have survived in the least inviting and most inaccessible parts of those countries, are living witnesses to the statements of history that they once occupied a far larger area.

We may then without rashness believe that Arcadia as well as Argolis was the seat of an ancient race which played a foremost part in the early history of Greece. The kings of Tegea exercised great influence in Argolis. It is significant, as Curtius points out, to find Nauplius the founder of Nauplia (the port of Argolis), as the servitor of the king of Tegea. When we come to deal with the Minyans we shall find Ancaeus king of Tegea one of the number in the memorable voyage of the Argo. Even still in Homer the Arcadians man a quota of ships (supplied by Agamemnon) in excess of what we might have expected. All these considerations are of importance in showing that their race had once been given to seacraft, a fact of significance when we dealt with the character of the ornamentation on Mycenean pottery.

According to Strabo the Arcadians spoke an Aeolic dialect, a statement substantiated by the few Arcadian words preserved for us in the ancient writers and by the sure testimony of the inscriptions discovered in modern times.

But as our inquiry has led us to consider the serfs of Argolis, the Helots of Laconia, and the mass of the Messenian population the same in race as the Arcadians, the reader may object that, whilst Doric was the tongue of Argos, Laconia, and Messenia, Arcadia used an Aeolic speech. But to argue that, because the inscriptions and literary remains of Argolis, Laconia, and Messenia are in Doric, therefore the serfs of Argolis and Laconia, and the mass of the Messenian population, at all times spoke Doric, would be just as foolish as if we were to conclude that the inhabitants of the western parts of Scotland and Ireland always spoke English, because the latter has been the official and literary language for centuries. The Dorians of Laconia kept rigidly distinct from their subjects, and were especially slow to merge into the conquered race. It is therefore highly probable that for official purposes Doric was always employed, for it is most unlikely that the dialect of the despised serf would have been used either in public inscriptions or those set up by private individuals, who would most probably belong to the ruling class. In fact Doric stood to the language of the Helots in much the same position as after the Norman Conquest French did to Old English (*cf.* p. 657).

The cycle of the legends of Heracles and his wanderings—starting from Peloponnesus northwards, slaying Centaurs in Thessaly, passing into Thrace and up to the Danube's sources into Northern Italy, on his cattle-lifting expedition into Spain—shows that the Greeks had a tradition not only of great early movements caused by the pressing down of fresh tribes from the north, but also of one still older in which the advance was from south to north.

As Heracles belongs to the pre-Achean stock, being great-grandson of Perseus, the son of Danae, daughter of Acrisius, whose pedigree we already know, once more we get the tradition of an older stratum of occupants of Peloponnesus, who were there before the Achean conquest and who were called Pelasgians, substantiated by the legend of Heracles, the most prominent of Greek myths and which can in no wise be said to be invented to bolster up a Pelasgic theory started by Hesiod.

CEPHALLENIA.

The tradition given by Pausanias is that Cephalus, son of Deïon, joined Amphitryon in his expedition against the Teleboans, and was the first to inhabit the island which is now called after him, Cephallenia. Up to that time he had dwelt as an exile in Thebes, whither he fled from Athens on account of the murder of his wife Procris. Nine generations afterwards his descendants Chalcinus and Daetus obtained leave from Apollo at Delphi to return to Athens, and the Athenians admitted them to citizenship[1].

There is likewise some evidence that the Cephallenians were divided into four divisions, corresponding thus in number to the four old so-called Ionic tribes and to the four tribes into which the Arcadians were divided[2].

But as there were four towns in the island, the quadripartite division may not have been tribal, but only accidental.

In Homer Cephallenia is designated Samos or Same.

When Strabo wrote Same no longer existed save in ruins. The other three towns still survived,—Paleis, Pronesus, and Cranii. According to the same writer there was a dispute among the ancient authorities, as some identified Dulichium and Cephallenia, others Taphus and Cephallenia, and held that the Taphians, Cephallenians, and Teleboans were all the same, a theory combated by Strabo. Whilst it is probable that these peoples all inhabited separate islands, it is quite probable that this confusion arose from the fact that all three were simply separate tribes of the same race.

But for our purpose it is sufficient to point out that whilst there are various traditions which connect the Cephallenians in race with the Athenians and other Pelasgian tribes, there is none that indicates an Achean descent. The fact that the Cephallenians were under the command of Odysseus in the army before Troy simply indicates that the native rulers recognized Odysseus as their suzerain.

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[1] I. 37, 6.

[2] *Id.* VI. 15, 7. Ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ Ἠλεῖον ἄνδρα... Παλεῖς, ἡ τετάρτη Κεφαλλήνων μοῖρα.

Before leaving Peloponnesus it may be remarked that neither in Elis nor in Achaia have any large quantities of Mycenean objects as yet been found. Thus the excavations at Olympia did not reveal any stratum of Mycenean antiquities. Yet among the smaller objects such as terra-cottas there are a few which belong to the Mycenean time, though the vast majority fall into the Dipylon period. The bronzes show little that can be called Mycenean, and their designs show affinities with the style of decoration on the Dipylon vases. The oldest are rude forms of animals cut out of a rough plate of copper or bronze or made by riveting pieces of metal together. Next come those partly cast, partly hammered, then cast animals and men and little waggons with geometrical ornament[1].

Now we have just seen that the Iamidae had charge of an oracle (almost certainly that of Gaia, the mother of their ancestor Pelasgus), before that of Zeus was established, and that there was likewise an ancient cult of Cronus, but the site seems not to have been ever of firstrate importance in the early times, for there was no great political centre close at hand such as at Tiryns or Mycenae. To this early time then may belong the few pre-Mycenean antiquities.

We have identified the great burst of artistic splendour at Mycenae with the reign of Perseus, in whose time the legends do not ascribe any importance to Elis. It is not surprising therefore, if there are but scant traces of the full Mycenean period at Olympia.

It is with the coming of Pelops and the Acheans that Elis comes prominently forward on the stage of legendary history. The story of Oenomaus, king of Elis, his race with Pelops, the stratagem by which the latter gained the victory and thereby the hand of Hippodamia and the throne of Elis, is one of the most famous of all Greek Sagas. From that time onwards Elis never lost its importance. It then became the seat of the worship of Zeus Panhellenius, whose cult was introduced into Aegina by Aeacus the great Achean chief. It is therefore to the Achean period that we ought to assign the objects of the Dipylon style (pp. 266, 660), especially as the Dorians never possessed Olympia.

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[1] Furtwängler, *Die Bronzen von Olympia*, pp. 28 *sqq*.

The potsherds collected in the upper layers of detritus at Mycenae and Tiryns are the sole relics that have come down to us of the last days of the Achean period, for with the coming of the Dorian these great fortresses cease to be inhabited[1]. This class of potsherds includes the Warrior vase, and with them are found intermingled "near to the soil's surface, both within Cyclopean fastnesses and avenues leading to certain tombs, fragments of a later epoch, belonging to what archaeologists call Dipylon vases."

Later on we shall find elsewhere a considerable body of evidence to confirm our view that the Dipylon style arose under the Achean domination and not after the Dorian conquest as has been hitherto held.

It might be urged that no Mycenean sites have yet been discovered in Achaia from whence the Iones, who were Pelasgians (p. 95), passed to Asia on their expulsion by the Acheans.

We might urge with more force that as there have been as yet no Mycenean objects found in the region called Achaia in historic times in Peloponnesus, where the Acheans maintained themselves after the Dorian conquest, therefore there can be no doubt of the non-Achean nature of the Mycenean civilization. But the argument drawn from negative evidence is unreliable, in such cases especially: for the next turn of a peasant's spade may shatter the argument to atoms. Moreover it does not follow that the same race always remains in the same stage of art.

ATTICA.

We have now come to the most interesting district of all Hellas. It has revealed on the Acropolis remains of Cyclopean walls, and of a Mycenean palace, and at many places tombs of the Mycenean and pre-Mycenean periods. As regards the history of Attica we are well informed by the writers of the fifth century B.C. Both Herodotus and Thucydides are clear on the origin of the Attic race. It is best to let the historians speak for themselves on this most important point.

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[1] Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, II. 406—7. (Engl. trans.)

First let us hear Herodotus: "His (Croesus') inquiries pointed out to him two states as pre-eminent above the rest. These were the Lacedemonians and the Athenians, the former of Doric, the latter of Ionic blood. Indeed these two nations had held from very early times the most distinguished place in Greece, the one being a Pelasgic, the other a Hellenic people; the one never quitted its original seats, while the other had been excessively migratory; for during the reign of Deucalion, Phthiotis was the country in which the Hellenes dwelt, but under Dorus the son of Hellen they moved to the part at the base of Ossa and Olympus, which is called Histiaeotis; forced to retire from that region by the Cadmeians, they settled under the name of Macedni in the chain of Pindus. Hence they once more moved and came to Dryopis; from Dryopis having entered the Peloponnesus in this way they became known as Dorians. What the language of the Pelasgi was I cannot say with any certainty. If however we may form a conjecture from the tongue spoken by the Pelasgi of the present day,—those, for instance, who live at Creston above the Tyrrhenians who formerly dwelt in the district named Thessaliotis, and were neighbours of the people now called Dorians,—or those again who founded Placia and Scylace upon the Hellespont, who had previously dwelt for some time with the Athenians,—or those, in short, of any other of the cities which have dropped the name, but are in fact Pelasgian; if I say we are to form a conjecture from any of these, we must pronounce that the Pelasgi spoke a barbarous language. If this were really so, and the entire Pelasgic race spoke the same tongue, the Athenians, who were certainly Pelasgic, must have changed their language at the same time that they passed into the Hellenic body; for it is a certain fact that the people of Creston speak a language unlike any of their neighbours, and the same is true of the Placians, while the language spoken by these two peoples is the same; which shows that they both retained the idioms which they brought with them into the countries where they are now settled.

The Hellenic race has never since its first origin changed its speech. This at least seems evident to me. It was a branch of the Pelasgic which separated from the main body, and at first was scanty and of little power, but it gradually spread and increased to a multitude of nations chiefly by the voluntary entrance into its ranks of numerous tribes of barbarians. The Pelasgi on the other hand were, I think, a barbaric race which never greatly multiplied[1]."

There can be little doubt as regards the Pelasgic origin of the Athenians. Herodotus had resided at Athens and thus had the means of knowing the native traditions. Thucydides is very explicit respecting the autochthonous character of the Attic population. Before referring to the early state of Hellas, and mentioning the Pelasgians as important, he says: "Attica at any rate having through the poverty of the soil been for the longest period free from factions was always inhabited by the same people[2]."

Unless then we are prepared to maintain that both Herodotus and Thucydides are utterly untrustworthy, we must believe that the population of Attica had never shifted, and that its historical continuity was unbroken by either Achean or Dorian occupation. Their statements get a singular confirmation from the pottery found at Thoricus which presents nearly every style from the most primitive hand-made monochrome down to the fully developed Mycenean, and also from the tomb at Menidi, in the *dromos* of which was found a complete series of pottery fragments from Mycenean times down to the Peloponnesian War. Such a series as was there found proves that generation after generation the annual offerings had been made at the tomb of the dead, and therefore there was no change in the population of the surrounding district. There is thus no reason for believing that there was any breach in the continuity of their local tradition. From this it follows that we may regard as reliable the Attic tradition embodied by Herodotus and Thucydides.

Once more we find Homer in no wise contradicting, but rather confirming the views set forth by the later writers.

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[1] I. 56—58 (Rawlinson's trans.).

[2] I. 2.

In the great host that went to Troy the Athenians find little place or mention save in one famous passage which tradition says was altered by Solon as a basis for a claim to Salamis[1]. Had Attica been in the hands of the Acheans we must have heard much more of the Athenians in the *Iliad*. Not only then are we led to conclude that the Mycenean remains found in Attica are not of Achean origin, but the evidence constrains us to call them Pelasgian.

The statements of Herodotus and Thucydides are substantiated by the legends of the Hellenes and of the Athenians. Hesiod gave the genealogy of the sons of Hellen in the form usually known, making Aeolus, Xuthus, and Dorus the three sons.

Respecting Xuthus our information is confined almost entirely to the story of Creusa and Ion, an especially Attic legend. Achaeus is represented as a son of Xuthus. Euripides deviates very naturally from the Hesiodic genealogy in respect to the eponymous persons. In the *Ion* he describes Ion as the son of Creusa, daughter of Erechtheus, by Apollo, but adopted by Xuthus. According to him the real sons of Xuthus, an Achean by race, the son of Aeolus, the son of Zeus, are Achaeus and Dorus[2]. But in his *Melanippe* and *Aeolus* he mentions Hellen as father of Aeolus and son of Zeus.

Nor can it be maintained that the story of Xuthus is a proof of the establishment of an Achean dynasty in Attica, for tradition explicitly states that after the death of Erechtheus and the succession of Cecrops Xuthus went to Aegialus in Peloponnesus, and settled there, and there he died. According to Pausanias his son Achaeus, supported by troops from Aegialus and from Athens, returned to Thessaly and sat on the throne of his fathers. His other son Ion married Helice the only child of Selinus king of Aegialus, and was adopted by the latter as his son and successor. The Athenians being hard pressed in war by Eleusis entreated the aid of Ion, who took command in the war and was slain in Attica. His tomb is in the township of Potamus[1].

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[1] *Il.* II. 553—6. Leaf *ad loc.* thinks these lines, ejected by Zenodotus, "an addition to soothe the vanity of the Athenians, which was doubtless much hurt by the small part played by their nation in the Iliad." Their leader Menestheus "does not afterwards appear as a distinguished general. Δ 326—348 Agamemnon speaks of him in unflattering terms. He is mentioned again only M 331, 373, N 196, 690, O 331 where the fighting is left to the heroes of the second rank."

[2] *Ion*, 1590.

This tradition, which is quite unattached to any form of the Pelasgian story, amply proves that there was an old race in Attica, before ever Xuthus the valiant warrior was invited in to aid the Athenians against their enemies, and once more we find the Achean captain marrying the daughter of the ancient pre-Achean royal house[2].

But, moreover, Athenian tradition actually described as Pelasgian (or Pelargian) an ancient wall, probably that of which the remains have been found in modern times. Thus Herodotus relates that on the Lacedemonians under Cleomenes attacking Athens the tyrants withdrew into 'the Pelasgic wall,' that is the Acropolis[3].

To have the name Pelasgian associated with their prehistoric remains is indeed remarkable, and as these remains are identical in character with those found at Mycenae and Tiryns, in both of which we found that Greek tradition connected with the Pelasgic race the Cyclopean walls, we thus have a consensus of tradition in the case of all these places. The Pelasgians who had built this wall had according to one account come from Samothrace, and Herodotus says that they received from the Athenians a district at the foot of Hymettus as a reward for having built the great wall[4]. From thence they were later on expelled by the natives, unjustly accordingly to Hecataeus, but as the Athenians said, for outrages offered to their maidens.

We know from Thucydides[5] that an unoccupied space at the foot of the Acropolis was called the *Pelasgikon*, in reference to which the god at Delphi had once said

τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἀργὸν ἄμεινον.

In another passage Thucydides tells us that several towns on Mount Athos "are inhabited by mixed tribes of barbarians who are bilingual, and there is a small Chalcidian element, but the majority is Pelasgian,—part of the Tyrsenians who once settled at Lemnos and Athens—and Bisaltians, Crestonians and Edonians[1]."

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[1] VII. 1, 2—5.
[2] Cf. Eur. *Ion*, 64.
[3] V. 64.
[4] VI. 136.
[5] II. 17.

Pausanias says "The whole of the wall which runs round the Acropolis except the part built by Cimon, son of Miltiades, is said to have been erected by the Pelasgians who once dwelt at the foot of the Acropolis. For they say that Agrolas and Hyperbius...and inquiring who they were, all that I could learn was that they were originally Sicilians who migrated to Acarnania[2]." These seem to be the settlers in reference to whom Pliny says that Euryalus and Hyperbius, two brothers, were the first to introduce limekilns and houses at Athens; previously men had dwelt in caves[3].

When speaking of Gravisci on the coast of Etruria Strabo[4] says that near it was a place named Regisvilla, which "was said to have been the palace of Maleos the Pelasgian: it was alleged that after he had reigned there for some time, he departed thence with his Pelasgian followers and went to Athens. The Pelasgians who occupied Agylla (Caere) were part of the same tribe." It is possibly to Maleos and his people that Strabo refers when he[5] relates that the Pelasgians, after their expulsion from Boeotia, came to Athens, where the Pelasgicon or Pelargicon[6] was named after them; like Herodotus he makes them dwell at the foot of Hymettus.

It is certain that the Athenians called these Pelasgian settlers Tyrrhenians, for Callimachus[7] speaks of the Τυρσηνῶν τείχισμα Πελασγικόν.

According to Clitodemus[8] all that the Pelasgians did was to level the surface of the rock at the summit, and build a wall round the space so obtained.

From all these passages we may infer (1) that several bodies of Pelasgians had come to Athens; (2) that they had been turned out of Attica, and had found new homes in Lemnos and other places; (3) that some of them were distinguished by the term *Tyrrhenian*; (4) that this epithet was merely descriptive and alluded to the region from whence they had come to Attica, for we have a direct statement that some had come from Etruria, whilst the mutilated passage of Pausanias supports the tradition that some Pelasgians had come from the Italian area.

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[1] IV. 109. Τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον Πελασγικόν, τῶν καὶ Λῆμνόν ποτε καὶ Ἀθήνας Τυρσηνῶν οἰκησάντων, καὶ Βισαλτικὸν κ.τ.λ.

[2] I. 28, 3. [3] *N. H.* VII. 194. [4] 225. [5] 401.

[6] Eduard Meyer (*Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, I. p. 6 *sqq.*) holds that the tradition originated in a simple misunderstanding of the name Pelargicon, which according to him has no connection with Pelasgi.

[7] Schol. Ar. *Aves*, 832. [8] Frag. 22 (ed. Didot).

That bands of refugees from various quarters made their way to Athens is in complete harmony with the statement of Thucydides that Attica was a common asylum for those who in the general upheaval consequent on the incoming of new peoples had been uprooted from their ancient seats.

The Pelasgians who are mentioned as having come to Attica, and who afterwards were expelled by the Athenians and went to Lemnos where they settled[1], were most probably, as Niebuhr has well pointed out, a Pelasgic tribe who, driven from their old home, took refuge with their kinsmen in Attica, just as some of the Britons, when pressed hard by the Saxons, settled among their kindred in Armorica, from whom they had been separated for many centuries, and from whom they probably differed widely in speech. These Pelasgian (like other poor relations) soon became troublesome, and the Athenians expelled them[2]. The old Pelasgic walls of the Acropolis could easily be connected with them as the builders, as, according to Herodotus, the Athenians were merging into the Hellenic body at the time when these Pelasgians came from Samothrace. They are the same tribe as that which in the time of Thucydides under the name of Tyrrhenian Pelasgi dwelt near Mt Athos, for Strabo says that the Pelasgians from Lemnos had on Mt Athos five towns, Cleonae, Olophyxis, Acrothoos, Dium, and Thyssus.

Such a confusion is natural and easily paralleled. There can be little doubt that the dark dolichocephalic people of the south and west of Ireland are of the same stock as the Iberians of Spain. From their appearance resembling that of the Spaniards, it is commonly believed in Ireland that they are of Spanish blood, but as the ordinary person knows nothing of ethnology, yet is aware that at the time of the Spanish Armada Spanish ships and their crews were cast upon the Irish coast, it is popularly believed that these dark people are descended from the Spanish sailors, who as a matter of fact were for the most part killed immediately on landing by the natives, and had no opportunity of perpetuating their race on Irish soil.

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[1] Herod. II. 50.

[2] *Id.* VI. 137.

This brief examination of the early history of Athens points clearly to the non-Achean origin of the remains of Mycenean character found in Attica.

Though we are at present only concerned with the Pelasgians as the possible authors of certain objects, and we are no more obliged to discuss the question ethnologically than to go into all the questions of ethnology concerning the Celtic race in an essay dealing simply with the remains left by the ancient Britons, nevertheless as the Pelasgians of Lemnos were called Tyrrhenian, we must make a few remarks on the famous inscriptions found in that island in 1886, which are held by Pauli to be in a dialect of Etruscan, and from which he and Bugge simultaneously arrived at the conclusion that the Etruscans were Pelasgians.

Granting that the inscriptions are Pelasgic, and not merely a tombstone set up by some Etruscan settler in Lemnos, a not unlikely explanation, we are very far from being in a condition to identify *directly* these Pelasgians who were settled at Athens and were afterwards expelled, and then settled at Lemnos, with the ancient Pelasgi of Greece proper. These are the Pelasgi whom Thucydides, who is one of our chief authorities for the ancient power of the Pelasgic stock, calls Tyrrhenian-Pelasgians. Thucydides evidently marks a difference by describing them as *Tyrrhenian*, and not simply as Pelasgians. But we have just given good ancient evidence for Pelasgians in Etruria. There is no difficulty in supposing that certain Pelasgians long settled in Etruria, whither they had come from Thessaly (p. 244), may have again emigrated from some internal or external cause and settled in various spots round the Aegean, some of them going to Athens and later to Lemnos. Even if these spoke a language like the Etruscans, it is no evidence that the ancient Pelasgians spoke such a language. For the Tyrrhenian Pelasgians could have learned the language of their Etruscan neighbours and conquerors in Etruria, just as the Irish Celts have adopted English. But this supposed Etruscan connection after all rests on no solid basis, for Kirchhoff[1] has demonstrated that the alphabet of the Lemnian inscriptions is Phrygian. If then the inscriptions were proved to have belonged to the Pelasgians, it would follow that they had a Phrygian rather than an Etruscan connection. The Greeks considered Phrygians and Thracians to be barbarians, though both spoke languages akin to Greek; so that although Herodotus thought the language of Scylace and Placia barbarous, this does not prove that it was not closely cognate to Greek.

Nor indeed do the Greeks stand alone in treating as altogether separate from their own tongue languages very closely allied to it. Modern linguistic science has shown that Assyrian is a very close cognate of Hebrew, and it is by means of the latter that Semitic scholars are able to interpret the Assyrian documents. Yet Jeremiah the prophet said of the Assyrians, "it is a mighty nation, it is an ancient nation, a nation whose language thou knowest not, neither understandest what they say[2]." The interview between Rabshakeh and Eliakim on the wall of Jerusalem also makes it clear that the ordinary Hebrew could not understand Assyrian[3].

If on the other hand it could be proved that the Lemnian inscriptions were in any variety of Etruscan script, it would not in the least prove the identity of the Pelasgians and Etruscans, or that they spoke the same language. For it would be quite natural for a people who had lived in Etruria to adopt the Etruscan script, though not the language.

As the view of Pauli and Bugge met with acceptance from many scholars, and as the eminent Swedish archaeologist Montelius made this supposed identity the basis of a theory of authorship for the Mycenean culture, it will be convenient at this point to examine the evidence for and against this doctrine. Shortly after the appearance of my essay, "What

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[1] *Studien*, pp. 54 *sqq.*, 4th ed.

[2] v. 15.

[3] Isaiah, xxxvi. 11.

People made the objects called Mycenean?" Montelius before the British Association at Liverpool, in a paper entitled "The Tyrrhenians in Greece and Italy," supported the following propositions:

(1) that the Oriental civilization long anterior to 1500 B.C. was brought over to the Greek coasts and isles; (2) that during this so-called Mycenean period an influence can also be traced in Greece from the Phoenicians and from Egypt; (3) but that the main influence came from Asia Minor; (4) and that this was due to the immigration of peoples from this part of Asia; (5) that these are the people generally called Pelasgi or Tyrrhenians by the Greeks; (6) that the Oriental civilization advanced farther to the west, and was introduced in the 11th cent. B.C. into that part of Central Italy which the Romans called Etruria, the Greeks Tyrrhenia; (7) that it was due there also to the immigration of a people of Oriental origin, the Tyrrhenians coming from over the sea, not over the Alps. This people was consequently a non-Italian one. He did not deal with the question as to whether the race was Aryan or non-Aryan[1].

But in any case Pauli's identification of the Tyrrheni or Etruscans with the Pelasgians, apart even from the alphabetic difficulties, rests on a flimsy base. Neither Dr Pauli nor anyone else can as yet read the Etruscan language, though the alphabet has been long known, as also the meaning of certain words. Now if any one who knows the Sanskrit alphabet and the meaning of a few Sanskrit words were to undertake on the discovery of some inscriptions in Burmah or Siam to tell us that these documents were written not in Sanskrit proper, but in a dialect of Sanskrit, how much value would any sober-minded Oriental scholar attach to such a statement? Yet this is exactly what Dr Pauli and Dr Bugge are doing. They explain an *ignotum per ignotius*, and peremptorily call upon us to accept their identification, and are followed by so eminent an archaeologist as Dr Montelius, not to speak of a crowd of others of inferior note. As against this conjecture let us hear the statements of the ancients with reference to the Tyrrheni and

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[1] This paper is printed in full, *Journ. Anthr. Instit.*, Feb. 1897.

Pelasgi. Herodotus in the passage just cited speaks of the Pelasgians who occupied the city of Creston above the Tyrrheni. Unless he and his contemporaries considered the Pelasgians a different people from the Tyrrheni, why should he thus distinguish them? Again, he says that these Pelasgians of Creston "spoke a language unlike any of their neighbours." But the Pelasgi are the close neighbours of the Tyrrhenians, therefore they did not speak the same language as the Tyrrhenian or Etruscan. But these Pelasgians of Creston (who had once dwelt in Thessaliotis) spoke the same language as the Pelasgians of Placia and Scylace, who had come there from Lemnos, and therefore it follows that the Pelasgians of Lemnos spoke a language differing from Etruscan. But the Pelasgians of Lemnos are called Tyrrhenian, from which it follows that the epithet *Tyrrhenian* when applied to the Pelasgian does not imply any racial connection between Etruscans and Pelasgians, much less their identity.

The Tyrrheni were well known to the Greeks from the dawn of post-Homeric literature, as we know from the Hymn to Dionysus, wherein we learn how Tyrrhenian pirates kidnapped the god, and how they deliberated whether they should carry him as a slave to Egypt or Cyprus. Herodotus had a full knowledge of the Tyrrheni, and Thucydides himself is perfectly familiar with that people, who, as he tells us, sent six ships to aid the Athenians in besieging Syracuse, so long the rival of the Tyrrheni in the seas of Italy.

This is the last time we read of the Etruscans in their political relations with the Greeks, for the Gaul was already at their gates, and the fact that a contingent of six ships only was sent, is an indication that the Etruscan power was already impaired by the inroads of the Celtic tribes.

Thucydides thus knows of Pelasgians and Tyrrhenians as separate races, so that when he speaks of certain Pelasgi as Tyrrheni he does not mean that the two peoples are identical, but uses 'Tyrrheni' as a descriptive epithet of certain Pelasgians, who had dwelt along with the Tyrrhenians, and had been more or less influenced by such contact, as we shall soon see to have been the case with the Pelasgians of Caere and

Falerii. A good parallel for the use of Tyrrhenian as an epithet of Pelasgians is afforded by Thucydides himself in the case of the *Hyblaean Megarians* of Sicily[1]. This only means that there were Megarians living at Hybla, and certainly no one would seriously argue from it that *all* Megarians were Hyblaeans. And yet this is just the way that certain scholars have been arguing from the phrase *Tyrrhenian Pelasgi*.

We may therefore conclude that the basis of Montelius' theory is unsound and that it therefore must be rejected. Moreover, the arguments to be given (p. 270) against the Carian hypothesis hold equally against all theories which postulate that the Mycenean culture has emanated from Asia Minor. Furthermore, whilst Dr Montelius admits the reliability of the tradition which represents the Pelasgians as entering Italy from Greece, he shuts his eyes to the equally reliable body of traditions which maintain that the movement of the Pelasgians was towards and not from Asia Minor. He must mete out the same measure to both series of traditions, and either accept both or reject both.

When we presently come to Etruria, we shall find that all the evidence, traditional, epigraphical, and linguistic, is against the ethnical identity of Pelasgians and Tyrrheni.

Let us now turn to the tradition concerning the royal line of Athens.

"They say that Acteus was the first who reigned in what is now called Attica; and on his death Cecrops succeeded to the throne, being the husband of Acteus' daughter. There were born to him three daughters, Herse, Aglaurus, and Pandrosus, and a son Erysichthon. The son did not come to the kingdom, but died in his father's lifetime, and Cecrops was succeeded on the throne by Cranaus, the most powerful of the Athenians. They say that Cranaus had daughters, among whom was Atthis: after her they named the country Attica, which before was called Actaea. But Amphictyon rose up against Cranaus, and deposed him, though he had the daughter of Cranaus to wife. He was himself afterwards banished by Erichthonius and his fellow rebels. They say that Erichthonius had no human being for father, but that his parents were Hephaestus and Earth[1]. Erichthonius was succeeded by Pandion I., who was succeeded by Erechtheus, who was succeeded by Cecrops II., who was succeeded by Pandion II. The latter was driven out by the Metionids, and took refuge with Pylas, king of Megara, whose daughter he had married. Pandion's sons drove out the Metionids and Aegeus the eldest became king of Athens.

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[1] vi. 4, 1: Μεγαρέας ᾤκισαν τοὺς Ὑβλαίους κληθέντας.

To Aegeus, Aethra, daughter of Pittheus, king of Troezen, bore Theseus, though many held that Theseus was begotten by no earthly father, but by Poseidon himself[2].

Towards the close of his life Theseus was supplanted by Menestheus, son of Peteos, who was son of Orneus, son of Erechtheus. Peteos had been expelled from Attica by Aegeus, but when Theseus was absent on his ill-fated Thesprotian raid, Menestheus was restored to Athens, and expelled the sons of Theseus (who fled to Euboea), and led the Athenian contingent to Troy, where he perished[3]. Then the sons of Theseus returned to Athens, and Demophon became king. He was succeeded by his son Oxyntes, who in his turn was succeeded by his son Thymoetes. At this time Melanthus, king of Messenia, in consequence of the Dorian invasion took refuge in Athens. Melanthus was descended from Neleus, who, as we saw, brought a colony of Pelasgians from Iolcus into Messenia. Melanthus was succeeded by his son Codrus, who according to popular tradition was the last king of Athens. His son Medon succeeded his father as archon for life, and his descendants (the Medontids) continued to hold the life archonship until B.C. 752, when on the death of Alcmaeon the office was made decennial.

As might have been expected these genealogies have been treated as fictions by scholars, but Töpffer[4] has successfully maintained the credibility of the Medontid pedigree against the onslaught of Dr Wilamowitz von Moellendorff[5].

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[1] Paus. I. 2, 5.

[2] *Id.* I. 17, 3; II. 30, 9; Bacchylides, XVII. 74—9.

[3] Paus. II. 25, 5.

[4] "Die Liste der athen. Könige," *Hermes*, XXXI. pp. 105 *sqq.*; *Beiträge zur griech. Altertumswissenschaft* (Berlin 1897), pp. 275—292.

[5] *Aristoteles und Athen*, II. p. 134; Frazer, *Paus.* v. pp. 479, 480.

It is to be noticed that though we have several usurpations, there is no trace of any Achean dynasty, for Melanthus is one of the ancient royal house of Iolcus (sprung from Poseidon), which, as we shall see, is thoroughly Pelasgian, whilst Menestheus was a great-grandson of Erechtheus.

There does not seem any reason for doubting the substantial accuracy of the Athenian list of kings, though of course like all such lists it probably contains some errors. We have already seen that the recital of genealogies formed an important feature of life in early Greece, and there is no reason why oral tradition, even if unaided by any form of writing, should not have preserved the list with tolerable exactness.

For it must be borne in mind that such pedigrees can be remembered with extraordinary precision by primitive people, who have but few interests, and whose memories are not overburdened with the mass of detail of which civilized man is the victim (p. 127).

Nor can it be too often pointed out that the practice of making periodical or even daily offerings at the graves of kings and ancestors would powerfully aid in keeping green the memory and names of the recipients of the sacrifices.

Even after Christianity had put an end to grave offerings broken memories of the dead still lingered on. Thus the young Norwegian farmers of Gokstad were led to commence the excavation of the great barrow, from which came the now famous Viking ship, because it was called the King's Mound, and it was popularly believed that therein had been buried a king with all his treasures. The result proved the tradition true. And yet the old sea-king with his ship had slept in his gravehow for at least eight centuries[1].

We have seen that such lists of kings as those of Athens, Argolis, and Arcadia are known among modern barbarians, who know not the art of writing (p. 127).

We were able to support the genuineness of the Arcadian tradition from the fact that the great mantic family of the Iamidae were regarded with peculiar veneration at the time of the Dorian conquest, and probably before even that of the Acheans. The Butadae or Eteo-Butadae can lend us similar aid at Athens. This clan had the custody of the Erechtheum, one end of which was dedicated to Athena Polias, whilst in the other was an altar to Poseidon "on which they sacrifice also to Erechtheus in obedience to an oracle." In it also were altars to Hephaestus and to Butes, son of Poseidon and brother of Erechtheus.

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[1] Boehmer, *Prehistoric Naval Architecture of the North of Europe*, p. 618 (Smithsonian Institute), 1893.

Contiguous (συνεχής) to the Erechtheum was the temple of Pandrosus[1], daughter of Cecrops. An inscription relating to the Erechtheum speaks of the Caryatid porch as the porch beside the Cecropium[2]. There was then a shrine of Cecrops close to the Erechtheum. Doubtless it was here that Cecrops was said to have been buried[3].

The Butadae claimed descent from Butes, and thus had in their veins the blood royal of Athens. This family furnished both the priests of Poseidon and the priestesses of Athena Polias[4].

The Erechtheum was no upstart shrine, for according to the *Odyssey*, Athena after her expedition to Scherie returned to Athens to the strong house of Erechtheus, and we likewise learn from the *Iliad* that Athena had set Erechtheus in her own shrine. On this spot therefore a cult had existed from Homeric times and probably long before, and there can be little doubt that the Butadae from of old had charge of the sanctuary. For otherwise it is not easy to see how their ancestors, Butes and Erechtheus, had gained a footing in the shrine, the latter even sharing the altar of Poseidon. On the walls of the temple Pausanias[5] saw "the paintings of the

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[1] Paus. I. 27, 2 (cf. Frazer's Comm. II. 337).

[2] Frazer, *loc. cit.*

[3] Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* III. 1, 45, p. 39 (ed. Potter). Mr Frazer thinks that "as Pandrosus was a daughter of Cecrops, it is possible that 'the Cecropium' and 'the temple of Pandrosus' may have been different names for a single small shrine or chapel abutting on the south-west corner of the Erechtheum." The great gap at this spot in the ancient wall spanned by a single gigantic block is supposed by Dörpfeld to have contained the tomb of Cecrops.

[4] Frazer, Paus. I. 26, 5.

[5] I. 26, 5.

Butadae," but though these paintings could not have gone back further than the rebuilding of the temple (409 B.C.), nevertheless there was a genealogical tree of the priests of Poseidon in the Erechtheum. The statesman and orator Lycurgus was a Butad, and wooden statues of him and his sons, wrought by Timarchus and Cephisodotus, the sons of Praxiteles, were dedicated in the Erechtheum together with a genealogical tree tracing the descent of the family from Erechtheus[1].

The importance to the whole community of a great priestly family has been demonstrated in the case of the Iamidae. It is probable that the Butadae at Athens, the Eumolpidae, who had charge of the mysteries of Demeter at Eleusis, the Basilae, who were the priests of Cronus at Olympia, and the Bessi, who in Thrace delivered the oracles of Dionysus, were once of more or less importance to their respective states. It was therefore a matter of public interest that the purity of their descent should be carefully maintained, and from this would result a careful keeping of the tradition.

When then we find in classical times at Athens a family of allowedly great antiquity having charge of the cult of Athena and Poseidon in the oldest shrine of Athens, in which also were cults of Erechtheus and Butes, from whom the Butadae claimed descent, we are forced to conclude that there had once been a real personage called Erechtheus, who on his death became the object of more than a mere family cult, which survived to late times. But one who received such divine honours must have been especially prominent in life; there is therefore no reason for discrediting the tradition that he must once have been king of Athens.

How carefully priestly families preserved their pedigrees may be seen from the fact that we read both of Butadae and Eteo-Butadae. Dependents have at all times often taken the names of the great families to which they are attached.

Thus there are hundreds of Campbells, Macarthys, Burkes, and Fitzgeralds, who have not in their veins a single drop of the blood of the chieftain families whose names they bear. So too at Rome freedmen took their masters' gentile names. For example ten thousand slaves emancipated by Sulla were called Cornelii.

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[1] [Plutarch] *Vit. X. Orat.* p. 748, e.

Naturally the chieftain families took good care to keep themselves distinct from their retainers who bore the family name.

The descendants of Butes therefore were alone known as Eteo-Butads, whilst the term Butadae would include the body of emancipated slaves which had gradually grown up round the ancient *gens*.

Not only is the antiquity of the family of the Butadae proved from its connection with a cult already prominent in Homeric days, but it can be shown to be probably much older than the beginning of the cult of Erechtheus, though of course they did not as yet bear the name Butadae. Like all the other Attic families of note they traced their descent from Poseidon. But in a later chapter we shall see that Poseidon was the chief male divinity worshipped in Attica from the most remote time, therefore the family who not only claimed descent from him, but who actually had charge of his shrine, and who later introduced into the same shrine the cult of king Erechtheus, must be regarded as the possessors of the priesthood of Poseidon for untold generations. But as in early days the functions of king and priest coincide, and the Eteo-Butadae continued to be the priests of Poseidon and Erechtheus, they must have been the true descendants of the ancient kingly house of Athens.

Moreover hard by was the grave of Cecrops, whose cult must have dated from days long before Erechtheus.

But as the Butadae had always retained undisturbed possession of the Erechtheum, there is no reason why their traditions concerning the ancient monarchy should not have given a substantially accurate outline of the early annals of Athens. Thucydides then relied on no mere idle fables when in his description of the ancient city and its subsequent growth he speaks of Cecrops as well as Theseus as historical personages[1].

An admirable proof of the unbroken tradition respecting priestly families is furnished by the Jews. Though this people have been dispersed over the earth since 79 A.D., yet in the synagogue every Sabbath the first portion of the Pentateuch is read by a Cohen (*priest*), if one be present, the second by a Levy (*Levite*). At the end of the service all the congregation (including the rabbi, if he be not a Cohen) kneel, and all the Cohens present stand up and give the blessing. As the Jews have been scattered over the face of the earth for eighteen hundred years, it would have been impossible for the Cohen family at any time within this period to have established the rights accorded to them over all modern Jewry. It must therefore go back to the days before the fall of Jerusalem. But there is good evidence that the priesthood had been hereditary from at least the time when the Hebrews conquered Canaan; thus the Cohens of to-day are the genuine descendants of a family that held the priesthood of Jehovah in the second millennium B.C.

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[1] II. 15.

Such being the persistency of religious conservatism, why should we doubt the truth of the family traditions of the Butadae (supported by the evidence of Homer) that there was a real king of Athens called Erechtheus, who reigned about fourteen centuries B.C.? But if Erechtheus was a real king, there is no reason why the monarchs who are said to have reigned before and after him should not also have been real individuals.

It may of course be objected that no sane person would treat as in any wise worthy of credit genealogies which include gods among family ancestors. Yet although Thor and Odin stand at the head of the pedigrees of the royal families of England and the Continent, I am not prepared to admit that Charlemagne, Egbert, Alfred the Great, or Edward the Confessor, are merely fabulous personages.

Indeed later Greek history affords a striking illustration of the way in which great heroes became affiliated to gods. All know how Alexander made a weary march to the shrine of Zeus Ammon in the bosom of the Libyan desert, and how according to common belief the priests knowing well the aspirations of the royal pilgrim declared to him that Zeus saluted him as his own son.

Again, it is held that there can be no element of truth in traditions such as those which represent Cecrops as a snake, and metamorphose the daughters of Pandion into a swallow and a nightingale. Such personages are held to be the pure inventions of poets and mythographers. Moreover there is a general notion among those who treat of the history of Greece and Rome that as soon as any personage, either mythical or semi-mythical, appears on the horizon, there can be no element of real history in any tradition that presumes to refer to a still earlier period or personage.

Yet a little reflection shows this principle to be unsound. Everyone knows that the old French *chansons de geste* chiefly circle round Charlemagne, Alexander the Great, and Arthur. That Charlemagne and his paladins became thoroughly mythical in many tales, not excepting the Song of Roland, will be admitted by anyone who has studied that literature, for the feats of these worthies are as superhuman as those of Homer's heroes. The same holds true of Alexander in a still higher degree. But will it be maintained that Charlemagne and Alexander are not historical personages, or will it be asserted that all Frankish history before Charlemagne, and all Macedonian before Alexander, is to be lopped off as a mere tissue of inventions vamped up by poets and writers of romance? Finally, though Arthur is enshrouded in so much sweet mystery and marvel, no one now doubts that he was a real British king who led his people bravely against their foes, and defeated the Saxons in a great fight at Mons Badonicus[1].

The lives of the Christian saints abound with childish and incredible myths concerning men and women of whose historical reality there is no reasonable doubt.

Nor is it hard to find the cause for the rise of such tales. People in our own days are prone to endow the popular hero with attributes which he never possessed. The mythopoeic process can be seen at work even in the case of celebrated humourists such as Swift, to whom are attributed many stories which were probably current long before or have only sprung into existence long after his day.

[1] Gildas, 26; Nennius, 56; 960 foemen fell before Arthur in a single charge! "corruerunt nongenti sexaginta viri de uno impetu Arthur et nemo prostravit eos nisi ipse solus."

Heroic forms loom larger as they pass away into the mist of time.

The same is true of the mediaeval or modern Roman Catholic saint. As some departed worthy remarkable for his piety in lifetime recedes from view, stories of a supernatural character grow up around his name and memory.

That a man should become the centre of a myth is no proof that such an individual never existed, but on the contrary it is very strong testimony that he was a real historical personage, who had played so leading a part in his lifetime that his personality had impressed itself deeply on the minds of his contemporaries and the memories of succeeding generations.

We are therefore no more justified in arguing that Romulus is a mere figment because his death was miraculous, than we should be in declaring that Frederick Barbarossa is a mere invention of some monkish chronicler on the ground that it was a common belief in Germany that the emperor and his knights lay in an age-long slumber within a great cave.

But it may be said that mediaeval tales speak of no personages who were turned into birds or beasts like Procne, Philomela, or Callisto. Yet the Cornish folk have through the centuries held that the soul of king Arthur passed into the 'russet-pated chough.' This rare bird may still be seen hovering in the air over Arthur's ancient hold in

"Dark Tintagel by the Cornish sea."

Nor is the interposition of deities to save their favourites any proof that the latter never existed, for the *chansons de geste* furnish similar stories.

Thus in *Gérard de Viane* Roland and Oliver, after a long combat in which neither gained advantage, are pitied by God, who separates them by a cloud from each other's sight and sends an angel to reconcile them:

Quant entr' aus deus descendit une nue
Qui as barons ait tolu la véue.
……………………………………
Evoz uns angle qui par Deu les salue.

The introduction of divine beings into a poetic narrative of real events does not destroy the nucleus of fact. For who will maintain that because Addison introduced guardian angels into his *Campaign*, of which Marlborough's victories in Flanders formed the theme, therefore no such persons as John Churchill or Louis XIV. had ever lived?

Enough has now been said to show that it is unscientific to regard as wholly unworthy of belief any story in which the supernatural or marvellous finds a place. It follows from what we have just seen that, whilst there may be great varieties in detail, and large accretions of the miraculous, the main facts both as regards persons and events are worthy of credit.

Finally, the fact that a myth has grown up round some name is a very strong proof that the name is that of an individual who had played a foremost part among his compeers.

Such at Athens were Theseus the Unifier of Attica, Erechtheus the conqueror of Eleusis, and Cecrops the founder of the old city on the Acropolis.

We have now rehearsed the traditions touching the early history of Argolis, Laconia, and Attica. If we could find some test derived from their political condition in classical times which would apply to all alike, and if we found on its application that the traditions relating to all three states are amply confirmed by the political institutions existing in all three in the fifth century B.C., we should then have obtained solid ground for believing that in the native traditions of all three there is a large nucleus of historical truth.

In Argolis according to the tradition contained in Thucydides the transition from the ruling house of the Perseidae to that of the Pelopidae involved no change in the body of the population, for since the Acheans, as we have seen, were but a handful, there was no change in the body of the population, until the arrival of the Dorians. In Laconia on the other hand we had the evidence of Ephorus for believing that there had been considerable settlements of Acheans in that country. In the policy of Menelaus towards his subject towns occupied by the old population which he was ready to clear out in order to plant in Odysseus and his Achean clansmen, we have a very strong substantiation for the fuller form of tradition handed down by Ephorus and Strabo. When therefore the Dorians conquered Argolis they found only one kind of population, that is the original Pelasgian into whom their Achean lords had merged in some degree. This ancient population now became the serfs of the Dorian conquerors, and they were known as *Gymnesioi* or *Gymnetes* in classical times. Once at least they made an effort to throw off the yoke. When the Argives suffered a sore defeat at the hands of the Lacedemonians some years before the Persian invasion, and nearly all the Argive citizens of the fighting age were slain, the Gymnesioi obtained the control of the state until the young Dorians grew to manhood, and reasserted the mastery.

The serfs took refuge in Tiryns, as we know from Herodotus[1], and probably also in Mycenae. In these two ancient fortresses of their race they maintained themselves in freedom, and these are they who under the glorious names of Myceneans and Tirynthians sent contingents to aid the cause of Hellas against the barbarian, and whose names may still be read fresh and clear on the coils of the great triple serpent dedicated with its surmounting golden tripod to Apollo from the tithe of the spoils of Plataea. The Dorians of Argos lack this glory, and it was perhaps partly to vent their rage that in 468 B.C. they reduced once more the two old strongholds, which henceforth were to lie desert and in ruins.

In Laconia in historical times there were three classes, (1) the Spartiatae or Dorians who formed the ruling class, (2) the Perioeci, who are generally held to have been the descendants of the old Achean aristocracy, and who were treated less harshly by the Dorians than (3) the Helots, who were of the same stock as the ancient population of Messenia and Arcadia. The existence of these three classes tallies exactly with the account given by the ancient historians.

Now Thucydides and Herodotus and the general consensus of ancient testimony held that the people of Attica were autochthonous, or in other words, there was no tradition no matter how vague of the incoming of this race into Attica. Modern writers speak of the settlement of the Ionians, and, have freely talked of Achean conquest. If they are right and the tradition is wrong, then by parity of reasoning not only from the cases of Argolis and Laconia, but also from that of Thessaly with its serfs called Penestae, and from Magna Graecia with its like serf population called Pelasgi, we ought to find some trace of a serf class in Attica. But neither in the names of the four so-called Ionic tribes,—Aegicoreis, Teleontes or Geleontes, Hopletes and Argadeis,—nor in the Thetes, the fourth and lowest class of the Solonian constitution, do we find any evidence to warrant the suggestion that a helot population had ever existed in Attica. For the four Ionic tribes correspond in number with the four ancient tribes of the Arcadians, whom we find still at Tegea in the time of Pausanias, where each of them had its own special statue of Apollo Aguieus, and thus were evidently equal from of old. But as the Ionians were descended from the Pelasgians of Peloponnesus, the coincidence in number between the Ionic tribes of Attica and the Arcadian tribes arises from all having sprung from an original common stock. Therefore if it is assumed that one of the Ionic tribes in Attica was originally servile, the same must hold good for Arcadia, but for the latter there is not a scintilla of evidence, for it is admitted that the Arcadians had never suffered any permanent conquest by another race.

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[1] vi. 83.

Again, the term *Thes* from its first appearance in literature always means a poor freeman, but never a serf. Thus the derivative verb (θητεύειν) is used in Homer in that famous passage where Achilles declares that he would rather be a farm-labourer and work as a *Thes* for a lackland man, than be king among the dead[1].

Achilles does not say that he would rather be a slave than reign among the shades, for he knew full well (or rather the poet knew full well) that the life of the poor freeman, who had to work as a labourer for other poor men, was harder than that of a slave. So in the Southern States of America in the days of slavery the ordinary well-treated negro slave was often better fed than the 'poor whites' around.

[1] *Od.* XI. 489: βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάρουρος ἐὼν θητευέμεν ἄλλῳ
ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἀκλήρῳ κ.τ.λ.

We may therefore conclude that as there is no trace of any serfdom at Athens, the tradition that there had not been any influx of another and master population at any time is perfectly worthy of our credence.

Eleusis. Hither came Demeter in quest of Persephone, and here was the most famous shrine of the Mother and her Daughter. According to the Homeric Hymn Celeus entertained Demeter unawares[1]. According to another story it was Eleusis or Eleusinus who received the goddess; he was slain by Demeter because he interrupted her when she was in the act of making his infant son Triptolemus immortal by placing him on the fire[2]. This Eleusis was said by some to be the son of Hermes and Daira daughter of Ocean; by others a son of Ogygus. Various stories are likewise told of the parentage of Triptolemus: the Athenians said that he was son of Celeus; others made him son of an Argive priest Trochilus and an Eleusinian wife; others again made him child of Earth and Ocean, whilst another version made Cercyon and Triptolemus sons of a daughter of Amphictyon[3] (p. 149), Rarus being the father of Triptolemus, Poseidon of Cercyon. All these tales indicate that at Eleusis an aboriginal race had established the cult of Demeter. According to the Homeric Hymn "she showed to Triptolemus and Diocles smiter of horses and mighty Eumolpus and Celeus leader of peoples the way of performing the sacred rites and explained to all of them the orgies."

Eumolpus had come from Thrace and was the son of Poseidon and Chione daughter of Boreas and Oreithyia. It is not unlikely that the Eleusinians were glad to be reinforced by a body of settlers, who could aid them against Athens. Certain it is that with the appearance of Eumolpus comes the great struggle between the two towns, which was ended by a battle in which Erechtheus vanquished the Eleusinians and slew Immaradus son of Eumolpus, but Erechtheus himself likewise perished. Peace was concluded on the condition that the Eleusinians should perform the mysteries by themselves, but were in all other respects to be subject to the Athenians[4].

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[1] Hom. *Hymn. ad Cer.*

[2] Apollod. I. 5, 2.

[3] Paus. I. 14, 2.

[4] *Id.*, I. 38. 3.

According to another story Ion son of Xuthus and of Creusa daughter of Erechtheus, at the request of the Athenians, came from Aegialus to command them against the Eleusinians, and he fell in battle.

It would appear that when Eleusis became subject to Athens the old royal family descendants of Eumolpus, like the Butadae at Athens, though deprived of their political power, yet retained their sacerdotal rights. Thus in classical times the Eumolpidae had full control of the mysteries of the goddesses, which were revealed to those mortals, *ὧν καὶ χρυσέα κλῂς ἐπὶ γλώσσᾳ βέβακε προσπόλων Εὐμολπιδᾶν*[1].

Like the Iamidae and the Butadae the Eumolpids traced their descent from Poseidon.

From what Thracians Eumolpus sprung, we shall attempt to show on a later page (398—9).

In all the traditions relating to Eleusis there is no allusion to any Achean or Dorian conquest. The Mycenean remains found at Eleusis must therefore belong to the aboriginal Pelasgians of Attica.

Salamis "lies over against Eleusis and extends as far as the territory of Megara. It was said that it first got its name from Cychreus, who called it after his mother Salamis, daughter of Asopus[2]." Afterwards it was colonized by the Aeginetans under Telamon, the son of Aeacus, the great Achean chief.

Here again there is a distinct reminiscence both of an autochthonous population and a conquering race. But in the prehistoric cemetery we saw that in addition to a series of cist-graves with the remains of unburnt bodies, there were also two which contained urns filled with cremated remains. The latter indicate a change either in religion or in the population. But, as cremation is a special feature of the Acheans of Homer, whilst on the other hand inhumation is the universal rule in the Mycenean tombs, the legend of the capture of the 'dove-nurturing isle' by Telamon the Achean is in strict agreement with the facts revealed by the old necropolis.

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[1] Soph. *O. C.* 1051—3.

[2] Paus. I. 55, 2.

AEGINA.

Its ancient name was Oenone[1], but when Zeus carried there Aegina daughter of Asopus, it was called after that heroine. Aeacus was her son, and when he grew to man's estate he prayed for people for his island and Zeus made them spring from the ground[2]. Here dwelt the Aeacidae, until after the Dorian invasion when a body of Dorians from Epidaurus on the mainland opposite crossed over and introduced the Dorian manners and language into the island.

A still earlier conquest than that of the Dorians is shown by the Aeacus legend, in which the island is renamed. The hero is sprung from Zeus instead of Poseidon. Moreover the introduction of the worship of Zeus into Greece is intimately bound up with him. According to the story, when all the land was destroyed with a drought, the oracle at Delphi was consulted and the priestess bade the people pray to Zeus, and to prevail on Aeacus to act as their intercessor. All the communities therefore sent envoys to Aeacus; the hero granted their request and founded the cult of Zeus Pan-Hellenius on Mount Pan-Hellenius in Aegina. But there is evidence that Poseidon had possessed Aegina before the coming of Zeus and Aeacus, and as we have found Poseidon the ancestor of all the early families of Peloponnesus and Attica, and we also saw that no Attic hero traced his descent from Zeus, it is reasonable to infer that in the parentage of Aeacus and his ousting of the cult of Poseidon by that of Zeus Pan-Hellenius there is evidence of the coming of a new stock. This is supported by the fact pointed out already, that the worship of Zeus Pan-Hellenius at Olympia arose probably after the Achean conquest.

CALAURIA.

Though this island was too small to have any political history of its own, it nevertheless had some prominence, because its shrine of Poseidon was the meeting-place of a very ancient

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[1] Pindar, *Nem.* VIII. 7, etc.

[2] Paus. II. 29, 2.

SOUTHWARK CENTRAL

amphictyony consisting of Hermione, Epidaurus, Aegina, Athens, Prasiae, Nauplia, and the Minyan Orchomenus. In classical times the Argives held the seat of Nauplia, and the Lacedaemonians that of Prasiae[1]. This shows that the bond was far more ancient than the Dorian conquest. All the towns mentioned with the exception of Orchomenus were situated in districts which, as we have already shown, were occupied by the autochthonous race, whose chief families traced their descent from Poseidon. We shall presently see that Orchomenus also belonged to the same race. The worship of Poseidon indicates that all were of a common stock. But as Athens had not been conquered by the Acheans, this stock was no more Achean than it was Dorian, and therefore must have been Pelasgian.

MEGARIS.

This district had of old belonged to the Athenians, king Pylas having bequeathed it to Pandion. "This is proved," says Pausanias[2], "by the grave of Pandion in Megarean territory, and by the fact that Nisus, relinquishing to Aegeus, the eldest of the family, the sovereignty of Attica, was invested with the kingdom of Megara and of all the country as far as Corinth." In the reign of Codrus the Peloponnesians marched against Athens; and having achieved no brilliant success, on their return they took Megara from the Athenians, and gave it to such of the Corinthians and of their other allies as chose to settle in it. "Thus the Megareans changed their customs and language and became Dorians." The Megareans derived the name of their town from a story that Car, the son of Phoroneus, reigned in this land, and that in his time sanctuaries of Demeter were first made in the land and the people named them *megara*. But the Boeotians affirmed that it got its name from Megareus, son of Poseidon, who dwelt at Onchestus, and came with an army to aid Nisus against Minos; he fell in battle and was there buried. The Megareans said that Lelex came from Egypt and reigned in the eleventh generation after Car, the son of Phoroneus, and that in his reign the people were called Leleges. They also said that Megareus, son of Poseidon, succeeded Nisus on the throne, having married the king's daughter Iphinoe.

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[1] Strabo, 373.

[2] I. 39, 4—6.

In the reign of Nisus, according to another story, the city was taken by Minos of Crete.

Not one of these legends refers to an Achean conquest; it is clearly indicated that up to the Dorian times it had been occupied by the same people as Attica, and although there are at least two indications of conquest before the Dorians, no reference whatever is made to the Acheans. It is also noteworthy that their eponymous hero is a son of Poseidon and not of Zeus.

PHOCIS.

The name Phocis was originally confined to the district round Delphi and Tithorea. It was said to derive its name from Phocus, son of Ornytion of Corinth, whose pedigree we have already seen when treating of that city. A generation later, "when a body of Aeginetans under Phocus, son of Aeacus, had sailed to the country, the name came into general use as the designation of the whole region now known as Phocis[1]." According to another story[2] Phocus son of Aeacus was slain by his brothers Peleus and Telamon in Aegina, where his grave was shown (p. 119 *n.*). "The children of Phocus settled near Parnassus in the country that is now called Phocis."

Here again we find a settlement of the old race occupied afterwards by an Achean prince and his people. Later we shall see evidence for a Thracian settlement in Phocis.

Delphi. "They say that the oldest city here was founded by Parnassus, son of a nymph, Cleodora. Like other heroes, as they are called, he is credited with a divine and human father, his divine father being Poseidon, his human father being Cleopompus[3]." The city was inundated in Deucalion's flood, but some of its people escaped to the heights of Parnassus, led thither by the howling of wolves, from which they called the place Lycorea. The place was originally sacred to Poseidon. Other stories made Lycorea derive its name from Lycorus, a son of Apollo and a nymph, and Delphi take its name from Delphus, another son of the same god and Thyia, or, according to others, Melaena.

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[1] Paus. x. 1, 1.

[2] *Id.* II. 29, 2.

[3] *Id.* x. 6, 1—3.

The famous oracle belonged to Gaia.

When we consider the cults of Poseidon and Apollo, we shall refer at some length to the mythology of this famous shrine.

It is sufficient, here, to point out that the oldest hero is a son of Poseidon, the ancestor of the chief houses of Peloponnesus and Attica.

Daulis. This place derived its name from a daughter of Asopus, but it is especially noted for the myth of Tereus and Procne, for it was here that the women dished up to Tereus his own boy. It was believed that no swallow would lay eggs or even build its nest there, such a dread of Tereus and of his native place had Philomela even in her bird form[1].

This story connects Daulis with the autochthonous race, for Tereus certainly was neither a Dorian nor an Achean.

"In the land of Daulis there is a place called Tronis, where there is a shrine of the hero-founder. Some say that this hero is Xanthippus, a famous warrior; but others that he is Phocus son of Ornytion, son of Sisyphus. However that may be, he is worshipped every day, and the Phocians bring victims, and the blood they pour through a hole into the grave, but the flesh it is their custom to consume on the spot[2]." If the hero was really Phocus son of Ornytion, then he, like many Christian saints, had more than one sepulchre, for Pausanias saw at Tithorea the tomb of Antiope and Phocus son of Ornytion[3].

It was on Parnassus that the children of Phocus son of Aeacus the Achean had settled, and it is possible that the Phocus[4] associated with the grave of Tronis was the son of

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[1] Paus. x. 4, 5. [2] *Id.* x. 4, 7. [3] *Id.* x. 32, 10.

[4] Paus. (x. 4, 5) says that the people of Daulis were the tallest and strongest in Phocis.

Aeacus rather than the son of Ornytion. It is quite possible that the new settlers may have attached the name of their own ancestor Phocus to a grave which was really that of a native local hero Xanthippus. The fact that the grave was ascribed to Phocus and Xanthippus can only point to the conclusion that a new cult had come in, but had not ousted an earlier one, probably that of a local hero, for it is more likely that the name of the eponymous hero would get attached to the grave of some ancient local hero than the reverse. This is confirmed by the fact that the Phocicum or meeting-place of the twenty-two Phocian communities, though situated in the territory of Daulis[1], was not at the Heroum, which would probably have been the case had the grave been really that of the eponymous hero.

Boeotia and Thessaly.

We now come to Boeotia and Thessaly, which can be treated with greater convenience together than apart.

We shall first deal with **Orchomenus** known to Homer as the 'Minyan' and as 'rich in gold,' in contrast to the Arcadian Orchomenus called 'rich in sheep.'

Our object is (1) to identify the Minyans of Orchomenus with the Minyans of Thessaly, and (2) to prove both to be Pelasgians. Orchomenus derived its name from Orchomenus, son of Minyas, who was the son of Eteocles, who was the son of Andreus. The latter was said to have been the first occupant of this part of Boeotia, having come thither from Thessaly. He was one of the indigenous race of that region, for he was the son of the river Peneus.

The Minyan genealogy is thus connected with the coast of Thessaly between Iolcos and Peneus, the very district with which is indissolubly linked the history of the Minyae who appear as the first navigators from any part of Greece to the Euxine Sea. E. Curtius[2] says: "The race which first issues forth with a history of its own from the dark background of the Pelasgian people is that of the Minyi[3]."

The Minyae likewise appear in Peloponnesus. They dwelt in Triphylia, where they settled after driving out the Epeians, the original possessors, from a portion of their country. The Eleans in later days occupied another portion. These Minyae we shall prove to be Pelasgians from Iolcus. That there was a close connection between the Minyae of Orchomenus and the Minyae of Iolcus is strengthened by the statements of Strabo that the Minyae of Iolcus were a colony from Orchomenus[1]. Though this reverses the other story that the Minyans of Orchomenus came from Thessaly, it maintains the relationship between them. The Minyae of Iolcus dwelt in what was called the Pelasgic Argos, and were therefore probably a Pelasgian tribe. If we can prove them to be such, the proof will likewise hold good for the Minyae of Orchomenus. We have already mentioned Minyae who occupied six towns in Triphylia in the Peloponnesus, living beside the older tribe of the Epeians, and the later settled Eleans. According to Pausanias[2], Neleus, the father of Nestor, conquered Pylus, having come with 'the Pelasgians from Iolcus.' These can be no other than the Minyae of Iolcus, who probably under the pressure of Achean advance had to leave their old homes in Pelasgic Argos. The fact that Nestor's mother was Chloris, a Minyan from Orchomenus in Boeotia, helps at the same time to confirm the identification of the Minyae of Orchomenus with those of Iolcus.

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[1] Paus. x. 5, 1.

[2] *Hist. of Greece*, vol. I. 87.

[3] In N. Thessaly lay the towns Orchomenus and Minya. (Müller, *Orch.* p. 241.)

We have now proved (1) the connection of the Minyans of Orchomenus in Boeotia (*a*) with the inhabitants of the Pelasgic Argos in Thessaly, (*b*) with the Minyans of Iolcus on the Pagasaean Gulf, the very district of the ancient Pelasgic Argos in which stands the tomb of **Dimini** near Volo (ancient Iolcus); and (2) that these Minyans of Iolcus are Pelasgians, being so termed by Pausanias when he describes the settlement of Neleus at Pylus, where later on we find the Minyae with the Epeians and Eleans forming the three tribes which gave its name to Triphylia.

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[1] 414: *καλεῖ* (*sc.* Homer) *δὲ Μινύειον τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν ἀπὸ ἔθνους τοῦ Μινυῶν· ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἀποικῆσαί τινας τῶν Μινυῶν εἰς Ἰωλκόν φασιν, ὅθεν τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας Μινύας λεχθῆναι.*

[2] IV. 36, 1: *ὑπὸ Νηλέως καὶ τῶν ἐξ Ἰωλκοῦ Πελασγῶν ἐκβληθεὶς.*

We have seen that Andreus, the founder of the Orchomenus dynasty, came from the Peneus, and so the Pelasgic origin of the Minyans of Orchomenus might be assumed from that circumstance alone. But there are other points. The name Minyan itself links them with the Minyans of Iolcus, the name Orchomenus with the Pelasgians of Orchomenus in Arcadia, who in turn are closely connected with the Minyae of Thessaly. For Ancaeus, king of Tegea, is one of the crew of the Argo. Again Orchomenus in Boeotia was a member of that ancient amphictyony which met for the worship of Poseidon in the island of Calauria, of which Nauplia was also a member as well as Athens. Finally Orchomenus was the seat of a most ancient cult of the Charites.

Now Herodotus[1] believed that Hera, Hestia, Themis, the Charites and Nereids were purely Pelasgian deities. The existence then of an immemorial fane of the Charites at Orchomenus stamps the Minyans as Pelasgian.

Thebes. This famous city has now yielded Mycenean remains of importance. We have therefore to decide whether these are to be ascribed to the Acheans, or to the older occupants of the land, the Cadmeans, in reference to whose ethnical affinities we shall have to speak in a subsequent chapter, or to a still earlier settlement which according to the legend long preceded the coming of the Phoenician Cadmus, and his marriage with Harmonia.

We have long since noted that the building of great walled cities is one of the chief characteristics of the Mycenean people. Homer, as we saw, refers to the great fortress of Tiryns, but we have to get from later writers the tradition who the builder was. Now in the case of Thebes and its great fortress, which was in after days called the Cadmea, we have Homeric testimony not only for the existence of its walls, but also for the authorship of these fortifications. In that weird procession of Fair Women which passed before Odysseus he "saw Antiope, daughter of Asopus, but she boasted that she had slept in the embraces of Zeus, and she brought forth two sons, Amphion and Zethus, who first built the place of Thebe of the seven gates, and walled it, since they could not dwell in wide Thebe without walls, valiant though they were[1]."

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[1] II. 50.

Later legend also ascribed the building of these walls to Amphion, but adding a miraculous element to Homer's simple unvarnished tale related how

"Like some great landslip, tree by tree,
  The country-side descended;
And shepherds from the mountain-eaves
  Looked down, half-pleased, half-frightened,
As dashed about the drunken leaves
  The random sunshine lighten'd!"

The massive stones came spontaneously and fitted themselves together in order due to form the Theban fortress charmed by the spell of Amphion's music.

Homer makes Antiope daughter of Asopus, but by another form of the story she was daughter of Nycteus, king of Thebes, and Polyxo. After the birth of Amphion and Zethus, whom she exposed on Cithaeron, she fled to Epopeus, king of Sicyon, who took her to wife. Pausanias says that Epopeus carried her off forcibly, in revenge for which Nycteus warred against Epopeus. On the death of Nycteus his brother Lycus succeeded to the throne. Lycus recovered Antiope and married her. She was persecuted by Dirce, the first wife of Lycus, but was eventually restored to Thebes by her two sons who had overthrown Lycus and Dirce.

Nycteus was a son of Poseidon by Celene, daughter of Atlas king of Lesbos, or of Thebes according to others. He married Polyxo of Crete, who bore him Antiope.

Either form of the story is equally good for us, since Antiope is either daughter of the river-god Asopus, and is therefore autochthonous, or she is daughter of Nycteus, whose lineage is not traced to Hellen or his sons but to Poseidon and a princess either of Thebes or Lesbos, an island called especially Pelasgian by Strabo. Polyxo, the mother of Antiope, is from Crete.

Again, Epopeus the king of Sicyon, who plays so prominent a part in the tale of Antiope, is certainly of the prae-

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[1] *Od.* xi. 260 *sqq.*

Achean stock. He built at Sicyon a great temple of Athena, which was completely destroyed by thunderbolts save the altar, in front of which was the barrow erected to Epopeus himself. He ruled over the districts of Argolis which were called Ephyraea and Asopia.

He had ousted the aboriginal Sicyonic dynasty, having come to Peloponnesus from Thessaly[1]. His father was that famous autochthonous Aloeus, husband of Iphimedea, who bare to Poseidon the twin giants commonly known as the 'sons of Aloeus.' Indeed another version represented Epopeus also as a son of Poseidon.

According to Herodotus[2] the Greeks who dwelt in Boeotia at the time of the coming of Cadmus were chiefly Ionians. By this he means Pelasgians, for we have seen already that he held the Ionians to be Pelasgians.

We may therefore without hesitation conclude that Amphion and Zethus, the builders of the walls of Thebes, belonged to a stock that long preceded the advent of either Achean or Dorian into Boeotia.

Amphion and Zethus are fathered on Zeus, as were Pelasgus and Corinthus, but as their ancestry is from Poseidon, it is probable that it was only in Achean times that they were affiliated to the god from whom the great Achean families traced their descent.

The Argo and her voyage are well known to Homer. She alone of all ships had escaped from Scylla and Charybdis[3]. Evenus, whom Hypsipyle bore to Jason when the Argonauts touched at Lemnos, is reigning in that island at the time of the siege of Troy and is a wealthy trader, trafficking with the Phoenicians, with the Acheans, whom he supplied with wine, and with the Trojans.

From other sources we hear that the Argonauts went up the Black Sea to its eastern end in their search for the Golden Fleece. Strabo has well explained this story as arising from the practice in that region of collecting gold dust by placing fleeces across the beds of mountain torrents, to catch the particles of gold brought down by the stream.

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[1] Paus. II. 6, 1.
[2] v. 58.
[3] *Od.* XII. 69, 70.

The Argonauts mounted even the Caucasus, and heard the groans of Prometheus agonized in his adamantine bondage by the gnawings of the vulture. That voyages were made in Mycenean times to that region gets a curious piece of confirmation from the fact that the only gem of lapis lazuli (of known provenance) as yet found in Mycenean graves is that discovered in the beehive tomb at Dimini in Thessaly. If such gems had been found in Crete, Mycenae, or Vaphio, we could say that they came from Egypt, but the fact of their absence in southern Hellas, and the presence of one in Thessaly, points rather to direct trade with the only region which furnished the stone. For Persia supplied it all, until in modern times South America and Siberia have also furnished it.

Pelasgian Argos is mentioned by Homer and Strabo, as we have already seen; the latter tells us that it was the territory extending from the mouths of the river Peneus to Thermopylae (on the Malian Gulf). This region was also known as Pelasgiotis[1]. It of course comprised within it the Pagasaean Gulf, and Iolcus, so associated with the sailing of the Argo, and Mount Pelion, Jason's home, with timber from which the Argo was built.

On the Peneus lay the city of Larissa, the old Pelasgic capital, which still retains its name and pre-eminence. In Homer[2] the Pelasgi had been but recently driven out from it, for among the allies of the Trojans are "the tribes of the Pelasgians who used to dwell in Larissa and those who dwelt in Pelasgic Argos." The Minyae may then be regarded as one of the Pelasgic tribes. They are certainly not Achean, for the pedigree of Jason shows no connection with Hellen and his sons. Jason was son of Aeson, who was the son of Cretheus and Tyro, who bore to Poseidon Pelias and Neleus. Once more Poseidon and not Zeus is the divine ancestor of the family. Down to the time of Perseus the Pelasgians are still in possession of this region, for he and his mother went there, when it was still known as Pelasgiotis[3].

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[1] Apollod. II. 4, 4.

[2] *Il.* II. 237.

[3] Apollod., *l.c.*

Ossa. We saw that two tombs of the Mycenean type have been discovered on this famous mountain. If we can show that no Achean or Dorian ever dwelt down to the classical times on the slopes of Ossa, but that on the contrary it was always occupied by two very ancient tribes, of whose Pelasgic character there is no doubt, we shall have once more produced a strong piece of testimony in favour of the Pelasgic authorship of the Mycenean culture.

Strabo tells us[1] that "because the Perrhaebians and Lapithae lived intermingled together, Simonides calls all those peoples Pelasgiotae, who occupy the eastern parts about Gyrton and the mouths of the Peneius, Ossa, Pelion, and the country about Demetrias, and the places in the plain, Larisa, Crannon, Scotussa, Mopsium, Atrax, and the parts near the lakes Nessonis and Boebeis." Strabo then proceeds to say that Homer joins the Aenianes and Perrhaebians together as if they dwelt near each other, and that later writers said that the Aenianes for a long time were settled in the Dotian plain, which is near to Perrhaebia, Ossa and the lake Boebeis. Hesiod spake of this country thus: "as a chaste maiden, who dwells on the sacred heights of the twin hills, comes to the Dotian plain in front of Amyrus, abounding with vines, to bathe her feet in the lake Boebeis...." According to Callimachus[2], the Pelasgians planted in the Dotian land near lake Boebeis a grove in honour of Demeter.

We may therefore conclude that from the remotest times Ossa was the home of Pelasgic tribes, who continued to hold their own there even after the invasions of both Acheans and the Thessali, as the Magnetes maintained themselves on Pelion.

That the Magnetes had occupied Pelion from a period long before any Achean conquest can be shown by the myth of the Centaurs and the Lapithae, one of the most familiar themes of Greek art.

Whilst the Centaurs in classical times are regarded as creatures of unbridled lust, as is evidenced by the story of their ill behaviour at the marriage of Hippodamia, by the tale of the misconduct of Nessus towards Deianira, and by many monuments on which Centaurs are portrayed carrying off women; another group of stories presents the Centaurs of Pelion in quite another light[1]. Chiron son of Philyra and Cornus is represented as a beneficent sage, successful in the chase[2], skilled in leechcraft and all cunning lore, a tutor meet for the sons of kings, nay, even for the offspring of the blessed gods.

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[1] 441; *cf.* Dion. Hal., I. 18.

[2] *Hymn. ad Cer.* 26.

When Apollo snatched the child Asclepius from the pyre of his mother Coronis, he bore him to the 'Magnesian Centaur,' who dwelt in a cave on Pelion, "that he should teach him to be a healer of the many-plaguing maladies of men." It was thus from Chiron that the divine physician learned to loose each from his infirmity, "some with emollient spells, some by kindly potions, or else he hung their limbs with charms, or by chirurgery he raised them up to health[3]."

It was he who reared Jason, the heir of the Minyan line of Iolcus, and to Chiron also Peleus, the chief of the new Achean dynasty, committed the education of Achilles. A black figured vase shows the hero bringing the little Achilles to Chiron, who is depicted as a venerable old man with a white beard and clad in a long robe from under the back of which issues the hinder part of a diminutive pony, the equine portion being a mere adjunct to the complete human figure[4].

Some have seen in the Centaurs a personification of the mountain torrents[5], which when swollen by rains sweep down in headlong fury to the plains, working havoc in their course; others hold that the myth arose from the fact that the Thessalians were such adroit riders, that man and horse seemed one. But such explanations are only partial, for it is impossible to conceive the venerable form of Chiron as a swollen mountain torrent, nor can we believe that if Chiron was tainted with the supposed lewdness of the later Centaurs, he would have been chosen as the foster-father of princes.

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[1] Prof. Colvin (*Journ. Hell. Stud.*, vol. I. pp. 107—67) gives very fully the archaeological and literary evidence for the Centaur myth.

[2] He is depicted on a red figured vase (Colvin, Fig. 4) carrying game hung from a pole.

[3] Pind. *Pyth.* III. 45 *sqq.*

[4] Colvin, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, vol. I. p. 131, Pl. II.; *cf.* p. 138, Fig. 4.

[5] Colvin, *op. cit.*, pp. 155—6.

A more reasonable explanation may be found.

The struggle between the Lapithae and the Centaurs is apparently alluded to in the *Iliad* more than once. Nestor had fought against a people called the Pheres (φῆρες) with Peirithous and Theseus: "mightiest were they and with the mightiest fought they, even the Pheres, who dwelt on the mountains, and destroyed them utterly[1]." That these Pheres were the same as the later Centaurs, and that their home was on Pelion, is made certain by another passage of Homer[2], in which we learn that the contingents from Gyrtona, Orthe, Elone and Oloosson were led to Troy by Polypoetes, whom "famed Hippodamia conceived by Peirithous on that day when he took vengeance on the shaggy Pheres, and thrust them forth from Pelion and drove them to the Aethices."

This is confirmed by the various allusions in the *Iliad* to Chiron, who is termed the 'most just of the Centaurs[3],' and is known to Homer as the teacher of Asclepius and Achilles[4], and as the donor to Peleus of the great ashen spear from the top of Pelion, which Achilles bore to Troy[5].

It is clear then that the Pheres are as yet nothing more than a mountain tribe and are not yet conceived as half-horse half-man.

The passage of Pindar above cited shows that Chiron was regarded as not only dwelling on Pelion, but as himself a Magnete.

The tale of Jason also represents Pelion as held by the Magnetes, for the young hero from his homestead on the hills took his stand in the market-place of Iolcus, single-sandelled, with "a twofold vesture, the garb of the Magnetes' country, close-fitting to his splendid limbs, and above a panther-skin to turn the hissing showers[6]."

It is then probable that the Centaur myth originated in the fact that the older race had continued to hold out in the mountains, ever the last refuge of the remnants of conquered races. At first the tribes of Pelion may have been friendly to the invader who was engaged in subjugating other tribes, with whom they had old feuds; and as the Norman settlers in Ireland gave their sons to be fostered by the native Irish, so the Achean Peleus entrusted his son to the old Chiron. Nor must it be forgotten that conquering races frequently regard the conquered both with respect and aversion. They respect them for their skill as wizards, because the older race are familiar with the spirits of the land, for are not these spirits the ancestors of the aborigines? On the other hand, as the older race have been driven into the most barren parts of the land, and are being continually pressed still further back, and have their women carried off, they naturally lose no opportunity of making reprisals on their enemies, and sally forth from their homes in the mountains or forests to plunder and in their turn to carry off women. The conquering race consequently regard the aborigines with hatred, and impute to them every evil quality, though when it is necessary to employ sorcery they will always resort to one of the hated race.

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[1] *Il.* I. 267—8.

[2] *Il.* II. 743.

[3] IV. 219.

[4] XI. 832.

[5] XVI. 143.

[6] Pind. *Pyth.* IV. 80.

The Veddahs of Ceylon despised by the Singhalese are yet regarded as powerful necromancers; the Sakeis, the aborigines of the Malay Peninsula, are abhorred by the Malays, yet if a Malay wants to work a spell, he secures the services of a Sakei[1].

Similarly the despised Lapps have ever been dreaded and renowned as witches throughout Northern Europe.

So too the Hunzas who live in the great mountain valley of the same name, north of Cashmere, and who were down to a short while ago the terror of Central Asia and of Cashmere, "are credited by all their neighbours, even by Kashmiris of the highest education and position, with supernatural powers. Hunza is dreaded as a city of magicians. The thum (chief) has but to throw a bit of ox-hide into a certain stream to raise hurricane, blinding snow and killing frost, wherewith to confound his enemies[2]."

Similarly in mediaeval times the Jew was employed as a wizard by the Christian who loathed him. Thus in *Gérard*

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[1] I am indebted for this information about the Sakeis to my friend Mr W. W. Skeat, M.A., Malay States Civil Service, author of *Malay Magic* (1900).

[2] E. F. Knight, *Where Three Empires meet*, p. 370.

de Viane Oliver dons a suit of armour which a Jew had endowed with magical properties, and it was the practice of the Spanish Christians to get a Jew to bless their crops[1].

The conquering races have always the best chance of getting a hearing, and hence stories of the brutality of peoples like the Maories, the Sioux, and the Australian blacks are circulated by the white men, who have robbed the aborigines of their hunting-grounds, and too often of their wives.

It is well known that the attacks made on strangers by the natives of South Sea islands are usually the result of the brutalities experienced by once hospitable and unsophisticated savages at the hands of the white trader. Tales of the untameable ferocity of the islanders thus become rife, and they are credited with much more than their due share of vice.

It was thus that too often the English settlers in Ireland spoke of the 'mere Irishry' as unmitigated savages, and it is probable that the Romans of Britain described the natives who lived beyond the Wall in terms not dissimilar. At least some words of Procopius may be so interpreted. He wrote in the sixth century of Britain thus: "The people who in old time lived in this island of Britain built a great wall, which cut off a considerable portion of it. On either side of this wall the land, climate, and everything are different. For the district to the east of the wall enjoys a healthy climate, changing with the seasons, being moderately warm in summer and cool in winter. It is thickly inhabited by people who live in the same way as other folk." After enumerating its natural advantages he then proceeds to say that "On the west of the wall everything is quite the opposite; so that, forsooth, it is impossible for a man to live there for half-an-hour. Vipers and snakes innumerable and every kind of wild beast share the possession of that country between them; and what is most marvellous, the natives say that if a man crosses the wall and enters the district beyond it, he immediately dies, being quite unable to withstand the pestilential climate which prevails there, and that any beasts that wander in there straightway meet their death[1].”

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[1] Decrees of Elvira XLIX.: "admoneri possessores, ut non patiantur fructus suos, quos a deo percipiunt cum gratiarum actione, a Judaeis benedici"; A. W. W. Dale, *Synod of Elvira*, p. 330. Perhaps it is the survival of a like feeling which prompts the fellaheen to employ by preference a Copt to survey their lands after the Nile has receded.

There seems little doubt that the wall here meant is the Wall of Hadrian, for the ancient geographers are confused about the orientation of the island.

It is therefore probable that the vipers and wild beasts who lived beyond the wall were nothing more than the Caledonians, nor is it surprising to learn that a sudden death overtook either man or beast that crossed into their territory[2].

As it is therefore certain that aboriginal tribes who survive in mountains and forests are considered not only possessed of skill in magic, but as also bestial in their lusts, and are even transformed into vipers and wild beasts by the imagination of their enemies, we may reasonably infer from the Centaur myth that the ancient Pelasgian tribes of Pelion and Ossa had been able to defy the invaders of Thessaly, and that they had from the remotest times possessed these mountains.

We can now explain why they are called Pheres, Centauri and Magnetes. Scholars are agreed in holding that Pheres (*φῆρες*) is only an Aeolic form for *θῆρες*, ‘wild beasts.’ Such a name is not likely to have been assumed by the tribe itself, but is rather an opprobrious term applied to them by their enemies. Centauri was probably the name of some particular clan of the Magnetes.

It follows then that the Mycenean remains found in that region are not Achean, but Pelasgian.

It is rightly said by Dr Eduard Meyer that the name Pelasgiotis applied to a portion of Thessaly is a proof that a people called Pelasgi had once dwelt in that country, yet the same scholar holds that the statements concerning Pelasgian inhabitants of Arcadia and Argolis and the coming of Pelasgus from Arcadia into Thessaly are only the inventions of poets. But it would be just as reasonable to argue that because the name Celtica was applied to one part of Gaul, therefore, as there was no district east of the Rhine bearing a similar name, we must not credit the statement of Caesar that the Celts, who in his time formed the ruling class in Gaul, had passed from Germany into Gaul. Again, it might just as well be argued that, whilst there can be no doubt that a people called Angles once dwelt in the part of Britain called East Anglia, we must reject as worthless the story that these people came from North Germany into Britain, because at present no district there is called by their name.

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[1] *De Bello Gothico* IV. 20, Niebuhr, 1833, p. 565.

[2] My friend Prof. T. McKenny Hughes, F.R.S., *Archaeologia*, Vol. LIII. p. 19, thinks that Procopius refers to Offa’s Dyke, and not to the Roman Wall. But for my purpose it matters little whether it be the Scotch or Welsh who were the vipers.

We have already seen in the case of the Dryopians how ancient names get overshadowed by and finally merge into the name of some stronger tribe, whether such a tribe be an external conqueror, or simply a closely cognate tribe which under certain conditions has become the dominant factor among its kindred. Because the occupants of Arcadia, Argolis and Ionia were at one time called Arcades, Danai and Iones, it by no means follows that these peoples had not been called Pelasgi. We might just as well maintain that because the present inhabitants of Spain are called Spaniards, therefore their ancestors were not Iberes.

TROAD.

The Dorians had never any foothold in the north-western corner of Asia Minor: Byzantium on the European side was their nearest settlement. The Acheans do not appear to have made any settlements in the Troad, for the towns in this region such as Scepsis and Dardania in historical times are ante-Achean in their coin types. Their local heroes are Hector and Aeneas, not Achilles or Agamemnon. On the other hand there are many traces of close connection between this region and the Pelasgi of Greece proper. Dardanus himself one of the chief heroes of the Troad according to one tradition came from Arcadia. Virgil makes him come from Samothrace the Pelasgian island, to which according to another legend he had come from Etruria. According to Strabo[1] Iasion and Dardanus were brothers who dwelt in Samothrace. Iasion was killed by lightning for his dealings with Demeter. Dardanus moved from Samothrace and built a city, to which he gave the name of Dardania, at the foot of Mount Ida. He taught the Trojans the Samothracian mysteries. The Curbantes and Corybantes, the Curetes, and Idaean Dactyli, are said by many persons to be the same as the Cabeiri, the gods worshipped in Samothrace, although they are unable to explain who the Cabeiri were.

According to a tradition preserved by Tzetzes[2] Teucer the legendary founder of the oldest city in the Troad is said to have been a Cretan. Dardanus married Teucer's daughter.

According to Callinus the elegiac poet the Teucri had come from Crete, whilst others affirmed that Attica was their original home[3].

Hence Niebuhr conjectured rightly "that the Teucrians and Dardanians, Troy and Hector are perhaps to be regarded as Pelasgian."

On the Hellespont two Pelasgian towns, Placia and Scylace, were still extant in the days of Herodotus[4]; but as these had been planted by the Tyrrhenian Pelasgi of Lemnos, they are no proof of ancient Pelasgic occupation. Cyzicus however was theirs until the Milesians made themselves masters of it[5]; and the Macrians, a race of their stock, dwelt on the other side of the same island on the coast facing the Bosphorus[6].

The legends also indicate constant intercourse between Peloponnesus and this part of Asia. When Aleus the king of Tegea, infuriated with his daughter Auge because of her *liaison* with Heracles, gave her to Nauplius to drown her in the sea, the latter took her to Mysia and sold her to king Teuthras, and there she became the mother of Telephus.

According to Pausanias[7] Aleus was the son of Aphidas, and had succeeded Aepytus in the kingdom of Arcadia. Hecataeus says that Auge had an intrigue with Heracles when the hero came to Tegea. As soon as her father discovered her evil behaviour, he put her and the child into a chest and threw it into the sea. She arrived at the court of Teuthras, a prince in the valley of the Caicus, who fell in love with her and married her[1]. Her tomb was still extant in the time of Pausanias, at Pergamus on the Caicus (p. 119 *n.*). There was another version of the legend known also to the Tegeatans according to which Auge hid the birth from her father and exposed the babe Telephus on Mount Parthenius, where the forsaken boy was suckled by a doe. In later days a precinct of Telephus existed on Parthenius at the supposed site of his exposure[2]. On Helicon was a statue of a deer suckling the infant Telephus. In agreement with these tales is the claim made by the people of Pergamus that they were "Arcadians of the band that crossed to Asia with Telephus[3]."

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[1] 592, fr. 50.
[2] Schol. on Lycophron, 1301.
[3] Strabo, 604.
[4] I. 57.
[5] Schol. ad Apoll. Rh. I. 987. Cf. *ib.* 948.
[6] Apoll. Rhod. I. 1024 and 1112.
[7] VIII. 6, 4.

Whatever may be the difference in detail, all these stories agree in representing that a settlement of some importance had been made in Mysia by immigrants from Arcadia.

But in any case Pergamus itself seems to have had distinct traces of Pelasgic occupation long before, for their territory "was said to have been sacred to the Cabeiri of old[4]."

Eurypylus the son of Telephus was an ally of the Trojans, and his territory in the vicinity of Thebe, Lyrnessus and Pedasus was ravaged by the Acheans[5].

The pre-Mycenean remains found at Troy may well be the outcome of the Pelasgic population, which dwelt there and all around, even if the true Mycenean pottery was imported (p. 47).

SCYTHIA.

We have already (p. 171) inferred from the legend of the voyage of the Argo and her Minyan crew to Colchis and the eastern end of the Black Sea that in pre-Achean days the Pelasgians of Thessaly traded with the southern shores of the Euxine. According to the same legends the Argo on her return voyage had sailed across to Tomi, passed up the Danube, and eventually found her way into the Adriatic by what was believed by the ancients to be another branch of that river.

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[1] Paus. VIII. 48, 7. [2] VIII. 54, 6. [3] IX. 31, 2.

[4] I. 4, 6. [5] *Od.* XVIII. 518: *cf.* Strabo, 581.

It will be presently shown (p. 366) that this belief had its source in the fact that the Danube valley was from the remotest times the grand trunk route between Central Europe and Asia.

The tale of the Argo's passage up the Danube shows that the early inhabitants of Greece had been acquainted with the northwest shores of the Euxine, and it is not therefore surprising that traces of Mycenean culture have been found not merely in the Danubian area, but along the shore of Southern Russia.

The Islands.

We have seen that Mycenean and pre-Mycenean objects have been found practically over the whole range of the Cyclades. That many of these articles such as pottery and engraved gems are portable cannot be denied. Yet, when we remember that it was in the islands the engraved stones first attracted attention, and that from their being found there in greater quantities than anywhere else they were hence termed 'island-stones,' the probability is that they are indigenous.

In various islands, such as Amorgus and Antiparus, cemeteries of a pre-Mycenean age have come to light, and the contents of the graves and the mode of sepulture coincide closely with those of Thoricus and Kapandriti in Attica and that found in Salamis. As we have found in Attica many facts which tended to show that there had been a gradual development of culture from the neolithic to the full bloom of the Mycenean, so we might without other evidence argue that in Amorgus there had been a like development from the pre-Mycenean to the later forms of culture which was a natural process of growth, and not due to the advent of a new population. This view can be substantiated not only from the analogies of Attica, but also from that of Hissarlik where we found that there were full proofs of a continuity of the same people from first to last exhibited plainly in the common local pottery found at every stage in the excavations.

But the discoveries lately made at Melos have given in the island area itself a complete demonstration that the Mycenean culture did not appear *per saltum*, but that it was the outcome of a long steady growth. We may therefore make up our minds that the only true claimant for authorship must be a people who can show that it has long dwelt in the islands of the Aegean Sea.

In classical times, the Cyclades were inhabited by what was regarded as more or less an homogeneous people. There is a proof of their ethnic unity in the undoubted fact that the people of twelve of these islets met annually at Delos to celebrate the great festival of the Delian Apollo on that sacred spot where older tradition averred, and rightly too, as I shall later on endeavour to prove, that Poseidon and not the Far-darter had once received the homage of the assembled islanders. The people who there met were known to the Greeks of the fifth century B.C. as Ionians. From the Hymn to the Delian Apollo we learn that the goodly company who listened to "the blind old man of Scio's rocky isle" was composed of those who dwelt in Imbros, Samos, Chios, Lesbos, Samothrace, Lemnos, and others of the Cyclades as well as of those from Athens, Aegina, and Euboea.

Herodotus tells us that the population of the islands was Pelasgian, but was afterwards called Ionic for the same reason as the inhabitants of the twelve cities on the mainland of Ionia who were sprung from Athens. In the same chapter he has already told us that the Ionians as long as they dwelt in Peloponnesus, in that district now called Achaia, and before the coming of Danaus and Xuthus to Peloponnesus, as the Hellenes say, were called Aegialean Pelasgi[1].

But we hear a good deal about other peoples who occupied at one time the islands and the contiguous coasts of Asia Minor. The Carians and Leleges figure considerably in the earliest records of the Aegean, and the former were put forward as aspirants for the Mycenean throne by several eminent scholars. We must therefore face the general question of the relation of these peoples (*a*) to one another, and (*b*) to the Pelasgian stock.

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[1] VII. 94. Dion. Hal. (I. 18) says that on the Achean conquest of Thessaly some of the expelled Pelasgians settled in the islands.

It is evident that if we can show that either one or other of these is related to the Pelasgians and that the Carians and Leleges are of the same ethnic group, we shall have proved that both of them are Pelasgic. Thucydides in a well-known passage[1] in which he describes the early condition of Greece tells us that the islands were originally occupied by the Carians and Phoenicians, but that when Minos established his Thalassocracy, the first of which Thucydides had any tradition, he put down the Carian pirates and driving out the Carians from the islands planted his sons there as their rulers.

"The islanders especially were pirates, being Carians and Phoenicians. For it was these that had colonized most of the islands. And this is a proof of it:—when on the purification of Delos by the Athenians in the course of this war, and all the tombs of those who had died in the island were taken up, above half were found to be Carians; being recognized by the fashion of the arms buried with them, and the manner in which they still bury."

When the Catalogue of the Ships was composed, the Carians were in full occupation of what was later to be known as Ionia. Thus the poet speaks of Miletus as "the city of the barbarous-speaking Carians."

Herodotus[2] says "the Carians are a race that came into the mainland from the islands. In ancient times they were subjects of king Minos and went by the name of Leleges, dwelling among the islands, and, so far as I have been able to push my inquiries, never liable to give tribute to any man. They served on board the ships of king Minos whenever he required them; and thus, as he was a great conqueror and prospered in his wars, the Carians were in his day the most famous by far of all the nations of the earth....Long after the time of Minos the Carians were driven from the islands by the Ionians and Dorians, and so settled upon the mainland. The above is the account which the Cretans give of the Carians, but the Carians themselves say very differently. They maintain that they are the aboriginal inhabitants of the part of the mainland where they now dwell, and never had any other name than that which they still bear: and in proof of this they show an ancient temple of Carian Zeus in the country of the Mylasians, in which the Mysians and Lydians have the right of worship, as brother races to the Carians: for Lydus and Mysus, they say, were brothers of Car. These nations therefore have the aforesaid right; but such as are of a different race, even though they have come to use the Carian tongue, are excluded from this temple."

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[1] I. 8.

[2] I. 171.

Strabo[1] also speaks of the temple of Zeus Carius at Mylasa: "There is a third temple, that of the Carian Zeus, common to all the Carians, in the use of which also the Lydians and Mysians participate, on the ground that they are brethren."

Next we must inquire what were the relations between the Carians and Leleges.

That the Leleges had once played a very important part not only in Asia Minor and the islands, but also on the mainland of Greece, there is abundant evidence. It is also certain that they were in some way closely bound up with the Carians. Strabo[2] says "that some writers conjecture that the Leleges and Carians were the same people; others that they were only joint settlers, and comrades in war, because there are said to be some settlements called settlements of the Leleges in Milesian territory, and in many parts of Caria there are burial-places of the Leleges, and deserted strongholds called Lelegeia. The whole country called Ionia was formerly inhabited by Carians and Leleges: these were expelled by the Ionians, who themselves took possession of the land." He then adds that in still earlier times the captors of Troy had driven out the Leleges from the region about Ida near the rivers Pedasus and Satnioeis, and that from the fact of their being associated with the Carians they were barbarians. He quotes Aristotle to show that they were a wandering nation, sometimes in company with the Carians, sometimes alone, and that from ancient times; that they had once shared Acarnania with the Curetes, but that after them the Teleboans had occupied that district; that the Locrians were Leleges, and that the same people had occupied Boeotia. In his Polity of the Leucadians he mentioned an autochthon by name Lelex who had a grandson (θυγατριδοῦς) named Teleboas who had two and twenty sons of the name of Teleboas, some of whom inhabited Leucas.

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[1] 659.

[2] 322.

Strabo points out elsewhere that the Carians and Leleges had once occupied the islands, and that the Leleges had dwelt once in the Troad on the Gulf of Adramyttium as subjects of king Altes. After their overthrow by Achilles they had retreated into Caria where they occupied certain places near Halicarnassus. They had once held the coast from Ephesus to Phocaea, Chios and Samos, according to the witness of Pherecydes, and elsewhere he states that the Leleges had once possessed the districts of Ephesus, Smyrna and Miletus. They also had eight cities in a district of Caria called Pedasis, whither they had come from Pedasus in the Troad, out of six of which towns Mausolus formed Halicarnassus, and they even held a good part of Pisidia. Though Homer had distinguished between Leleges and Carians, Strabo holds it certain that in the time of Minos the Carians who dwelt in the islands were known as Leleges. He says that "among the various accounts which are circulated respecting the Carians the most generally received is that the Carians, then called Leleges, were ruled by Minos, and inhabited the islands. Then removing to the mainland they got possession of a large tract of sea coast and of the interior, by driving out the old occupants, who were for the most part Leleges and Pelasgians[1]."

The Carians were said to have occupied the islands of Cos and Rhodes before the Trojan war; Samos likewise they had held when it was named Parthenia; they had once held Epidaurus and Hermione; they had dwelt in all the islands under the name of Leleges in the time of Minos and had been his subjects; they had assailed Attica; they had once been islanders but by the aid of the Cretans they began to form settlements on the mainland, where they founded Miletus under the leadership of Sarpedon who came from Miletus in Crete; they occupied Ephesus, Miletus and Myus, and the parts round Mycale.

The epic poet Asius of Samos said that Phoenix had two daughters, Astypalaea and Europa: Astypalaea had by Poseidon a son Ancaeus who reigned over the Leleges as they are called; that Ancaeus married Samia daughter of the river Maeander and had by her Samus. But at the time of the great migration "the Samians received a body of Ionian settlers not because they loved them, but because they could not help it. The leader of the Ionians was Procles son of Pityreus: he was an Epidaurian, and most of the people that he led were also Epidaurians, who had been expelled from Epidauria by the Argives under Deiphontes. This Procles was of the lineage of Ion son of Xuthus." In the reign of his son Leogorus the Ephesians drove the Samians out of the island, on the charge that the Samians "had joined the Carians in plotting against the Ionians." Some of the exiles settled in an island of Thrace previously known as Dardania, but from its new colonists henceforward called Samothrace. Leogorus with another body fortified himself at Anaea on the opposite mainland and ten years later expelled the Ephesians and recovered the island (*cf.* p. 650)[1].

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[1] 660.

As the Maeander is in Caria, this tale points to a direct connection between the Leleges and the Carians of the mainland.

Some modern writers hold that the Carians were distinct in race from the Leleges because of a statement of Philip of Suangela (Theangela), a grammarian who wrote a history of Caria, that the Leleges were the serfs of the Carians.

But this is to ignore wholly the evidence of Herodotus, himself a native of Halicarnassus in Caria, and that of Thucydides and Strabo, which we have just quoted. There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of Philip, but there is an easy means of reconciling his statement with that of the earlier authorities, Herodotus and Thucydides, and that of Strabo who appears to have had a thorough knowledge of Philip's history. The Leleges, who occupied eight towns in the region of Myndus, had settled there after their expulsion from Mysia. They were therefore not that particular part of the tribe who had been so long associated with the Carians in the islands, though of course originally of the same tribe. There is then no difficulty in supposing that the Carians in the days of their power had little scruple in reducing to a condition of serfdom their cousins of the peninsula of Myndus. That tribes closely related in blood frequently enslave their kinsfolk is notorious, even when there has been no long dissociation. The Normans had no hesitation in making serfs of their Saxon kindred whom they found settled in England.

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[1] Paus. VII. 4, 1—3.

Let us now return to the mainland of Greece, where we learn from Pausanias that the older inhabitants of Megara on the coming of Lelex from Egypt changed their name to Leleges (just as the old Pelasgi of Argolis were called Danaans after Danaus)[1]. The Megarians said that their city had its name long before, as it was so called by Car, the son of Phoroneus, who reigned there eleven generations before Lelex.

"According to the Lacedemonians themselves the first king who reigned in their country was Lelex, an aboriginal, and from him the people over whom he ruled were named Leleges[2]."

Again, Pausanias tells us that Pylus was founded by Pylus, son of Cleson, who had brought from the Megarid the Leleges, who at that time occupied it. On being driven thence by Nelus and his Pelasgians from Iolcus Pylus withdrew and founded Pylus in Elis[3].

The inferences to be drawn from these various passages are that the Carians and Leleges were either closely related as sister tribes of the same ethnic stock, or that they were actually identical. The first is the more reasonable. For the fact that the graves and buildings of the Leleges were spread all over Caria and were also known at Miletus, called by Homer "a city of the barbarous speaking Carians," combined with the statement that the Carians of the islands were called Leleges in early times, is best explained by supposing that there were two tribes as closely connected as the Illyrians and Enchelians, so that just as the Enchelians got lost in the Illyrian name, so the Leleges were absorbed into that of the Carians. As the Carians admitted the Lydians and Mysians to the temple of Zeus Carius on the ground of their kinship, and as the Leleges are proved to have dwelt in the very part of Mysia where Teuthras, Telephus, and Eurypylus reigned round Pedasus, and as we have already shown that Telephus led a band of Arcadian Pelasgians to the Troad, that two famous eponymous chieftains of that region, Teucer and Dardanus, were of the Pelasgian stock, and that Cyzicus was Pelasgian, we may conclude that the Leleges were of the Pelasgic stock.

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[1] I. 39, 5.

[2] III. 1, 1.

[3] IV. 36, 1.

The same holds true for Greece itself. Laconia was called Lelegia after the eponymous hero Lelex, who is described as an autochthon. According to Pausanias[1], that Lelex who had come to Megara from Egypt, whose tomb was shown hard by the sea at the foot of the acropolis of Nisaea, and after whom the aboriginal inhabitants of Megara took the name of Leleges, was son of Poseidon by Libya, the daughter of Epaphus, the son of Io, for whose genuine Pelasgian descent we have the testimony of Aeschylus (p. 216).

The Leleges of Megara and their descendants who settled in Messenia must be regarded as part of the ancient Pelasgic stock.

Again, the Leleges are intimately associated with the Teleboans in Leucas, but the Teleboans, as we have seen, are distinctly Pelasgian according to Acusilaus.

As the Leleges figure much more largely than the Carians in the traditions of the mainland of Greece, and as on the other hand the Carian name held its own on the Asiatic side until classical times, we may perhaps infer that originally the Leleges were the more western, the Carians the more eastern of the two tribes, which overlapped and ran into each other in the Aegean islands.

The Leleges may be considered a great tribe, like that of the Minyae, who are found in Thessaly, Boeotia, Messenia, Thera and her daughter Cyrene. But it must be no more assumed in their case than in that of the Minyae that because by the fifth century B.C. there was no community actually existing under the name of Leleges or Minyans the race had therefore become extinct. We might just as well argue that because there are no people in England at the present time who are called Saxons, or Angles, or Jutes, therefore the posterity of these tribes no longer exists. We have already noticed that Pausanias calls attention to the fact that though there were various communities in Hellas who were Dryopians, yet in his day the Asineans (p. 104) were the only people who continued to style themselves such.

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[1] I. 44, 3.

It is highly probable therefore that the Leleges continued to form a large element of the population of various parts of Greece, as in fact we learn from Aristotle. It is tolerably clear from the statement of Herodotus that they were not expelled from the islands by Minos, for they simply became his subjects. If Minos even had completely extirpated them and planted the islands with fresh colonists from Crete, the population of the islands would still have been Pelasgian. Later still came the Ionic movement, when, on the Dorian invasion, the old Pelasgian population of Peloponnesus combining with their kinsfolk from Attica streamed across the Aegean in search of new homes. Even if they had swept out the old inhabitants of the islands root and branch, the new occupants would have been Pelasgians. But that such was the case is unlikely, for we know that on the mainland of Asia Minor the Athenians, who, as Herodotus explicitly states, had brought no women with them, married the daughters of the Carians whom they slew[1]. We know from an Attic inscription that after the conquest of Salamis the Athenians did not exterminate the old inhabitants, but that on the contrary the latter continued in many cases to till the land allotted to the Athenian cleruchs[2]. It is probable that much the same prevailed in the Ionic advance into the islands, and that practically the old population remained, and probably remains in large part to this very hour. This view is strongly supported by the story of the Ionic settlement of Samos already cited.

One thing however seems certain, and that is that at no time did the Acheans form the population of the Cyclades; for, though Agamemnon ruled over all Argolis and many islands, yet inasmuch as the Ionic migration across the Aegean only took place on the Doric conquest, the men who acknowledged the suzerainty of Agamemnon over their seagirt homes must have been either of the old race called indifferently in the case of the islands Carians or Leleges, or else the Cretan overlords planted in by Minos.

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[1] I. 146.

[2] E. S. Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, p. 81.

Our conclusion then must be that the pre-Mycenean and Mycenean remains found in the islands are not the product of the Acheans, but of the Pelasgic stock. The uniformity of early culture seen in the islands is in exact accord with the historical records concerning their population.

The fact that in the islands, on the mainland of Greece and in Asia Minor we find diffused a uniform culture in the earliest times, meets a ready explanation as soon as we realize that the Carians, Mysians, Leleges, Minyans, Iones, and others whom we have been in the habit of regarding as separate races, were simply tribes of the same great ethnic stock.

There are several points connected with the Carians which require a short discussion. Ready solutions for these will follow as corollaries from our preceding treatment.

First, let us deal with the *prima facie* contradiction contained in the statements of the Carians and Cretans respecting the early history of the former. As our result has shown that a homogeneous race had occupied Greece, the islands, and the coast of Asia Minor later known as the Aeolid and Ionia, we can at once accept as true the opinion of the Carians that they were autochthonous in Caria, and on the other hand admit an equal truth in the doctrine of the Cretans that Carians from the islands settled on the mainland of Asia Minor; for inasmuch as there seems to have been a general movement of population for a long time across the Aegean from west to east, the islanders would constantly be driven on by pressure of kindred tribes advancing from the west to seek fresh settlements on the Asiatic coast among their kindred already there from a very remote time.

This constant communication between the various tribes of the same stock is in perfect harmony with the state of culture revealed to us at Hissarlik, in the islands, on the mainland as in Attica, Argolis, Boeotia and Thessaly, and in the graves of the Carians and Leleges on the Asiatic side.

We have already referred to the fact pointed out by Furtwängler and Loesche that the excavations at Ephesus revealed no Mycenean remains. The searches of Dr Winter at various sites have had a similar result, for he found no traces of the full Mycenean culture at Tchangli near the Panionium, though he found abundance of that pottery called Dipylon which makes its appearance as the Mycenean pottery of the grand style fades from view.

The researches of Messrs Paton and J. L. Myres, in Caria, have had a similar result, as we shall see when we examine and reject the claims of the Carians to the Mycenean civilization.

Thucydides when he argued from the contents of the graves on Delos that the Carians were the original occupants of the islands, adopted a sound principle in what is, as far as I am aware, the earliest example of the method which by means of excavations tests the accuracy of written or oral tradition. That the Carians buried their dead in small graves such as those found on Amorgus and at Thoricus in Attica is certain. It is likewise probable that they continued to do so down to the fifth century B.C. The early interments which Thucydides recognized as Carian, were the common primitive island graves, small square pits with a body in each doubled up and not cremated. If the Carians still practised inhumation and not cremation in the time of Thucydides, he would be all the more ready to identify the early interments on Delos as those of Carians or, as others would say, of Leleges.

In Caria three types of graves are commonly found: (1) the small cist-grave, (2) the full-length grave of like construction, (3) raised tumuli of stones with a doorway and a *dromos*. The first are thought by Paton and Myres to have always contained burnt bones, on the ground that in two that were opened burnt bones and ashes were found, and also that they are too small to hold a body even if contracted[1]. The latter argument seems of doubtful validity, as we know that in graves of no greater size inhumation was practised on Amorgos, at Thoricus, and Salamis. They hold that the full-length graves, in which they think that the unburnt body was laid at full length, are contemporary with the cists, and that accordingly both forms of burial were practised at the same time. Finally, the small cist-graves are found in numbers round the two remarkable tumuli or chambered graves near Assarlik, which from their architecture and style of construction they would assign to the seventh or even the sixth century B.C. From this it seems quite possible that cist-graves were in use among the Carians down to the sixth century, and when Thucydides made his comparison between the ancient graves on Delos and the Carian graves in the fifth century, the probability is that he knew that the ordinary Carian buried his dead in such cist-graves.

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[1] *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, XVI. pp. 243 *sqq.*

But here the critic will at once raise the objection, that we have identified the Carians with the Leleges and the old population of Greece, and have thus been shutting our eyes to the fact that the Carians spoke a language which was not understood by Greeks[1], for otherwise Homer would not have specially marked them out by the epithet 'barbarous-speaking' (Κᾶρες βαρβαρόφωνοι). This difficulty is not so serious as it may seem at first sight.

I have already had occasion to point out (p. 146), when discussing a similar difficulty in the case of the language of the Pelasgians of Creston, Scylace, and Placia, that the Greeks regarded as 'barbarous' the Illyrians and Thracians, who nevertheless, as we know from modern researches, spoke a language closely akin to Greek. It would therefore be reasonable to regard Carian as equally cognate to Greek, even if we had no other evidence on the matter either from ancient writers or modern linguistic investigations. This at once disposes of the assumption that Carian must have been a non-Indo-European speech, because of Homer's epithet.

But fortunately Strabo discussed the question of the Carian language, and his treatment of the subject and his words are so judicious and so much to the point that I shall quote them:

"But when Homer used the words Νάστης αὖ Καρῶν ἡγήσατο βαρβαροφώνων, it does not appear why, when he was acquainted with so many barbarous nations, he mentions the

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[1] Herod. VIII. 135.

Carians alone as barbarous-speaking, but does not call any people barbarians. Nor is Thucydides right, who says that none were called barbarians, because as yet the Greeks were not distinguished by any one name as opposed to some other."

Strabo goes on to say that Apollodorus, the grammarian, said that the Greeks, and particularly the Ionians, applied to the Carians a common term in a peculiar and vituperative sense, because they hated them for their animosity and continual hostile incursions.

But he gives us a most valuable statement of Philip, the grammarian, who wrote a history of Caria, that the Carian language contained a very large mixture of Greek words. This indicates that we have here a cognate of Greek, rather than a language with many Greek loan-words. Strabo is probably right in saying that the word *βάρβαρος* was at first invented to designate a mode of pronunciation which was embarrassed, harsh and rough, as were the words *βατταρίζειν*, *τραυλίζειν*, *ψελλίζειν* to express the same thing. He then enunciates the doctrine of onomatopoea, and adds "as those who pronounce their words with a thick enunciation are called barbaroi, so foreigners, I mean those who were not Hellenes, were observed to pronounce their words in this manner. The term barbarian was therefore applied peculiarly to these people, at first by way of reproach, as having a thick and harsh enunciation; afterwards the term was used improperly, and applied as a common ethnic term in contradistinction to the Hellenes." Later on the Hellenes discovered that it was not owing to any defect of utterance, but rather to difference of language that this peculiarity of speech was due. "But there was in our language bad utterance, or as it were a barbarous utterance."

Few readers after hearing Strabo's evidence will require further proof that Carian was closely related to Greek. It is plain that it stood to literary Greek much as Lowland Scotch or the Somerset dialect does to cultivated English.

The remains of Carian are very scanty, chiefly inscriptions, in a script consisting of Greek letters and a number of other symbols resembling those of the Cypriote syllabary. The linguistic evidence, as far as it goes, is in favour of a connection with Lycian and Greek[1].

Lesbos. The island of Lesbos, which had ever been so closely connected with the Aeolid, was anciently known by the appellation of Pelasgian, as we saw above[2]. On the conquest of Thessaly by the Acheans, some of the Pelasgians settled in Lesbos, where they mixed with a previous colony led from Greece by Macar, son of Criasus[3]. During the siege of Troy it was captured by the Acheans[4].

We have just seen that the Leleges had once formed the population of both **Samos** and **Chios**.

The general statement given in this section respecting the ethnology of the Cyclades is sufficient for our purpose. We may therefore pass on to some of the larger islands.

Thera. Though we do not assume so early a date for the prehistoric remains found under volcanic deposits as was formerly assigned to them, yet these discoveries are of high importance. We may assume that the earliest population was Lelegean (Carian), as it was in the other islands. On top of this had according to the story told by Herodotus come a layer of Phoenicians. Cadmus, the son of Agenor, had landed on this island, and there left a number of Phoenicians, and with them his kinsman Membliarus. The island then called Calliste had been held by the descendants of these men for eight generations at the time when the Minyans driven out of Lemnus by the Pelasgians, who had been expelled from Attica, came to Lacedaemon.

There they were well treated, and given Spartan wives instead of their Lemnian spouses whom they bestowed on Spartans; they conspired against the state, were condemned to death and rescued by the constancy of their Spartan wives, who by changing clothes with them delivered them from prison on the very eve of execution. Theras, the uncle of the two kings Procles and Eurysthenes, himself a Cadmean, was then starting to join his kinsmen in Thera. "Far from intending to drive out the former inhabitants he regarded them as his near kin, and meant to settle among them." Theras begged the lives of the escaped Minyans who had established themselves on Taygetus, and undertook to remove them from the land. Some of the Minyans went with Theras, who sailed with three triaconters, but most of them fled to the Paroreatae and Caucones, in Triphylia, where their kinsmen from Iolcus had settled long before.

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[1] Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, pp. 376 *sqq*.

[2] Strabo, 221, Λέσβον Πελασγίαν εἰρήκασι. Eustathius, 741, 34.

[3] Dion. Hal. I. 18.

[4] *Il*. IX. 129.

Such is the story of Thera. The Mycenean and pre-Mycenean remains in that island cannot therefore be ascribed to the Acheans. The Dorians cannot claim any early objects, for they only entered Peloponnesus far on in the Iron Age. The early remains must then be assigned to either the primitive island population or to the Phoenician settlers. But as the prehistoric remains of Thera correspond so closely to those found at Hissarlik, in Attica, at Tiryns, and the Heraeum, we may without any hesitancy conclude that they are not Phoenician, but are the products of the old island people, the Leleges, whose connection with the Pelasgians has been above set out. The only alternative is to affirm that the aboriginal population of Attica, Argolis, Laconia, and, in short, the whole of Peloponnesus, Thessaly, Boeotia, Phocis, and the Troad was Phoenician. But this is a proposition which few will be bold enough to maintain.

The superimposition of a Phoenician colony on the old Carian (Lelegean) population of Thera may serve as a type of Phoenician settlements in other islands. Legend indeed says little of such plantations in the isles of the upper Aegean, though it seems certain that the Phoenicians had worked the gold mines of Thasos at an early date[1]. But there is no evidence that they formed the oldest stratum of population in any of the islands in that area. Though they may have had considerable settlements in Cyprus from a remote period, yet it is probable that in all the other islands they never had much more than mere trading factories.

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[1] Herod. vi. 47.

Melos. Of this island, which has lately yielded so rich a harvest of prehistoric antiquities, we hear nothing in the early period. Strabo[1] simply classes it as one of the Cyclades lying in the Cretan sea. But the general account of the ethnology of the islands given above amply includes the population of Melos.

Cos. This island of the Icarian sea has an early history of its own. It may be inferred from Homer that there had been a recent settlement planted there shortly before the Trojan war.

Homer enumerates those "who occupied Nisyrus, Crapathus, Casus, and Cos[2], the city of Eurypylus, and the Calydnae islands." The leaders of the Coans were Pheidippus and Antiphus, the two sons of Thessalus, who was a Heracleid. As Strabo remarks, "these names indicate an Aeolian rather than a Dorian origin," and he further points out that the Dorian colonization of Cos was long posterior to the time of Homer[3], and that the island was occupied by a Carian population[4].

Legend said that the giant Polybotes after his overthrow by Poseidon was imprisoned under Cos.

Nisyrus. This little island lies some sixty stades distant from Cos, and was believed by the ancients to be a fragment of the latter island, which Poseidon had burst off with his trident, and flung after the flying Polybotes, who was held to be really crushed beneath Nisyrus rather than Cos[5]. As might be assumed from this legend, Poseidon was down to the time of Strabo the chief deity of Nisyrus.

RHODES.

This famous island has like Cos a mythical history. According to Strabo "it was formerly called Ophiussa (Snake Island) and Stadia, then Telchinis from the Telchines, who inhabited the island. These Telchines are called by some

[1] 484.

[2] *Il.* II. 677.

[3] 653.

[4] 473.

[5] 489.

authors charmers and enchanters, who besprinkle animals and plants, for their bane, with the water of the Styx mingled with sulphur. Others on the other hand maintain that they were persons who excelled in certain mechanical arts, and that they were calumniated by jealous rivals, and thus acquired a bad repute; that they came from Crete and first landed at Cyprus, and then removed to Rhodes. They were the first workers in iron and bronze, and were the makers of the sickle of Cronus[1]." The tradition of their skill in metal working is substantiated by the story that they had come to Rhodes from Cyprus, which from the great abundance of copper must have been, if not the first, at least one of the first places in the Aegean where the art of working in that metal arose.

That they were clever metallurgists and were falsely charged with black practices is most probably true, for in all ages the individual who outstrips his contemporaries in scientific knowledge is commonly branded as a wizard or a heretic. Roger Bacon, Copernicus, Galileo, and many a harmless mediaeval alchemist will at once occur to the reader.

Elsewhere he states that some held that "the Corybantes, Cabeiri (p. 180), Idaean Dactyli, and Telchines are the same as the Curetes; others said that they were related to yet distinguished from each other by some slight differences." He also says that the Curetes resemble rather the accounts given of Satyri and Sileni, Bacchae and Tityri, for the Curetes were represented as daemones or ministers of the gods, by those who have handed down the traditions respecting Cretan and Phrygian history, which involve certain religious rites, some mystical, others the contrary, which refer to the rearing of Zeus in Crete, the celebration of orgies in honour of the mother of the gods, in Phrygia and in the neighbourhood of the Trojan Ida[2].

Another legend represented that some of these nine Rhodian Telchines accompanied Rhea to Crete, and from nursing Zeus were named Curetes[3].

Strabo says that its early population was Carian[4].

In the time of the Trojan war Rhodes was held by a body of settlers planted there by Tlepolemus, the son of Heracles.

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[1] 653. [2] 466. [3] 652—3. [4] 473.

Having slain the aged Licymnius, the maternal uncle of his father, he immediately built ships and gathered a large body of his mother's people from the river Selleis, and after a voyage of much suffering he reached Rhodes, where they settled according to their tribes in three bodies in Lindus, Ialysus and the 'white' Cameirus.

Modern scholars have almost universally assumed that this was the Dorian colonization of Rhodes, but Strabo's argument is conclusive against this view, even if it was not sufficiently refuted by the Homeric poems. The Dorian colonists came from Megara, others of the same body went to Crete with Althamenes the Argive, the rest went to Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Cos. 'But these migrations,' says Strabo, "are more recent than the events related by Homer, for Cnidus and Halicarnassus were not then in existence. Rhodes and Cos existed, but were inhabited by Heracleidae." He points out that Homer does not in the passage above referred to mention Dorians, but that he means Aeolians and Boeotians, since Heracles and Licymnius lived in Boeotia. "If, however, as others hold, Tlepolemus set out from Argos and Tiryns, even so the colony would not be Dorian, for it was settled before the return of the Heracleids."

There is certainly no evidence to make either Acheans or Dorians the creators of the Mycenean remains found in Rhodes. If they are the product of the settlers who went with Tlepolemus, they are Pelasgian; if they belong to the older island population, who from the legend of the Telchines are intimately connected with Crete and Cyprus, they also belong to the same Pelasgic stock. The tradition of the skill of the Telchines as artificers is especially noteworthy. It is important to find that these renowned workers in the metals are connected in story with Rhodes, where such fine products of Mycenean art have been found so abundantly.

As it has been pointed out (p. 58) that the bronze swords from Ialysus are later than those found in the shaft graves at Mycenae, the evidence then, as far as it goes, points to the movement of the Mycenean culture from the mainland to Rhodes rather than in the reverse direction.

CRETE.

We have seen, as we reviewed the early legends of Asia Minor and the contiguous islands, that Crete was described as the starting-point from which many bodies of emigrants had sallied forth. From Crete went Teucer to the Troad, Sarpedon to found for the Carians Miletus, named after his mother city; the Caunians and their neighbours the Lycians claimed her as their ancient home; finally, the Telchines had gone thence to Cyprus and Rhodes, although in the case of the latter another legend reversed the story of the migration. All these tales point to Crete as a great focus of the Aegean culture, a conclusion entirely substantiated by the vast remains of that civilization already within our knowledge.

When we proceed to examine the connection between Crete and the other great foci of the same culture in Argolis and Attica, we see that, whilst legends abound, Crete is not here regarded as the centre of diffusion for Peloponnesus and Attica, but, on the contrary, we hear only of settlements in Crete. Of the five nationalities existing in the island in the time when the *Odyssey* was composed, two certainly, the Dorians and Acheans, were newcomers from the mainland of Greece, the former being from Histiaeotis (p. 87 *n.*). There are left the Pelasgi, the Cydones, and the Eteocretes. The Cydonians had come from Arcadia, the land of the Pelasgians. The people of Tegea said that Cydon, Archedius, and Gortys, the surviving sons of their king Tegeates, migrated voluntarily to Crete, and that the cities Cydonia, Gortyna, and Catreus, were named after them. Cretan pride was evidently hurt by this story, and it was held that Cydon was the son of Hermes by Acacallis, daughter of Minos, that Catreus was a son of Minos, and Gortys was a son of Rhadamanthus[1]. Miletus, the brother of Cydon, was said to have been suckled by a wolf in Crete, but though no such story

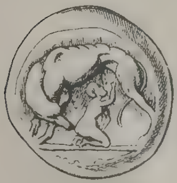
FIG. 39.
Coin of Cydonia.

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[1] Paus. VIII. 53, 4.

is extant as regards Cydon, the coins of Cydonia (Fig. 39), showing an infant boy suckled not by a wolf, but by a bitch, and accompanied by the name ΚΥΔΩΝ, indicate that some such story was likewise current touching the infancy of Cydon[1].

That the Cretans in denying the truth of the Arcadian story were acting up to the character ascribed to them by their own poet Epimenides is probable. For in classical times according to Staphylus[2] the Cydonians held the western parts of the island, the Dorians the eastern, and the Eteocretes the southern. The position of the Cydonians is that which would naturally be occupied by early bodies of settlers from Peloponnesus, who would drive back the aborigines before them. The territory of the Polyrrhenians west of Cydonia had received a joint colony of Acheans and Laconians. The main Dorian settlement seems to have taken place under the leadership of Althaemenes, son of Cissus of Argos. As the Cydonians and Dorians were the more powerful, they inhabited the plains, the Eteocretes being driven into the south-eastern portion of the island.

There can be little doubt that in spite of local legends the Cydonians came from Peloponnesus.

Nor is it surprising that bodies of immigrants should have from remote ages often crossed from southern Greece into Crete, since that island (according to Strabo's computation) was only 700 stades from Cape Malea. The fame and power of Minos was a sufficient temptation to induce any Cretan town to represent its eponymous hero as sprung from that monarch. The Pelasgians and Eteocretes now remain. Other Pelasgians[3] as well as the Arcadians had settled in Crete, and one of the stories of such settlers is of especial importance, for it links the great palace at Cnossus of the Mycenean age with a famous Pelasgian craftsman. His advent is no late figment, but has the witness of Homer, who speaks of the "Dancing-place that Daedalus made of yore at Gnossus for Ariadne[4]." Now Daedalus came of the Metionids, the royal house of

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[1] Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 392.

[2] Strabo 475.

[3] Dion. Hal. (I. 18) says that some Pelasgians had come from Thessaly after the Achean conquest.

[4] *Il.* XVIII. 591.

Athens. He had slain his sister's son, and fled to the court of Minos. He made images for Minos and his daughters, but being condemned by Minos, and cast into prison with his son, he escaped from Crete, and went to the court of Cocalus at Inycus, a city of Sicily[1].

This famous story is a weighty indication that the chief impetus in the development of Cretan art in the Mycenean age came neither from Asia, nor Egypt, nor yet Libya, but from continental Greece.

The Eteocretes alone are left without any evidence of being immigrants. Their very name shows that they were the earliest stratum of population, but we have no ground for thinking that they differed ethnically from the Pelasgians any more than the Pelasgi from the Cydones. This is confirmed by the fact that in the east of Crete the Island-gems seem to be especially abundant, so that as the Eteocretes were the occupants of this side of the island there is a presumption that they were the engravers of these stones, but as these stones do not differ essentially in character from those found in all the other islands and in Argolis and Attica, there is also a strong presumption that the aboriginal population of Crete was identical with that of the other islands. For even though many of the Cretan stones differ from the ordinary 'Mycenean' gems, in being three-sided or four-sided rather than glandular or lenticular (p. 60), this variation is probably due solely to the fact that whilst the ordinary Mycenean gem was made from a rolled pebble of glandular or lenticular shape, the Eteocretes used stones whose natural formation suggested three or four sides. The presence of the ordinary Mycenean gems in Crete may indicate that the settlers from the mainland, such as the Pelasgians and Arcadian Cydones, had brought their own conventional shape with them. The pre-Mycenean remains found in Crete which are similar in character to those found all over the Aegean are the productions of the early inhabitants, and it would seem that the full growth of the Mycenean art in Crete is to be ascribed to influences coming from continental Greece, such as are silhouetted for us in the stories of Daedalus. Since these words were in type the discoveries at Cnossus have confirmed them. The pictographic script found on one set of tablets (p. 58) corresponds to that on the prism stones of East Crete. "The linear system of the true Minoan archives has indeed certain points of correspondence with the East Cretan, and a certain proportion of signs are practically identical. But it stands on a far higher level of development and is probably Mycenean in a wider sense than the other[1]."

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[1] Paus. VII. 4, 5.

The fate that befell the aboriginals of Laconia, Argolis, and Thessaly, was also that of their brethren in Crete. For we may have little doubt that the serfs called Aphamiotae and Mnoae[2] were principally if not wholly composed of the old island population.

There was another story confirmatory of the early connection between the Troad and Crete shadowed out in the legend of Teucer (p. 180). One of the many traditions about the Curetes declared that Rhea had brought them from the Troad to Crete. But, as Strabo thinks, the similarity of names such as Ida in the Troad and in Crete might easily give rise to such a myth[3]. At the same time the connection between the Telchines, the Curetes, and the Idaean Dactyli already noticed is at least a slight indication of an early relationship between the handicraft as well as the religion of both regions. This fact taken in conjunction with the similarity of the remains found in each is not without some significance.

Crete lay comparatively contiguous to both Egypt and the Libyan shore. In fact its geographical position led the Romans to incorporate it and the Cyrenaica in a single province. Indeed it was a voyage of but two days and two nights from Criu-Metopon (Ram's Head) the southern headland of Crete to the Cyrenaica, whilst a ship could sail from Samonium, the eastern promontory of the island, to Egypt in four days and nights, or according to some in three[4].

In Homeric times ships starting from Crete with a favouring north wind reached the mouth of the river Aegyptus (Nile) on the fifth day[5].

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[1] A. J. Evans, *Athenæum*, 23 June, 1900, p. 793.

[2] Strabo 701, 542.

[3] 604.

[4] Strabo 475.

[5] *Od.* xiv. 250—7.

We have already (p. 58) referred to the discovery of objects which seem to show much intercourse between Crete and Egypt under the XIIth Dynasty. The evidence of Homer demonstrates that in the Achean period constant raids were made on Egypt by the Cretans[1].

On the other hand the same passage of the *Odyssey* indicates that Crete was the intermediary between the rest of Greece and Libya, for Odysseus in the feigned story of his adventures says that the Phoenician shipman intended to carry him to Libya, and that they sailed by Crete[2].

It was probably through Crete that the Greeks of the Homeric age knew of the fertility of Libya, "where lambs are horned from their birth" and where "the ewes yean thrice within the full circle of a year," where "neither lord nor shepherd lacketh ought of cheese or flesh or of sweet milk, but ever the flocks yield store of milk continually[3]."

This is rendered almost certain by the story of the founding of Cyrene.

Grinnus, the king of Thera, with a large retinue (in which was Battus), had gone to Delphi to consult the god, who in his response bade the Theraeans colonize Libya. But they heeded not the divine behest, and their island was so beset with drought that all the trees perished save one. Then at the end of seven years they sent again to Delphi to seek for succour. The Pythian reminded them of the former injunction which they had set at nought, and renewed it. As the Theraeans knew nothing about Libya they sent messengers to Crete to inquire about it, and these at last at Itanus fell in with one Corobius, a Phoenician dealer in purple, who gave them the desired information, which, as we shall see, led to the founding of Cyrene.

Herodotus and Homer prepare us for the legend that in still earlier days there had been intercourse between Phoenicia and Crete, such as is obscurely hinted at in the story that Europa, the daughter of Agenor, who himself had a Pelasgian pedigree traced through Epaphus and Libya, had been carried off by

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[1] *Od.* XIV. 280 *sqq.*

[2] *Ibid.* 293.

[3] *Od.* IV. 85 *sqq.*

Zeus in the guise of a bull from Phoenicia to Crete, where she bore Minos. If additional proof were needed to show that the Phoenicians did not create the Mycenean culture, one might point to the striking absence of all Phoenician influence in an island which in the pre-Homeric, Homeric, and early historical period was in constant touch with north Palestine.

CYPRUS.

That there was a close connection between the main body of the population of Cyprus and the Pelasgians of Arcadia is clearly evidenced by the fact that the Cypriote and Arcadian dialects are so much alike as to be commonly treated together in works on Greek dialects and inscriptions[1]. This linguistic relationship is supported by good historical evidence. In the Catalogue of the Ships[2] Agapenor is the captain of the Arcadians who went to Troy. Strabo[3] tells us that Agapenor founded Paphos, and Pausanias[4] that Agapenor, son of Ancaeus, son of Lycurgus, reigned after Echemus, and led the Arcadians to Troy. After the taking of Ilium the storm that overthrew the Greeks on their homeward voyage carried Agapenor and the Arcadian fleet to Cyprus, where Agapenor founded Paphos, and built the sanctuary of Aphrodite at old Paphos. Long generations after Laodice, a descendant of Agapenor, sent a robe to Athena Alea at Tegea with an inscription on the offering which indicated the donor's Arcadian descent[5].

We saw that at Curium Mycenean remains of much interest were obtained by Mr H. B. Walters. Strabo[6] says that Curium 'was founded by Argives.' This is important, for taken along with the story of Agapenor it indicates that the Mycenean culture entered Cyprus not from the east, but from the mainland of Hellas and from the great ancient seat of the Pelasgi. The story of the Telchines having gone to Cyprus from Crete (p. 198) tends in the same direction.

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[1] Cauer, *Delect. Inscript.* (2nd ed.), pp. 289 *sqq.*; Bergk, *De titulo Arcadico* (Halle, 1860), p. 5: Hoffmann, *Griech. Dial.*, vol. I. 25; P. Giles, *Manual of Comp. Philology*, p. 460.

[2] *Il.* II. 609.

[3] 683.

[4] VIII. 5, 2.

[5] VIII. 57, 3.

[6] 683.

But it must be pointed out that one important place in Cyprus is directly connected with an Achean prince. Teucer to escape his father's wrath sailed away from his island home in Salamis to Cyprus, where he founded the city called Salamis (the modern Larnaca). But the evidence of the excavation on the island of Salamis indicates that the Acheans did not kill the old culture, although they probably modified it (pp. 32—3).

We may therefore assume with little hesitation that the followers of Teucer brought with them the Mycenean culture from their old home to Cyprus.

We saw on an earlier page that Mr J. L. Myres had been led to conclude from all the data found in the prehistoric sites of Cyprus that it was only towards its close that the Mycenean culture began to affect that island. This inference is in complete accord with the traditional statements, for all the settlements we have mentioned were planted in the Homeric age, when the Acheans were dominant and the Dorian destroyer had not yet come.

Along with the Mycenean objects found at Curium there was an Egyptian scarab declared by some experts to belong to the xxvith Dynasty. From this it is naturally inferred that the Mycenean culture lasted till a comparatively late date in Cyprus, and others going still farther are inclined to argue that as it is found so late in Cyprus, it must be equally late in Argolis. But, as we have just seen that the late appearance of the fully developed Mycenean culture is in perfect harmony with the literary evidence, so its late survival in Cyprus is equally in keeping with recorded history. We ascribed the overthrow of the Mycenean culture in Argolis to the Dorian invasion, though already under the Achean domination a decadence had set in which is palpably visible in the Dipylon pottery found in the upper strata of Tiryns and Mycenae. This pottery is also seen succeeding the best Mycenean in the *dromos* at Menidi, and finally is found near the Panionium, and at other spots in what had once been the land of the Carians, without any trace of preceding Mycenean pottery. In the latter places it is held with great probability to be the pottery brought in by the Ionian settlers not only from

Peloponnesus, but also from Attica. Thus it would appear that by the time of the Dorian conquest the true Mycenean pottery had already given place to the Dipylon style, and from this we may infer that the Achean domination was a period of decadence in art. Accordingly those who like Agapenor and Teucer settled in Cyprus during that period would have brought with them only late forms of Mycenean culture. Now there was no reason why the Mycenean culture should suffer either rapid decadence or complete extinction in any part of the Greek world where it was already established, provided that such a region had not either actually been conquered by the Dorians, or had not suffered much in the seething turmoil created by that conquest among all the states of the mainland of Greece.

Cyprus enjoyed these favourable conditions, for there is not a scrap of evidence that the Dorians, or any of those inhabitants of the mainland dispossessed by them, had ever got any foothold in that island.

The art of Cyprus therefore suffered no violent cataclysm, as did that of Argolis, and the Troad, a region which owing to its great fertility, as Strabo says, was always liable to fresh invasion and conquest. We need not then be surprised if in Cyprus the Mycenean art survives right into the classical times. Indeed the Mycenean style continues to be seen in the common Cypriote pottery of the late period, not only in the shapes, but also in the decoration with parallel bands and rosettes.

Finally, we may dismiss as futile any argument respecting the date of the contents of the acropolis graves of Mycenae, and that of the Mycenean period on the mainland of Greece generally, which is based on the late date of Mycenean objects found in Cyprus.

LYCIA.

We pointed out that though hardly more than one or two fragments of Mycenean pottery had come to light in Lycia, yet it like Caria supplied engraved stones which have been commonly designated Hittite, and which bear symbols closely analogous to the characters found on Mycenean gems and pottery from the mainland and islands of Greece; next, that the Lycian alphabet, in addition to the usual letters of the Greek alphabet, contained symbols closely resembling the characters found on the so-called Hittite seals, the whorls from Troy, the Cypriote syllabary, and engraved stones and pottery of the Mycenean period from the mainland and islands of Greece; and finally, that the sculpture and architecture of Lycia exhibit a striking similarity to those of Mycenean Greece.

That the Lycians were closely akin to the older inhabitants of Greece is rendered probable not only by the connection between Lycia and Peloponnesus already adverted to, but also by the strong tradition handed down by Herodotus and Strabo that they had passed to Asia from Crete. The former[1] narrates that "the Lycians are in good truth anciently from Crete; which island, in former days, was wholly peopled with barbarians. A quarrel arising there between the two sons of Europa, Sarpedon and Minos, as to which of them should be king, Minos, whose party prevailed, drove Sarpedon and his followers into banishment. The exiles sailed to Asia, and landed on the Milyan territory. Milyas was the ancient name of the country now inhabited by the Lycians: the Milyae of the present day were in those times called Solymi. As long as Sarpedon reigned his followers bore the name that they brought with them from Crete, and were called Termilae, as the Lycians still are by those who live in their neighbourhood. But after Lycus, son of Pandion, banished from Athens by his brother Aegeus, had found a refuge with Sarpedon in the country of these Termilae, they came in course of time to be called from him Lycians. Their customs are partly Cretan, partly Carian."

Strabo practically agrees with Herodotus, for he says that "those who assert that the Lycians were first called Solymi, but later Termilae, from those who accompanied Sarpedon from Crete, and afterwards Lycians from Lycus, the son of Pandion, who on his expulsion from his home had been received by Sarpedon and given a share in his sovereignty, are not in harmony with Homer. Better are they who allege that the people now known as Milyans are called Solymi by the poet[1]."

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[1] I. 173; cf. VII. 92.

The traditional evidence is thus strongly in favour of the migration into Lycia of a body of settlers from Crete, which we know was one of the chief seats of the Mycenean culture, and the similarity in the art of Lycia to that of Mycenae thus finds an historical solution.

We have already had occasion to refer to the tradition that connects the fortress of Tiryns and the Lion Gate at Mycenae with the artificers of Lycia, the seven Cyclopean brethren, who are also said to have erected the Cyclopean buildings at Nauplia.

Later on we shall see that the statement of Herodotus that the Lycian customs are partly Cretan can be substantiated.

His other statement, that their customs were in part Carian, is probably true, for no doubt the aborigines were Carian, a fact which, according to Strabo[2], led some writers to call the Lycians Carians.

We saw above that one of the conditions to be fulfilled by any people which is to be successful in its claim to the authorship of the Mycenean civilization is that it used a pictographic script in Peloponnesus, Attica, and Crete, closely connected with the Cypriote syllabary, and the characters found on the so-called Hittite seals and monuments of Asia Minor, and some of the symbols in the Lycian alphabet.

Homer in one famous and oft-quoted passage refers to some form of writing. It is in the story of the Temptation of Bellerophon.

Stheneboea, wife of king Proetus, having failed to beguile Bellerophon, falsely accused him (as Potiphar's wife did Joseph) to her husband.

Proetus shrank from the pollution of killing him and sent him with a letter to his father-in-law the king of Lycia[3].

He writes a letter in Argolis which can be read in Lycia by his father-in-law. This king Proetus is a Pelasgian and is dwelling in Argolis at Tiryns before the Achean conquest of that country. Homer is thus our witness for the existence of some kind of writing in Peloponnesus before the Achean conquest. That the σήματα λυγρά were most probably some form of pictograph, as supposed by Dr Leaf and Mr A. J. Evans, is highly probable[1].

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[1] 667. *Cf.* 572. [2] 473. [3] *Il.* vi. 168—70.

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[1] It has been held that

(1) σήματα λυγρά do not refer to any kind of writing, but are identical with σῆμα of l. 176, and mean letter of introduction, the plural being used for the singular under the exigency of the metre. I maintain that the plural σήματα can only be used = a document, because the document is conceived as made up of a number of individual symbols, just as the Lat. *litterae* = an epistle, because it is composed of many individual *litterae* (letters of the alphabet). I shall take the case of γράμμα (in reference to writing, not painting). γράμμα = (1) a scratch or letter of the alphabet; (2) the plural γράμματα = a document, as being made up of γράμματα (letters of the alphabet, just as Lat. *litterae* = epistle); (3) γράμμα used as a collective noun = a document. Now, when we meet with τὰ γράμματα, clearly meaning a single document, in Herodotus or other prose writers, we do not consider it the plural of τὸ γράμμα = document, the plural being used for singular under the exigency of metre, but as the plural of τὸ γράμμα = letter of the alphabet.

σῆμα in Homer means (1) any kind of mark; (2) σήματα (plural) = a document; (3) σῆμα (l. 176) used as a collective noun = a document. Of what is σήματα (l. 168) the plural? Unquestionably of σῆμα = a single mark. If σήματα, then, = a document, it does so exactly in the same way as τὰ γράμματα and *litterae* have that meaning. But this presupposes the existence of a number of separate symbols; which, in the case of σήματα λυγρά, must be either pictographic or alphabetic.

Exigency of metre can hardly be called into service in the case of σήματα λυγρά. The poet would not have had any difficulty in finding an adjective which would have fitted the end of the hexameter and enabled him to use σῆμα in the singular.

To quote δώματα and μέγαρα as cases of the use of plural for singular is useless. δώματα can be used = a house, on the very same principle on which γράμματα = a document. A house is an aggregate of chambers, the original house being but a single chamber. The same principle is seen in οἰκία, the well-known use of οἶκοι and δόμοι in tragedy, and in Lat. *aedes* = a dwelling-house, the singular being always kept for the house of a god (originally a single room). What we want are examples of other nouns, such as βοῦς, ἵππος, βασιλεύς, the plurals of which can be used to denote a single individual of the class. Metrically this would have often been convenient; but does it ever occur? It cannot be said that in the case of neuters only such a use of plural for singular is permitted, for οἶκοι and *aedes* evince the contrary.

(2) If σήματα of *Il.* VI. 168 mean some kind of writing, as has been held by the scholars, these σήματα represent either pictographs or alphabetic symbols. I maintain that the use of σῆμα, whenever it is found in connection with writing—as in the cases of the oldest inscribed Greek coin, the seal of Thyrsis, the shields of the heroes in Aeschylus, where it always refers to pictorial repre-

It is indeed rendered more than probable by the discovery of a pictographic system of writing which existed in Greece prior to the introduction of the Phoenician letters.

These pictographs have been found in Attica where there was never an Achean population, and writing is imputed by Homer to Proetus, the king of Tiryns, before any Acheans have yet entered Argolis. As Proetus, who wrote a letter to Lycia, is a Pelasgian, so Palamedes, the traditional inventor of some kind of writing, is also a Pelasgian from Argolis. Further, this writing was intelligible to the king of Lycia, who by race was from Crete, where such pictographs are abundantly found (p. 59).

Finally the existence of a number of non-Hellenic signs in the Lycian alphabet of classical times puts it beyond reasonable doubt that the Lycians of an earlier date employed a system of writing (probably pictographic) long before they adopted the Phoenician alphabet. These facts taken together are fatal to the claims of such writing to be Achean, but are altogether in favour of its being Pelasgian. But as it is found on Mycenean objects, it follows that the Mycenean civilization is Pelasgian.

The researches of modern scholars show that the Lycian language was kindred to Greek[1]. There is therefore no difficulty in accepting in full the statement of Homer that the king of Tiryns in Argolis could inscribe on a tablet signs perfectly intelligible to the king of Lycia, for it must be borne in mind that any difficulties that might arise in a conversation between the two monarchs if they had endeavoured to talk over

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sentation as contrasted with *γράμματα* = alphabetic symbols—makes it probable that the *σήματα λυγρά* were pictographic rather than alphabetic.

To argue that *γράψας* implies that the writing was alphabetic, not pictographic, involves a familiar fallacy. *γράμμα* is unknown to Homer. The fact that it is employed to denote the Phoenician alphabet shows that *σῆμα* was already connected with a different system. The new term *γράμματα* was used for the new kind of characters. The legend which ascribes to Palamedes the son of Nauplius the invention of writing has after all probably a kernel of fact. For it is now proved that there was in Greece a system of writing before the introduction of the Phoenician alphabet. *Cf.* Diod. Sic., III. 67, 15 (*infra* p. 354).

I put these arguments forward in the *Academy*, July and Aug. 1895, pp. 71, 112.

[1] Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 370—6.

the case of Bellerophon, through their dialectic peculiarities, would be completely obviated in a communication made through the medium of a pictographic system.

We know from the Gortyn Laws how divergent from ordinary Attic Greek of the fifth cent. B.C. was the Cretan dialect. Yet for all this the Cretans had no difficulty in communicating with the Greeks of the mainland. But the Lycians had passed from Crete into Asia, and we cannot suppose that they would have had more difficulty in communicating by means of speech with the dwellers in Argolis in the early days than the Cretans had in the later age. On the contrary as dialectic variation would have increased with long dissociation, it is probable that the Cretans and Lycians of the time of Proetus and Minos differed less in speech from their contemporaries in Argolis than did the Cretans from the Argives in the fifth century B.C., when the Dorian invasion would have added a new differentiating element to the speech of Argolis.

Finally the ease with which Diomede the Argive and Glaucus the Lycian chieftain conversed in the *Iliad* shows that the poet felt that there was no great bar of language between them[1].

In fact the general impression left on the mind from reading the Homeric poems is that there was but slight dialectic variation between the language spoken by the Trojans and their allies and that of the Greek host. This finds a ready explanation on the principles which I have ventured to put forth. For according to them the Pelasgians of Arcadia spoke what Strabo termed an Aeolic dialect, and the Pelasgians of the north-west of Asia Minor, whose connection with Arcadia we have proved, would therefore speak an Aeolic tongue. But it is on this very part of the Asiatic coast with its contiguous island of Lesbos called the 'Pelasgian' that we find the Aeolic dialect especially domiciled in historical times, as a consequence of which the whole area was denominated Aeolis (p. 661). That there would therefore be no perceptible difference in speech between the Trojans and the Argives, the mass of whom were of the same race as the Arcadians, who were the blood relations of the Dardanians, Teucrians, and Mysians, is the only logical conclusion from the traditional evidence and modern linguistic results, and this conclusion is in full accord with the picture given us in Homer.

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[1] *Il.* VI. 153—197.

That the Lycians spoke an Indo-European language is admitted. That this language was closely akin to Greek may also be held true, but that in classical times it differed considerably from Carian is certain from the ancient evidence.

On the coast between Caria and Lycia lay Caunus and its territory.

With regard to the Caunians Strabo says that "they speak the same language as the Carians, that they came from Crete, and retain their own laws and customs[1]."

Herodotus[2] does not wholly agree with this, for he says: "The Caunians in my judgment are aboriginals; but by their own account they came from Crete. In their language either they have approximated to the Carians, or the Carians to them."

He adds that "in their customs they differ widely from the Carians and from all other men," adducing as examples of their peculiarities their fondness of wine-parties and their dislike of foreign gods.

Herodotus did not know whether the Caunians had adopted the Carian tongue or the Carians the Caunian. But looking to the evidence as a whole, it would seem that the statement of the Caunians was in the main true, though it is probable from the fact that they spoke Carian, and not Lycian, that they had absorbed some older inhabitants whom they found in occupation on their arrival. They had like the Lycians come from Crete, but whilst to a certain degree retaining their ancient institutions, they had adopted the language of the Carians or Lelegese whom they had conquered, and with whom they had probably intermarried. Such an occurrence can easily be paralleled (p. 650—3).

It is probable that the Caunians are the people referred to by Herodotus and Strabo when they say that the Carians would not allow any but Lydians and Mysians to participate in the temple rites of Zeus at Mylasa, but excluded persons of alien tribes even though they spoke Carian. The evidence derived from an inscription found at the ancient Krya, which lay close to Caunus, shows that the Caunians were not true Carians, as its characters exhibit a considerable divergence from ordinary Carian inscriptions[1].

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[1] 651.

[2] I. 172.

The confirmation thus given to the native traditions of the Caunians is of great interest and importance.

It is perfectly reasonable to suppose that the national traditions and legends of other parts of the Aegean basin are equally trustworthy.

Egypt and Libya.

From Crete we ought to have passed to Libya and Egypt, the two regions with which she had such close relations from remote times. However it was necessary for our argument to discuss the ethnology of Crete before dealing with that of Lycia.

As Libya and Egypt are intimately connected in the early legends, in their ethnology and in their antiquities, it will be best to treat them together.

In historical times the relations between Egypt and the contiguous coast of North Africa have always been more or less close. Such has been the case under the domination of the Saracens, and though Crete and the Cyrenaica formed one Roman province, nevertheless the relations between Egypt and the cities of the Pentapolis remained much as they had been under the Ptolemies when the Cyrenaica practically formed part of the kingdom of Egypt. The native Libyan tribes which were the terror of the Greek cities of the Cyrenaica had likewise in their time been a great danger to the Egypt of the Pharaohs, as is testified not only by the Greek sources, but by the Egyptian monuments.

"The coast of Libya along the sea which washes it to the north throughout its entire length from Egypt to Cape Soloeis, which is its furthest point, is inhabited by Libyans of many distinct tribes, who possess the whole tract except certain portions which belong to the Phoenicians and the Greeks[1]."

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[1] Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, p. 383.

So says Herodotus, but it is more than probable that Egypt herself contained within her limits many Libyans who formed a very substantial part of her population. From its natural formation it is probable that the Delta was not the original home of a very ancient race. This makes it not unlikely that it was peopled by a gradual infiltration of Libyans. The Ionians held that nothing was really Egypt but the Delta, "which extends along shore from the watchtower of Perseus, as it is called, to the Pelusiac saltpans, a distance of forty schoenes, and stretches inland as far as the city of Cercasorus, where the Nile divides into two streams, which reach the sea at Pelusium and Canopus respectively. The rest of what is accounted Egypt belongs, they say, either to Arabia or Libya[2]." Herodotus held that the Egyptians were very ancient although the Delta was so young, for "I think they (the Egyptians) have always existed ever since the human race began; as the land went on increasing part of the population came down into the new country, part remained in their old settlements." The view of Herodotus seems thoroughly sound. Arabia and Libya met in Egypt, and modern research shows that the curious race known to us as the ancient Egyptians was certainly a blend, and as the people were a mixture so their civilization was the outcome of the kindly mixed elements derived from Asia on the one hand and from Libya on the other.

It is highly probable that the Delta was in part peopled by Libyans. Certainly in that part of Egypt which bordered on the Lake Mareotis there was a Libyan population, for Herodotus tells that "the people of the cities of Marea and Apis, who live in the part of Egypt that borders Libya, took a dislike to the religious usages of the country concerning sacrificial animals, and wished no longer to be restricted from eating the flesh of cows. So as they believed themselves to be Libyans and not Egyptians, they sent to the shrine of Ammon in the

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[1] Herod. II. 32 (Rawlinson).

[2] *Id.* II. 15.

Libyan desert to say that, having nothing in common with the Egyptians, neither inhabiting the Delta, nor using the Egyptian tongue, they claimed to be allowed to eat whatever they pleased." Their request, however, was refused by the god, who declared in reply "that Egypt was the entire tract of country which the Nile overspreads and irrigates, and the Egyptians were the people who lived below Elephantine, and drank the waters of that river."

Under the XIXth and XXth Dynasties the Lebu or Libyans seem to have made constant incursions into Egypt. Such invasions took place in the reign of Rameses III. and in that of Menephtah I., the successor of Rameses II., in whose fifth year (B.C. 1203 by Petrie's chronology, 1023 by Mr Torr's latest possible) the Libyans, Tursha, Leka, Shardana, Sakalousha, and Aquaiousha invaded Egypt. But the allies were beaten at Prosopitis, and obliged to evacuate the Delta.

Earlier still in the reign of Ramesses II. the Libyan tribes had entered Egypt, but had been repulsed. Thus, as far as our knowledge extends back into the annals of the new Empire, the Libyans are seen periodically swooping down upon the rich and tempting valley of the Nile, and we may venture to guess that this had been their practice through unrecorded generations.

Such being the evidence derivable from Herodotus and the Egyptian sources, we naturally turn to the Greek legend which embodies an account of what seems to be more than one invasion of Egypt from the side of Libya. We have already adverted to the story of Danaus in connection with the early history of Argolis. We there briefly referred to the story of Io as given by Aeschylus in the *Prometheus* and *Supplices*, how she was the daughter of Inachus, was driven from Argolis by the persecution of Hera, and after long wanderings reached Prometheus in his adamantine bondage on the Caucasus, who declared that she should "arrive at a far distant land and a black race, who dwell near the sources of the sun, where is the river of Ethiopia. Along the banks of this stream proceed till you reach a cataract, where from the heights of the Bybline mountains the Nile hurls its holy and wholesome stream. By this you will be guided into a three-cornered land made by the Nile; where it is fated for you, Io, and your posterity to found your far-off colony."

Prometheus then proceeds: "There is a city called Canopus, at the furthest extremity of Egypt, close by the very mouth and alluvial bar of the Nile. There Zeus will restore you to your human consciousness, by stroking you with his gentle hand, and touching you, but no more. And to commemorate by a name the author of a race descended from Zeus, you shall bring forth a son, the swarthy Epaphus, who shall possess all the fertile plains that the Nile covers by his inundations. And the fifth in descent from him, a family of fifty female children, shall return again to Argos."

Here is the account given of the same settlement by Apollodorus, who makes Io the daughter of Iasus, the son of Argus and Ismene, though he mentions that Castor the chronologist and many of the tragic poets made Inachus her sire, and Hesiod and Acusilaus gave Peiren as such: "Finally she arrived in Egypt, where she regained her human form and gave birth to a son Epaphus beside the Nile. Hera requests the Curetes to make away with him; they did so. Zeus slays the Curetes, and Io betook herself to search for the child. She found the child in Syria, where the wife of the king of the Byblii was nursing him, and on getting back to Egypt she married Telegonus, who then was king of the Egyptians. She dedicated an image of Demeter, whom the Egyptians called Isis, and they similarly called Io Isis. Epaphus becoming king of the Egyptians marries Memphis the daughter of Nile and from her founds Memphis, and begets Libye, from whom the land was called Libye. Of Libye and Poseidon were born twins, Agenor and Belus. Agenor removed to Phoenicia, there became king and the founder of a mighty stock. Belus remained in Egypt and reigns there, and he marries Anchinoe the daughter of Nilus, and to him are born twin sons, Egyptus and Danaus, and as Euripides says, also Cepheus and Phineus. Belus settles Danaus in Libye, Egyptus in Arabia, who after having conquered the land of the Melampodes (Blackfeet) named it after himself Egyptus. From many women to Egyptus are born fifty sons, to Danaus fifty daughters. Later on they quarrelled and Danaus in fear of the sons of Egyptus at the suggestion of Athena got ready a ship, embarked his daughters and fled. He put into Rhodes and set up the image of the Lindian Athena[1]."

Such then is the account given by Apollodorus, which when taken in conjunction with the statements of Aeschylus, Herodotus, and the Egyptian monuments contains several points of great interest. Thus Io is identified with Isis, a view favourably regarded in modern times, when it has also been suggested that Epaphus the son of Io, the white cow, is identical with the Egyptian Apis, whose incarnation was a bull. Epaphus the newcomer marries the daughter of Nilus, or in other words, a daughter of the land. His daughter is the eponymous heroine of Libya, so that the settlement in Egypt shadowed forth in the legend of Epaphus is connected with the Libyans, who, as we saw above, had for ages constantly made inroads on that land, and some of whom were undoubtedly settled in the city called Apis, near the Canopic (western) branch of the Nile. But after the identification of Epaphus and Apis, just quoted, it is indeed striking to find that in the very district where according to the Greek legend Epaphus settled, there should be a city called Apis, which moreover had a Libyan population. Does this story then mean that there had been an invasion of Egypt from the Aegean and Libya, that the invaders intermarried with the old population already there, and had made a successful war upon the Melampodes, the negroes of Meroe? Does the story of Danaus indicate that later on other Libyan tribes sought to enter Egypt, but were defeated and driven out by their kinsfolk already established there, and already blended with a race from the Arabian side of the great river?

A few years ago it would have been rash indeed to suggest this. But not only does this suggestion get very considerable support from the statement of Herodotus cited above that the people of the towns of Marea and Apis on the side of Egypt which bordered on Libya held that they were Libyans, but there is the strange coincidence that some of these people lived in a town called Apis, a name perhaps identical with

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[1] II. 1. 3, 4; 4. 4.

Epaphus, the son of Io the cow. This coincidence is rendered still more curious by the fact that these people were forbidden to eat the flesh of cows. In a later chapter we shall discuss the question whether in Io we have a totem ancestress, but for the present it is enough to call attention to this combination of facts, which are rendered all the more striking by the discovery at Naquada, and Ballas (both on the Libyan side of the Nile), of the remains of an early people, almost certainly Libyan. Similar antiquities have since been found in other parts of Egypt and especially at Abydus, where they were in a remarkable conjunction with remains of the Ist and IInd Dynasties. Finally, at the present day, according to competent observers there is a very distinct and easily recognizable Berberine or Libyan element in the population of Egypt. All this goes to show that there is a considerable Libyan element at the base of Egyptian civilization. The indications given in the statements of Herodotus and in the oldest legends are thus in keeping with modern discoveries.

It may be worth while to examine the date assigned in the traditional chronology to Danaus, whose return to Argolis may be taken as marking a period when there was a considerable contact between Greece and Egypt. Proetus seems to have lived four generations before the Trojan war (1184 B.C.), that is about 1300 B.C. Proetus and Acrisius were third in descent from Danaus, whose date may be roughly placed about 1400 B.C.

But this coincides to a remarkable degree with the date assigned by Prof. Petrie to certain finds of Mycenean pottery made in Egypt, the basis for such dates being the scarabs found in the same strata (p. 77).

It may well be that about that time there was some invasion of Egypt by Libyans such as took place in later reigns, and that its overthrow is dimly outlined for us in the story of the defeat and flight of Danaus, who ruled in Libya. In the story of Epaphus we may hear the faint echo of a still earlier invasion, which had proved successful. But the fact with which we are most concerned is that the legends directly connect with Argolis a people who settled on the Nile and exercised a potent influence. This people is treated as distinct from a native race, who seem to have come from the Arabian side, and from the Melampodes, or Ethiopians, who dwelt on the Nile, 'the river of Ethiopia'; it was also closely related to the Libyans through Libya the daughter of Epaphus; as we have so often had to notice with regard to the heiresses of the Pelasgian royal houses, Poseidon appears as the father of her offspring, Agenor and Belus. Agenor was the father of Europa, who was carried off to Crete by Zeus in taurine form, where she became the mother of Minos. In the story of Pasiphae and the bull and the Minotaur we see the curious tauriform and bovine characteristics of Io the cow and Apis the bull reappearing.

Let us now return to that part of the Epaphus legend, which deals with the emigration of Agenor the son of Libya and brother of Belus from Libya to Palestine. Strange as it may appear, this vague tale seems to contain a solid kernel of historical truth. It was noticed above (p. 65) that there is a very remarkable similarity between the red polished ware found by Prof. Petrie at Naqada in the prehistoric graves of a Libyan population, and the pottery found at Tel-el-Hesy (Lachish). The connection between the Libyan population dwelling west of the Nile and certain of the inhabitants of Palestine thus indicated falls in completely with this most ancient Greek tradition, and here once more another link in the double chain of tradition and archaeology has unexpectedly been forged.

We dated the movement connected with the name of Danaus about 1450—1400 B.C., but Danaus was fourth in descent from Io. Accordingly the movement into Egypt, which is dimly reflected in the Io and Epaphus legend, would fall about 1600—1550 B.C., the epoch at which Egypt was under the XVIIth Dynasty.

It is a singular coincidence that Prof. Petrie[1] remarked that "the resemblance of Sequenenra III. to the Berber type points to these kings having come down from Ethiopia." His coffin and mummy were found in the deposit of royal mummies in the tomb at Deir el Bahri at Thebes. He "appears to have been of the Berber type, tall, slender and vigorous, with a small, long head, and fine black hair. The beard was shaven, but not the hair of the head."

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[1] *History of Egypt*, vol. II. pp. 4, 7, 8.

As it was Dynasty XVII. that expelled the Hyksos from Egypt, we have thus substantial evidence from Egyptian history in corroboration of the Greek legend, that some time about the 16th century B.C. Epaphus the Swarthy (*i.e.* the dark Berber type) had descended from above the Cataract, *i.e.* from Ethiopia, into the region of the Delta.

Cyrene. There is one region, and that not the least in wide Hellas, where Aegean remains may yet be found, and where very probably they will be found, if the principles on which our investigation has hitherto been conducted are sound. Already indications are forthcoming that the Mycenean culture had here a foothold.

Libya and especially that part of it in which lay the great city of Cyrene, and her sisters of the Pentapolis, has been proved to have been within the ken of the inhabitants of the mainland and islands of Greece from a very remote time. Such a connection can be traced back to a date when according to the Greek traditions the Acheans had not yet entered Thessaly, or Argolis, or had gone against Troy. If therefore relationship can be proved between settlers in Libya and Cyrene on the one hand and the inhabitants of parts of Greece and Asia Minor occupied by Pelasgic tribes, we must expect to find a culture in Libya closely resembling the Aegean.

Let us start from the foundation of the historical city of Cyrene. Just three centuries before the archonship of Simonides, that is about 628 B.C., one Aristoteles of Thera led a colony to Libya. This man had a grievous stammer, from which he was nicknamed Battus (*Stammerer*). When he came to man's estate, like all that suffered afflictions, he made a journey to Delphi to consult the oracle about his voice, where the Pythian priestess said to him:—"Battus, thou camest to ask of thy voice; but Phoebus Apollo bids thee establish a city in Libya abounding in fleeces." After the drought already mentioned (p. 204) the Theraeans sent out a colony with Battus as leader. The emigrants at first settled on the island of Platea off the

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Libyan coast, where they fared ill, and again appealed for aid to Delphi. The god reiterated the command to settle on the mainland. They accordingly established themselves at Aziris on the coast opposite Platea. There they abode six years, until the Libyans led them to the site of Cyrene.

Here the weakened remnant of an older colony probably still lingered, who were perhaps but too glad to admit to a share in their town a stout body of allies to aid them against the native Libyans.

According to the story told by the men of Cyrene in the fourth century B.C. the silphium plant had for the first time made its appearance just seven years before the coming of Battus, as if in anticipation of the heaven-sent colony.

Here Battus dwelt and prospered, planted trees, made a great paved road between the city and its port Peiraeus, and founded a monarchy which passed from father to son for seven generations. "He also planted gods' groves greater than those aforetime there, and made a paved road cut straight over the plain, to be smitten with horses' hoofs in processions that beseech Apollo's guardianship for men; and there at the end of the market-place he lieth apart in death. Blest was he while he dwelt among men, and since his death the people worship him as their hero. And apart from him before their palace lie other sacred kings that have their lot with Hades, and even now perchance they hear, with such heed as abideth with the dead, of this great deed sprinkled with kindly dew of outpoured song triumphal, whence have they bliss in common with their son Arcesilas unto whom it falleth due[1]."

The colony made but little advance during the reign of Battus and his son, but in that of Battus II. Greeks flocked from all quarters at the instigation of the Delphic oracle, and Cyrene waxed populous and mighty. The Cyrenians then stripped the Libyan king Adicran of his lands. He sent messengers to Egypt and put himself and his people under the rule of Apries (Pharaoh-Hophra). The latter levied a vast host of Egyptians and sent them against Cyrene. In the fertile district of Irasa the Cyreneans inflicted a crushing defeat on their enemies, in consequence of which Apries was dethroned by his subjects[1].

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[1] Pind. *Pyth.* v. 83 *sqq.* (Myers).

So Cyrene was planted and grew and flourished for many centuries: her land was fruitful and teemed with flocks and herds, and into her gates flowed the commerce of Libya, and with her wealth grew the arts of peace and war.

Aristippus the pupil of Socrates founded here the school of philosophy called the Cyrenaic: here throve the potter's craft, and that of the engraver was no less famous, for we are told that there was no man in Cyrene who did not wear a signet-gem worth ten minas[2]. She was above all renowned for her horses; and it is with the epithet 'possessor of good horses' that Pindar addresses her in the opening line of the Fourth Pythian. She is also described as the 'city of chariots,' and the belief that the four-horse chariot was invented in Libya and thence imported into Europe was probably well founded. For the wild Libyan tribe of the Garamantians used four-horse chariots in which they chased the Troglodyte Ethiopians[3]. Down to our days the horses of North Africa excel, and our breed of English race-horses traces its pedigree from the Arab Barb of Lord Godolphin. To the subject of the Barbary horse we shall have to return later on, when we deal with Poseidon Hippios.

But it was to the silphium plant that Cyrene chiefly owed her wealth. According to Theophrastus Battus had brought his people here to cultivate this plant, which has for ages been almost as mysterious as the soma-plant of the Rig-Veda.

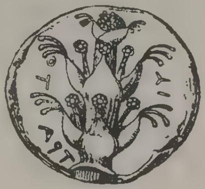

FIG. 40. Coin of Cyrene with Silphium plant.

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[1] Herod. IV. 156—9. [2] Aelian, *Var. Hist.* XII. 30 (citing Eupolis).

[3] Herod. IV. 183. Is it possible that these 'cave-dwelling' Ethiopians may have been the same race to which belonged the steatopygous women represented by some of the clay figurines found in the Libyan graves at Naqada (p. 66), by those from Hagiar Kim in Malta, and by that from Brassempouy (Petrie, *Naqada*, p. 13; Piette, *L'Anthropologie*, VI. 2)? A perfect steatopygous statuette from Naqada shows four streaks in black paint down the side of the face, whilst the statuette of a slighter type shows tattooing, which was practised by the Libyans as it is by the modern Berbers. Now Strabo (775) says that the Troglodyte women painted themselves with black paint (στιβίζονται).

Battus bore as the device on his signet a representation of the nymph Cyrene presenting to him the silphium: and the plant either in full blossom, or with its blossom still unopened, is the type on the coins of Cyrene (Fig. 40). On a famous cylix in the Louvre the king Arcesilas, probably he in whose honour Pindar sung, is seen seated on his royal throne watching the weighing of packages of silphium[1] (Fig. 41). The silphium formed the chief staple of her trade until by the time of Strabo it had been exterminated. This was due to the hostility of the Nomades who in their inroads

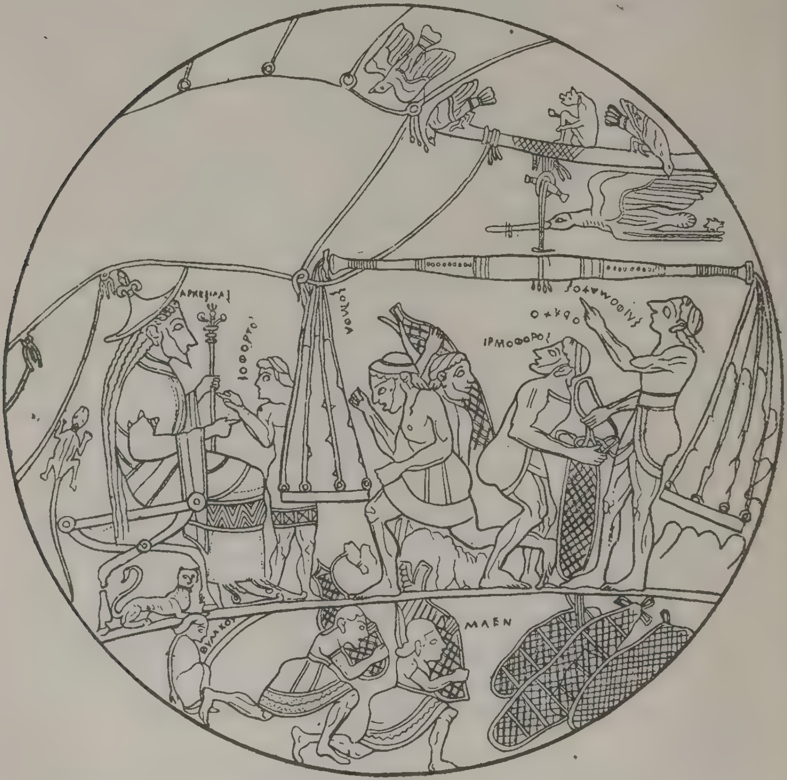

Fig. 41. Vase from Cyrene showing the weighing of Silphium.

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[1] Studniczka, *Kyrene*, p. 22; Birch, *Ancient Pottery* (Frontispiece).

destroyed the roots of the plant[1]. Its *habitat* extended over Libya for some four thousand stades, but it was especially abundant in the country stretching round the Great Syrtis from Euesperides to Cyrene[2]. It had a root long and thick, a stalk about the size of the fennel (*νάρθηξ*) and closely resembling it in thickness, with a leaf (called *μάσπετον*) like celery (*σέλινον*), and a flat seed. In the spring it sent up its leaf, which fattened cattle and made their flesh wondrous sweet. It was eaten in every way both boiled and roasted, and it was said to purify the body in forty days. Two distinct kinds of juice were obtained from it, the one from the stalk (known as *Καυλίας*), the other from the root (hence named *ῥιζίας*)[3]. A large smuggling trade was done in it between merchants, who conveyed it secretly from Cyrene, and the Carthaginian traders at the port of Charax near the confines of the Cyrenaica and Carthage. The Carthaginians gave wine in exchange for the silphium and the 'Cyrenaic juice[4].' So important a part did it play in the trade of Libya that it is highly probable that it was a regular unit of account in Cyrene, Euesperides, Barca and Teuchira, all of which placed it as a type on their coinage[5]. But beside her silphium Cyrene must have had a considerable trade in gold dust, ivory, and slaves. Down to the present day Tripoli is the terminus of the great caravan route from Darfur, Wadai, and Timbuctoo. The last place is connected with the ancient route that leads down at the back of Sierra Leone on to Ashantee and the Gold Coast.

The dwellers on the mainland of Greece had been acquainted with the use of ivory from a very remote period. In the Homeric age it is used for decorating royal palaces such as that at Sparta, and also for adorning horse-bridles. But it was used abundantly even in the Bronze Age, in Argolis and Attica, as is proved by the objects made of it which have been found both at Mycenae and at Menidi. This ivory must have come from Africa, for no one can suppose that the tusks of the Indian elephant can have supplied it at that early time. There is a high probability that Cyrene was one of the chief avenues by which ivory passed not only to the mainland and isles of Greece, but even to Cyprus (p. 62) and Phoenicia. That such a trade existed is no conjecture, for it can be supported by evidence that goes back long anterior to the time when Battus awed with his strange accost the lions of the Libyan plain. We saw above that the author of the *Odyssey* bears witness to a well established trade between Phoenicia, Crete, and Libya. The Phoenician shipmaster had purposed to sell Odysseus in Libya for a great price, when he pretended to send him there in charge of a cargo of merchandise. Menelaus, whose palace shone with ivory, had himself visited the Libyan shore: "I roamed over Cyprus, and Phoenicia, and Egypt, and reached the Ethiopians and Sidonians, and Erembi and Libya....There neither lord nor shepherd lacketh ought of cheese or flesh or of sweet milk[1]."

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[1] Strabo, 837.

[2] Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* VI. 3, 3; *cf.* F. Herincq, *La Vérité sur le prétendu Silphion*, etc. (Paris 1876).

[3] Theophr. *op. cit.*, VI. 3, 1—3.

[4] Strabo, 837.

[5] Ridgeway, *Metallic Currency*, p. 325.

Poseidon is represented in the *Odyssey* as going to the Ethiopians for a feast. Now it can hardly be maintained that any matter connected with the cult of that god came to the knowledge of the Greeks from Egypt, for Poseidon is especially exempted from the list of Greek deities who were supposed by Herodotus to be of Egyptian origin, and, as we shall find in a later chapter, his cult is always regarded as connected with Libya, the land of the horse and the chariot.

Again the story of the battles of the Pygmies and the Cranes seems to point to a knowledge gained rather through Libya than through Egypt, for the Greeks always spoke of the migration of the cranes to and from Libya[2], and modern observation has shown that the favourite route of the migratory birds is the short sea passage to the coast of Africa, which was included in the ancient Libya.

The early inhabitants of Greece could have obtained a knowledge of the great country lying on the south of the Sea even if it had not been retained by the peoples who dwelt on its northern shores from the days when a great land bridge linked together the two continents, and when men of the same stock could pass freely from north to south and from south to north of the intervening lake. Nor is there any need to suppose that such knowledge came through Egypt, for the men of the Mycenean age were versed in seacraft, as has been already seen from the legends of the Minyans, the Argo, Nauplius, Ancaeus, Telephus, Minos, Ariadne, and Theseus. Before now many a mariner sorely against his will has become the discoverer of new lands, and so it was with Colaeus the Samian, the first of all Greeks to pass between the Pillars of Heracles. Shipmen who sought to double Cape Malea (Matapan), when the Boreas blew down from Thrace, were ever liable to be carried far out of their true course, and this is the natural phenomenon on which is founded one of the greatest of epic poems. As Odysseus and his comrades on their return from Troy were sailing along the east coast of Peloponnesus and just rounding Malea, a violent north wind caught them and carried them away to the southward for twenty days until they at last reached the Libyan land, where he fell in with the Lotus-eaters, who lived on a 'honey-sweet' plant. Thence he made his way to the land of the Cyclopes, who are always represented as dwelling in Sicily or South Italy. This story can be readily paralleled in classical history as well as in legend. Speaking of the earliest settlements in Sicily and the planting of Segesta Thucydides says[1] that certain Trojans whilst the capture of Troy was in progress escaped the Acheans and made their way to Sicily where in conjunction with the neighbouring Sicani they occupied Eryx and Egesta. Later on some of the Phocians from Troy joined them in the settlement. These men "had by reason of a storm been carried first to Libya, and later on had made their way from that country to Sicily." This story is not unlike that embodied by Virgil in the episode of the wanderings of Aeneas. But Thucydides gives an incident of his own time, which proves that the legends are based on facts[2]. The reinforcements sent to Syracuse by the Peloponnesians, which had sailed from the east coast of Peloponnesus, were driven by a storm to Libya, where the Cyrenians gave them two triremes and a pilot, and as they coasted along they entered the great town of Euesperides, which they delivered from the Libyans who were beleaguering it. From thence they coasted on to Neapolis, a port of the Carthaginians, from which they crossed to Sicily by the shortest route of two days and a night, and arrived at Selinus.

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[1] *Od* IV. 83 *sqq.*

[2] Ar. *Aves* 710, 1136.

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[1] VI. 2, 3.

[2] VII. 50.

It would then seem that these Peloponnesian troops had experienced the same misfortune and had traversed the same course as Odysseus and the Phocians.

One is inclined to suggest that the mysterious Lotus plant, about which the writers of the classical period knew nothing save what was purely conjectural, was after all nothing but the early and vague expression of the knowledge that a plant unknown elsewhere and possessed of rare virtues grew in that part of Libya fronting the Syrtis which as we have just seen was the *habitat* of the silphium. This herb after the planting of Cyrene became known to the Greeks under its true Berber name. But whether or not the silphium be the lotus, sufficient evidence has been given to show that from the natural phenomena of storm and currents the natives of the northern parts of the Mediterranean must have inevitably been brought into contact with Libya from the time when they took to seafaring, and that in the Homeric period the Greeks had a fairly definite knowledge of Libya as a fertile region to which Phoenicians trafficked with slaves and other commodities.

But legends which go back to a time long anterior to the epoch represented in the *Odyssey* and *Iliad* cluster round the Libyan shore. The Argo had made her fateful voyage in the generation before the Trojan war. She had entered the Euxine through the Hellespont, had made her way to Colchis, and at the Caucasus her crew had even heard the groans of Prometheus on his torment-bed; on her homeward voyage her sentient prow had piloted her up the Danube and down into the Adriatic by another branch of that river, which the ancients down to the time of Eratosthenes believed to be a real and feasible passage. Later on we shall see that this belief was probably due to the fact that two most ancient trade routes met on the upper Danube[1]. The ship passed down the Adriatic, round Italy, through Scylla and Charybdis, and rounding Sicily crossed the sea to Libya, thus reversing the course followed in the other voyages to which we have referred. Here was the spot where in the after time Cyrene was to stand on "a white breast of the swelling earth," and here as the Minyans were weighing anchor was delivered to Euphemus from Taenarum in Laconia the augury, which seventeen generations later was to be fulfilled by the coming of Battus, the descendant of Euphemus:—"Then came to us the solitary god, having put on the splendid semblance of a noble man; and he began friendly speech, such as well doers use when they bid newcomers to the feast. But the plea of the sweet hope of home suffered us not to stay. Then he said that he was Eurypylos son of the earth-embracer, immortal Ennosides; and for that he was aware that we hasted to be gone, he straightway caught up of the chance earth at his feet a gift that he would fain bestow. Nor was the hero unheeding, but leaping on the shore and striking hand in hand he took to him the fateful clod[2]."

The legend embodied by Pindar in his great ode is remarkable in more than one way, but the feature which is most important for our present purpose is the assumption that even in the far back days, when the piece of Dodonean oak in the Argo's prow directed her course to Libya, already there was in that land a people, who are not represented as savage and barbarous, but regarded as children of Poseidon and friendly to the Minyans.

That there had been older dwellers at Cyrene before the settlement of Battus is indicated not only by this legend, but by a statement in the Fifth Pythian: "we honour at the banquet the fair-built city of Cyrene, which the spear-loving strangers haunt, the Trojan seed of Antenor. For with Helen they came thither after they had seen their native city smoking in the fires of war. And now to that chivalrous race do the men whom Aristoteles brought opening with swift ships a track through the deep sea give greeting piously, and draw nigh them with sacrifice and gifts[1]."

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[1] Ridgeway, *Metallic Currency*, pp. 105 *sqq.* (Chapter on Primaeval Trade routes.)

[2] Pindar, *Pyth.* IV. 32 *sqq.* (Myers.)

The worship of these ancient heroes who are thus represented as coming from the Troad to Cyrene and who are thus connected with that very region where the literary monuments show that there was a great Pelasgic population, and where the modern excavations have revealed Mycenean remains, is of high significance.

It was to Libya that the hero Perseus went to slay the gorgon Medusa. The red coral from the north coast of Africa according to the legend is the outcome of some of the blood from Medusa's reeking head which fell on the sea-weed by the shore.

The legends which treat of the wanderings of Heracles to the west of Europe tell how that hero gave Atlas a temporary respite from his eternal load, and how he had wrestled with and overcome the giant Antaeus. By another story he had collected a great host in Iberia, and had marched with Iolaus along North Africa.

But Pindar gives evidence of a still earlier connection between Libya and a part of Greece which the most advanced modern writers hold to have been one of the chief homes of the Pelasgians. In his ninth Pythian, written in praise of Telesicrates of Cyrene, the poet recites the myth of the nymph Cyrene, whose name the city bore.

She was daughter of Hypseus king of the Lapithae dwelling in the dells of Pelion in that part of Thessaly called Pelasgiotis (p. 173). The maiden loved not the pacing to and fro before the loom, but was an ardent huntress. Apollo chancing to see her in a desperate combat with a wild beast became enamoured of her and carried her off to fertile Libya, where in due time she bore to him the hero Aristaeus. Now as her father Hypseus was grandson of Poseidon, we need not be surprised to find that the god Eurypylus who gave the clod as pledge to the Minyan Euphemus of Taenarum (a chief seat of Poseidon) should describe himself as the son of the Earthshaker.

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[1] *Pyth.* v. 77—81.

Thus we have got a link between the population of Libya and that part of Thessaly from which the Pelasgians were driven by the Acheans, and where Mycenean remains have already come to light.

That the settlers even from the first had intermarried with the native Libyans is more than probable, for in the poem just cited Pindar refers to the story of Antaeus king of the Libyans who had heard how Danaus had given his daughters in marriage and "even on this wise gave the Libyan a bridegroom to his daughter, and joined the twain. At the line he set the damsel, having arrayed her splendidly, to be the goal and prize, and proclaimed in the midst that he should lead her thence to be his bride who, dashing to the front, should first touch the robes she wore. Thereon Alexidamus when he had sped through the swift course, took by her hand the noble maiden, and led her through the troops of Nomad horsemen[1]."

It follows then that if Mycenean remains are found in the Cyrenaica, they are to be regarded, like those discovered in Egypt, as the outcome of settlers from the Aegean or as direct imports from that area, and not to be taken as an indication that the Mycenean culture had its origin in Libya.

ITALY.

All ancient historians concur in the statement that the Tyrrheni were not the earliest inhabitants of the country which in after days was called by the Greeks Tyrsenia, Etruria by the Romans. The story goes that the Pelasgians had already made settlements in that quarter. Their coming, according to Dionysius[2], was on this wise:—Pelasgians from Arcadia had settled in Haemonia (now called Thessaly), driving out the barbarians then dwelling there. Here they lived for five generations, but in the sixth they were driven out by invaders, who are now called Aetolians and Locrians, and many of those round Parnassus, all under the leadership of Deucalion. Diônysius calls the invaders Curetes and Leleges, confusing the newcomers with the older tribes of Curetes and Leleges, whom the former found dwelling in Aetolia and Locris respectively, and into whom they largely merged.

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[1] *Pyth.* IX. 127 *sqq.* (Myers).

[2] I. 17.

The Pelasgians of Thessaly then scattered into exile, some to Crete, some settled in the Cyclades; others maintained themselves, as we have seen, round Pelion, Ossa, and Olympus, in the district called Histiaeotis, whilst others again made their way to Boeotia, Phocis, and Euboea. Others settled in the north-west of Asia Minor and on the adjacent islands including Lesbos. But the greater part moved west to their kinsmen of Epirus, who treated them kindly. Later in obedience to the oracle of Dodona they sailed for Italy, then called Saturnia. Though anxious to make the nearest part of Italy, they were driven by the south wind to the Spinetic mouth of the Po. Here they left their ships and the feeblest of the folk with a guard to protect them; at this spot the town of Spina was founded and fortified with a wall; its people prospered greatly, had the control of the sea, and sent tithes to the god at Delphi. Eventually under the pressure of the neighbouring barbarians the city was abandoned. "So perished the stock of the Pelasgians left behind at Spina[1]."

The Pelasgians who on their landing had not stayed behind at Spina marched inland and crossed the mountain region into the territory of the Ombrici, who bordered on the Aborigines.

The Ombrici were dwelling in many parts of Italy, and this race was one of the greatest and oldest.

At the outset the Pelasgians got possession of the land where they first settled and captured some of the Umbrian towns (πολίσματα). A large force of Umbrians advanced against the Pelasgians, when the latter in alarm turned to the Aborigines, who at once prepared to repel them. But the Pelasgians happened to be encamped near Cotylia, a town of the Aborigines close to the Sacred Lake. In this lake with its floating island the Pelasgians saw the fulfilment of an oracle given them at Dodona[2]. They accordingly made overtures to the Aborigines, who being hard pressed by the Siculi accepted the alliance. The combined force straightway captured the Umbrian town of Cortona, which they henceforward used as a base for their operations against the Umbrians. The Pelasgians aided the Aborigines against the Siculi, from whom they took many towns, which the Pelasgians and Aborigines jointly occupied; of this number were Agylla, Pisa, Saturnia, Alsion, and many others, of which they were afterwards deprived by the Etruscans. The Siculi and Umbri were settled in cities and thus cannot be regarded as mere barbarians. We know from Herodotus[1] that the land of the Umbrians at the dawn of history included all north-east Italy as far as the Alps. On the other hand we know that the Siculi were continually being driven down south before kindred tribes advancing from the north, and that they passed into Sicily, where they settled and to which they gave their own name after conquering or driving into the western parts of the island the Sicani, an Iberic tribe, who according to Thucydides were the earliest occupants of that island[2].

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[1] I. 18.

[2] I. 19.

We may therefore infer with some probability that the Umbrians were the people who were in the act of driving south the Siculi, when the Thessalian Pelasgi came on the scene. The latter had had to seek for new homes owing to the advance of the Acheans into Epirus, and Thessaly, part of which is still known as 'Pelasgian Argos' in the *Iliad*[3].

But the Umbri and Siculi were not the oldest occupants of Italy, for we read that the invading Pelasgians were joined by the *Aborigines* who dwelt in the mountains, into which they had doubtless been driven by the Siculi and Umbrians. These Aborigines stood in the same relation to the Siculi and Umbri as did the Sicani to the Siculi and Greeks in Sicily at a later date. Their position in the mountains indicates that they were the ancient possessors of the land, driven from the rich soil of the plains into the barren fastnesses of the hill country, just as the Sicani held their independence in the western parts of Sicily, and as at the present day the Basques maintain themselves in the mountainous regions of north-west Spain. The small dark dolichocephalic race, who probably are the descendants of the people who dwelt in our own islands in the neolithic and bronze ages, have survived in Wales, and still hold out in the mountainous parts of Scotland and Ireland, and especially in the western districts.

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[1] IV. 49.

[2] VI. 2.

[3] II. 681.

Such races are ever ready to welcome any invader who may aid them against their hereditary enemies. Thus the Sicani assisted the Greeks against the Siculi, the Siculi in turn supported the Athenians against the Syracusans, the Tlascalans of Mexico helped Cortes and his Spaniards to conquer the Aztecs, and the natives of the west of Ireland were only too ready to join the French against the English when the former landed at Killala in 1798. The story of the Aborigines can thus be easily paralleled from the whole range of history, and there is no reason to doubt its substantial truth.

But it is worth while to see whether the traditional statements accord with the facts revealed by modern investigations.

The researches of the Italian antiquaries during the last forty years have collected a vast body of information respecting the earliest stages of human culture in northern and central Italy, and we are now conversant with its essential characteristics.

The earliest stage is that revealed in the Lake-dwellings of the plains of the Po, usually termed the Terramare period. *Terramara* is the term applied to a substance looking like a mixture of clay, sand and ashes arranged in differently coloured strata, yellowish-brown, green, or black, found in large flattish mounds. These artificial deposits occur over the provinces of Parma, Reggio, and Modena. Shortly after the middle of the last century agriculturists observed the great fertilizing properties of this earthy substance, and ever since it has been largely used as manure. From the outset many relics had been observed in these heaps, such as potsherds, implements of stone, horn and bone, but it was only when Prof. Ströbel of Parma in 1861 announced that the remains of a pile-dwelling analogous to those found in lakes and marshes had been found below the true Terramara deposits at Castione dei

Marchesi, that the true nature of these mounds was at length realized[1].

The first discovery of pile-dwellings in North Italy was at Mercurago, where objects of flint and bronze were found in 1860. Since then many similar prehistoric stations have been found, such as those at Isolino in Lake Varese to the east of Maggiore, in the peat-bog of Brabbia, at Peschiera in Lake Garda, and to the north of the Po at Lagazzi in the province of Cremona, at Marendole near Este, at Gottolengo north of Regona, and at various places in the province of Brescia, at Castione in Parma, at Campeggine in Reggio, at Corzano in Modena[2], at Alba in the province of Cuneo[3], and many other localities. At Monte del Castellaccio near Imola in Bologna (1873—83) implements of stone, stag-horn, bronze, and pottery were discovered. Similar remains have been found at Lodi near Milan, near Pavia, and near Rimini.

The general characteristics of the Terramare can best be understood from a section of the famous habitation of Castione. First comes ordinary mould or disturbed soil for a depth of six feet, in which are found Roman and more recent remains; secondly, the *Terramara* beds proper, in thin wavy laminations of variously coloured earths; sometimes there is a thickish bed of clay or a black band of charcoal; but the general horizontality of the layers is maintained, and they average a depth of about eight feet; thirdly comes a blackish peaty substance for a depth of three feet. It was in this that Ströbel detected the remains of the pile-dwelling. Below is a greenish clay deposit into which the piles were driven[4].

The antiquities found in these habitations show that their earliest occupants were still in the neolithic period, but the great majority of the remains belong to the Copper and Bronze Ages. They comprise vessels of earthenware both large and small and of manifold shapes, some of which correspond to those types known in the Balkan and Danubian regions, and also in Spain. The larger vessels are of coarse clay, roughly kneaded, often containing large grains of sand; the colour of the paste is ash-black inside and reddish outside, and they are quite unglazed. The smaller vessels were made of a finer paste with thin walls, and a smooth blackish surface.

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[1] Munro, *Lake-dwellings of Europe* (1890), pp. 238—40; Montelius, *La Civilisation primitive en Italie*, pp. 89 *sqq.*

[2] Montelius, *op. cit.*, pp. 29 *sqq.*, Pll. I.—XXVI. (series B).

[3] Pigorini, "Stazione neolitica di Alba in provincia di Cuneo" (*Bullettino di Paletnologia italiana*, 1893, pp. 162—8).

[4] Munro, *op. cit.*, pp. 240—1.

There were many articles made of bone and horn, comprising needles, pins, ornamented combs, small wheels, handles and other objects. Stone axes, chisels, and spear-heads are not common, but there were numbers of rubbers, mealing-stones, and grooved spheroidal stones.

Of copper and bronze there are numbers of flat celts (Fig. 42, Nos. 1, 12), awls, chisels, spear-heads, knives, crescent-shaped razors, combs, pins, and needles. The flat celt is the earliest type of metal axe, being modelled from the stone axe which it replaced. There are also numbers of 'spindle-whorls' of different forms. As both metal slag and stone moulds have been found, the bronze was evidently worked on the spot and not imported.

Iron is not yet known, neither is glass or silver found, and indeed there is but one doubtful object of gold.

In all the earlier habitations fibulae, rings and bracelets are absent.

From the evidence now to hand, it is clear that this people dwelt in lakes and marshes, rearing pile-dwellings like the Stone and Bronze Age people of Switzerland, southern Germany, and many other parts of Europe. At the time of their first occupation they were still employing stone for all cutting purposes, but at no long time afterwards had learned to use copper and bronze for cutting and other important implements, while stone was only retained for meaner purposes. Their dead were buried in a contracted posture, lying on the side or sometimes sitting.

The Terramare civilization is probably contemporary with that seen in the earliest strata at Hissarlik.

In Latium the remains of a contemporary culture have likewise been found.

After the Terramare came the Early Iron Age, usually termed the Villanova period by the Italian archaeologists, from the discovery of a large number of its characteristic remains at Villanova near Bologna.

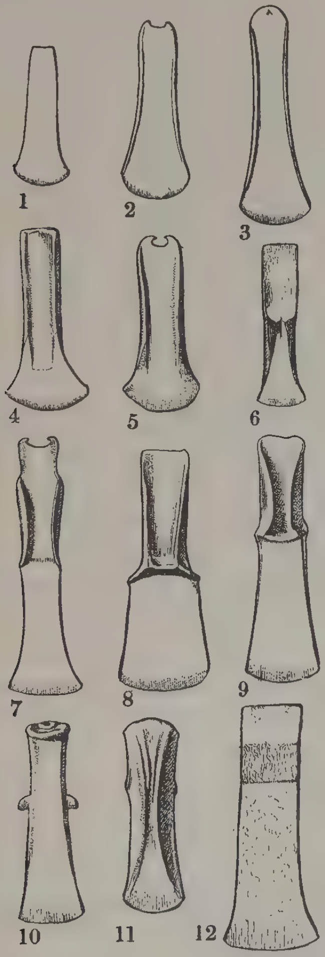

Fig. 42. Bronze Celts, Italy[1].

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[1] The specimens here figured are all in the British Museum (Greek and Roman Antiq.). The exact locality of each is unknown. They are from the Temple and other collections.

The antiquities[1] of this culture are widely spread over upper Italy, and differ essentially from those of the previous epoch. Indeed they have been described by some as following *longo intervallo*, for they show a great advance in metal work.

The cemeteries of this age reveal cist-graves, the bottom, sides, and top being formed of flat unhewn stones, though sometimes there are only bottom and top slabs. The dead were burnt; the remains are usually in urns, each grave containing, as a rule, but one ossuary. Sometimes the vessel is covered with a flat stone or a dish upside down, sometimes the urns are deposited in the ground without any protection. The vases are often hand-made and adorned with incised linear ornament, but the bones especially in later times were often placed in bronze urns or buckets. Mycenean influences are seen at work in the region round the mouths of the Po. But here, as we have just seen, the Pelasgians of Thessaly had planted Spina (p. 232).

Though iron is making its way steadily into use for cutting weapons, flat, flanged, socketed and looped celts of bronze are found in considerable numbers[2] (Fig. 42). Fibulae of many kinds ranging from the most primitive safety-pin fashioned out of a common bronze pin, such as those found at Peschiera, through many varieties, which will be more fully described in a later chapter, are in universal use.

Representations of the human figure are practically unknown, but models of animals of a rude and primitive kind are very common, probably being votive offerings. These are closely parallel to the bronze figures found at Olympia, where representations of the human figure are still comparatively rare.

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[1] The best known cemeteries are those of Bologna, Villanova, Este, Golasecca, Trezzo, Rivoli, Oppiano. See Montelius, *op. cit.*, an invaluable work of which I have made much use; see also various papers of the eminent Prof. Pigorini: "Antichite italiche del tipo di Villanova nel circondario di Rimini" (*Bullettino di Paletnologia italiana*, 1894, pp. 164—74); "Nuove tombe del tipo di Villanova scoperte presso Verucchio nel Riminese" (*Paletnologia ital.*, 1896, pp. 237—47); "Ossuarî del periodo di Villanova rappresentanti la figura umana o la casa" (*Paletnol. it.*, 1895, pp. 233—6).

[2] Montelius, *op. cit.*, pls. lxxvi., lxxvii., lxxxii., lxxxvii., xcv.; all of these are from Bologna.

As has been already remarked (p. 137), almost all the Olympian bronzes of this type were found at the same level and in one part of the Altis at Olympia, near the Heraeum and Pelopium, and they belong to the Dipylon period[1].

But traces of the transition between the Terramare and the Villanova periods are not wanting. Thus in a considerable number of cemeteries which belong to the Bronze Age it has been proved that the dead were cremated and not inhumed, as in the earlier settlements[2]. This difference in burial rites indicates *prima facie* a difference of race. The fibulae were in use before the end of the Bronze Age, as is shown by the discovery of primitive safety-pins in settlements of the Bronze Age, as at Peschiera[3].

On top of the Villanova culture the distinctive Etruscan civilization can be seen superimposed, as in the famous cemeteries of Bologna. The Etruscan graves are distinguished from those of the earlier period by their shape, decoration and method of disposing of the dead. The latter are never cremated, but are laid in the tomb. The true Etruscan tomb is a chamber entered by a door in the side, but this form is not found north of the Apennines, for in the Etruscan cemetery at Certosa near Bologna the graves are large pits without a side entrance, into which one has to descend from above. They are rectangular, sometimes square, sometimes oblong with the long sides running east and west: they contain a large oaken chest with a lid fixed by iron nails. The skeleton lies within the chest with its feet to the east. Many are seated with arms and legs extended.

Later than the Etruscan graves come others containing gear similar to that found on the battle-fields where Caesar defeated the Helvetii and Boii, and to that found in the graves of Gaulish warriors in the valley of the Marne, and elsewhere. From this it is clear that the similar graves found in Italy are also Gaulish.

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[1] Furtwängler, *Die Bronzen von Olympia*, pp. 28—43.

[2] Montelius, *op. cit.*, pp. 205 *sqq.*; *cf.* pp. 191 *sqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 55 *sqq.*

Last of all come Roman remains, which are recognized by many indubitable proofs such as coins and inscriptions.

History tells us that the Romans, Gauls, Etruscans, and before them the Umbrians held upper Italy. As the Villanova period precedes the Etruscan, few now doubt that in the Villanova antiquities we see the remains of the Umbrians.

But behind the Villanova or Umbrian culture lies the Terramare. The apparent interval between the two periods can be accounted for if we follow, as before, the historical tradition. We have just learned from Dionysius that upper Italy had been occupied by a people called Aborigines, and that these people had in part been conquered by the Umbrians.

Now Philistus[1] of Syracuse tells us that the Ligyes were driven from their homes by the Umbrians and Pelasgians, from which it appears that the Aborigines are none other than the Ligyes or Ligurians so well known in Roman history. The Aborigines continued to hold their own in the Apennines, and it is in that region that through historical times the Ligyes or Ligurians have dwelt uninterruptedly, extending from Genoa not only to the Maritime Alps but as far as the Rhone, though largely intermixed with Celtic tribes from the Alps (p. 376). Nor is there wanting evidence that they had once occupied the Po region, and even the Alpine districts, for Livy[2] mentions a Ligurian tribe called Libui, who down to the coming of the Celtic Cenomanni dwelt near Verona. Later on we shall find when we deal at greater length with the ethnology of the Alpine districts that the people of Noricum were called Ligyrisci as well as Taurisci.

It is probable that under Umbrian, Etruscan, Gaul, and Roman they have always formed a considerable element in the population of upper Italy.

We saw that already before the beginning of the Iron Age a new form of burial had made its appearance in upper Italy. This can best be explained by the fact that the Umbrian conquest of the Ligurians had already begun. Nor is this a mere hypothesis, for the archaeological evidence demonstrates that before the end of the Bronze Age warriors equipped with swords of types not Italian, but belonging to Central Europe, had already made their way into upper Italy. Thus a bronze sword found at Piano di Spagna near Colico is of a type which is indigenous in Central Europe, and an example of which has even been found in Sweden. The blade has a tang which passes through a hilt of bronze separately cast[1].

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[1] Fragm. 2 (Müller).

[2] v. 35. For an excellent account of the Ligyes, the reader is referred to W. H. Hall's *The Romans on the Riviera and the Rhone* (1898).

Another bronze sword found in 1848 at Prato Pagno near Como[2] is of a well-known Hungarian type. The blade is leaf-shaped, expanding towards the point; it is ornamented with engraved lines; the hilt is of bronze; the pommel is almost round, richly decorated, and pierced with a hole. Another sword unfortunately broken, found at Turin, is also of a familiar Hungarian type[3]. The blade is adorned with linear ornament; the hilt is of bronze; the pommel is cupola-form and is pierced with a hole and adorned with concentric circles.

The first of the two swords of Hungarian type comes at the last period of bronze in Hungary, and is contemporary with the beginning of iron in Italy[4].

A bronze sword with its blade ornamented with two hollow lines, and its hilt of bronze with antennae, was found at Castione in Bergamo[5]. A sword of this type was found in one of the tombs at Corneto near Civita Vecchia, and other specimens have also come to hand in Italy; they are especially found in the countries north of the Alps, where without doubt this type is indigenous.

A number of bronze bracelets were found under a stone at Montenotte in the valley of Bormida in the western Apennines near the Alps. They are of a type which is very rare in Italy, but very common in the countries beyond the Alps, whilst their prototype and analogues are completely wanting in Italy. A bracelet found at Aosta is similar to a type known in France, Switzerland and Germany.

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[1] Montelius, *La Civilisation primitive en Italie*, p. 175, pl. xxxi. no. 6.

[2] *Ibid.* no. 7; Montelius, *Compte-Rendu Congr. du Stockholm*, 1874, p. 901; Hample, *Compte-Rendu Congr. du Budapest*, 1876, II. 2, pl. xxii. 23.

[3] Montelius, *Civ. prim. en Italie*, p. 142.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 173, pl. xxxi. no. 9.

[5] *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1882, pl. xii. fig. 1, p. 16.

The truth of the literary tradition has thus in the case of upper Italy been amply confirmed by the testimony of modern discoveries.

We may therefore hold that a people from the Alps and beyond had already in the Bronze Age been gradually advancing downwards, driving back or conquering the aboriginal Ligurians, who were a branch of the melanochrous dolichocephalic race of the Mediterranean basin.

Bononia. This famous town was said to have been founded by the Etruscan Ocnus (or Aucnus), brother or son of Auletes, the founder of Perusia[1], and we are told by Pliny that its Etruscan name was Felsina[2]. The Etruscans were driven out by the Celtic Boii in the beginning of the fourth century B.C., who in their turn were expelled by the Romans in 196 B.C.[3] It was colonized seven years later, when we first hear of it under the name Bononia[4].

Though the literary history is silent respecting the actual settlement of the Pelasgians on this site, it must not be inferred that no such element ever formed part of its early population, for by parity of reasoning it could be maintained that the site had not been occupied by the Umbrians. Yet the discoveries made both in and near the city in recent years demonstrate that long before the Etruscan conquest it was a place of considerable importance. The chief pre-Etruscan antiquities comprise a huge earthenware vase discovered by Zannoni in 1871 in the floor of an ancient building in the Prato di San Francesco. It contained 14,800 bronze objects, and is held to have been a temple treasure or a dedication to a god rather than a foundry. It contained a few scraps of iron, but it dates from before any kind of coinage[5].

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[1] Silius Ital., VIII. 601; Servius, *ad Aen.* x. 198.

[2] *N. H.* III. 20, 15, 20.

[3] Livy, XXXIII. 37.

[4] Livy, XXXVII. 57; Vell. Pat. I. 15.

[5] Montelius, *La Civilisation prim. en Italie*, 1895, pp. 343—5; pls. lxvi.—lxxii.

The bronzes included flanged, socketed, stopped and looped celts, an axe with a transverse hole for a handle at one end, another of the same kind with a knob at its handle end; socketed chisels, gouges, and other tools, knives, horsebits, including one of a type not Italian but familiar in Hungary and Bohemia, dagger-blades, the upper part of the hilt of a sword adorned with transverse cordons and with antennae (p. 241), which end in spirals, socketed spear-head, barbed arrow-head, socketed and barbed javelin-head, bracelets, a pin with a disc-shaped head, a spiral ring, the fragment of a vase with spiral ornaments; there were a number of fibulae including several unfinished specimens.

There were likewise a great number of pre-Etruscan interments in the great cemetery west of the city, whilst in the city itself were found remains of cabins and graves. The examination of all these enables us to fix the date of the foundation of the city towards the end of the Bronze Age, or more than 1000 B.C.

The complete resemblance between the domestic remains, the mode of sepulture, and the funeral furniture of the pre-Etruscan people at Bologna and those of central Italy in the Umbrian epoch before the coming of the Etruscans proves that the city was a seat of the Umbrians[1]. It is therefore quite possible that Bononia was one of the towns wrested from the Umbrians by the Pelasgians with the aid of the Aborigines even before the coming of the Etruscans who according to Pliny[2] captured 300 Umbrian towns.

The general tradition of a Pelasgian occupation of Etruria is confirmed by the separate stories connected with the foundation of famous towns and their subsequent history. We saw that antiquities of Mycenean character have been found in Etruria, and among the places where such have been found Caere and Falerii were included. We shall therefore briefly review the early stories of these notable towns.

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[1] A. Bertrand and Salomon Reinach, *Les Celtes dans les Vallées du Pô et du Danube* (1894), p. 187; Montelius, *loc. cit.*

[2] *N. H.* III. 5, 8.

Agylla[1] (Caere) is classed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus[2] among the primitive towns of central Italy, which were either built by the united Pelasgi and Aborigines, or taken by them from the Siculi ages before the foundation of the Etruscan state. The statement of Dionysius that it was Pelasgic is confirmed by Strabo[3] (who says that they came from Thessaly), as well as by Pliny[4], Servius[5], and Solinus[6], who all record the tradition that Agylla was founded by the Pelasgi.

The town known as Caere to the Roman writers was called Agylla by the Greeks of the time of Herodotus. Strabo tells us that its change of name arose from the following cause: "it was said to have been founded by Pelasgi from Thessaly. The Lydians, who had taken the name of Tyrrheni, having made war against the Agyllaeans, one of them approached the wall and inquired the name of the city, whereupon one of the Thessalians on the wall, instead of answering the question, saluted him with '*Chaire*' (Χαῖρε). The Tyrrhenians received this as an omen, and after the capture of the city they changed its name" We are not told explicitly that the Caerites did not understand the Tyrrhenian question, but as we know that the Pelasgians of Falerii had a language differing from that of the Etruscans, the best explanation of the story seems to be that it was owing to ignorance of each other's language that the mistake arose.

We must not of course hastily found an argument with regard to language from this story, which is commonly held to be merely a piece of aetiological etymologizing, but even without committing ourselves to its truth, we may legitimately infer that it was the general belief of the ancient Italians that the Pelasgians spoke a language which was unintelligible to the Tyrrhenians.

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[1] Prof. Th. Mommsen (*Hist. of Rome*, vol. I. p. 136, Engl. trans.) thinks its Pelasgic origin an idle fiction and that Caere was founded by the Phoenicians on the ground that the name Agylla is supposed to be from a Phoenician root, and means *Round Town*. As we possess no remains of Phoenician except some inscriptions and some dozen lines preserved in the *Poenulus* of Plautus, etymology, which even in the case of the proper names of a well-known language is always a dangerous guide, is here absolutely worthless. However when Mommsen wrote, philology was in the full pride of youth, and we must not wonder if that great man was occasionally led astray by it.

[2] I. 16; *cf.* III. 193.

[3] 220, 226.

[4] *N. H.*, III. 18.

[5] Serv., *ad Aeneid.* VIII. 479; X. 183.

[6] c. viii.

And yet the story is not without close modern parallels. The name Owhyhee, which still appears on our maps as alternative for Hawaii, owes its origin to Captain Cook, who misunderstood the Polynesian from whom he got information. Every one knows that the word *kangaroo*, which is unknown to any Australian dialect, is probably due to another mistake of the great navigator, who mistook the expression uttered by a native, on suddenly seeing one of these animals, 'there he runs,' for its name.

But there is a further proof that the people of Agylla were not Tyrrheni. At the present day we possess a fair knowledge of the chief scripts of ancient Italy—Latin, Faliscan, Etruscan, Umbrian, and Oscan: these differ in certain respects from each other, but all seem to have had a common origin. This mother alphabet resembles that of Euboea, and hence the Italian scripts (with the exception of the Messapian) are usually termed Chalcidian. That all these are derived from an alphabet once common to central Italy is proved by the existence of three well-known abecedaria from Formello, Caere and Colle[1]. At Formello near the ancient Veii in 1882 was found a plain vase of black ware bearing an Etruscan inscription of ownership, a syllabary or spelling exercise, and the Greek alphabet twice repeated. These two alphabets are of unique interest, as they contain archaic forms of all the twenty-two primitive Phoenician letters, arranged precisely as they stand in the Semitic alphabet, while at the end after *Tau* are added the four non-Phoenician signs. Before the discovery of the Formello vase the most complete abecedarium was that found in 1836 at Caere. On a small vase of plain black ware taken from a tomb was engraved a Greek abecedarium, while a syllabary is rudely scratched on the body of the vase. With the exception of the letters Λ and M, which are injured by a fracture, and the letter *Koppa* which is omitted probably by accident as it appears in the syllabary, the letters are in the same order as in that from Formello. The Caere abecedarium is of special value as it exhibits the *San* in an archaic form, which occurs in no other epigraphic monument, and is almost identical with the primitive *Tsade*, which occupies the corresponding station in the Phoenician alphabet. The same four non-Phoenician letters appear and in the same order as at Formello. In 1698 another syllabary and abecedarium in the same alphabet was found painted in large letters on the wall of an Etruscan tomb at Colle near Sienna, but only the first sixteen letters could be deciphered.

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[1] Isaac Taylor, *The Alphabet*, II. 73—79; for abecedaria of Caere and Colle, *cf.* Th. Mommsen, *Die Unteritalischen Dialekte*, pp. 8 *sqq*.

The non-Phoenician letters in the Greek alphabet—Υ, Χ, Φ, Ψ—have been identified with certain signs with similar phonetic values in the Cypriote syllabary[1], to which also are related the non-Greek symbols in the Carian and Lycian alphabets (p. 211), and most probably the Mycenean script.

The abecedaria approach most closely the alphabet used in Boeotia and Euboea. Accordingly Kirchhoff[2] has concluded that all the Italian alphabets are derived from the Chalcidian colonies. Many of the inscriptions from Italy which are assumed to be in a script derived from Chalcis are on earthenware vases. But it has never been shown that certain kinds of pottery which are assumed to be of Chalcidian origin from the forms of the letters inscribed on them are found at Chalcis or in any other part of Euboea.

It therefore may well be that the mother alphabet of the central Italian scripts reached Italy independently of the Chalcidian colonists. Nor is it difficult to explain why the alphabet of Caere should be practically the same as that of Boeotia. According to Greek tradition Cadmus brought the Phoenician characters (τὰ Φοινικήια) to Boeotia. The Cadmean territory extended up to Thessaly, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that Thessaly received the Phoenician alphabet from her neighbour. But, as tradition asserts that the founders of Caere came from Thessaly, we need not therefore be surprised to find in Etruria the oldest forms of the Greek alphabet.

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[1] Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, p. 51; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, p. 15.

[2] *Studien z. Ges. d. griech. Alph.*, pp. 123 *sqq.*; Roberts, *op. cit.*, pp. 20—7.

The Caere abecedarium has the non-Phoenician letters arranged in the order of the 'Western alphabet,' but if it had been introduced by the Tyrrhenians, who came from Asia Minor, it ought rather to resemble the Ionic and other alphabets of the Eastern group.

Pyrgi (*Severa*) was the port of Agylla, and, though we have no ancient statement that it was founded by the Pelasgians, we know that its temple of Ilithyia was built by that people[1]. The existing remains of polygonal masonry confirm the ancient evidence.

Falerii (*Civita Castellana*), according to the almost unanimous voice of the ancient historians, was a colony from Argos[2]. Shortly after the Trojan war a body of colonists from that city, led by Halesus or Halesinus, son of Agamemnon, settled in this part of Italy, driving out the Siculi who held it, and occupied the towns of Falerium and Fescennium. Dionysius calls these Argives Pelasgi[3], but, as we have seen that under the Achean dynasty the old Pelasgian population of Argolis remained undisturbed, the emigrants led by the Achean prince Halesus would certainly consist mainly of Pelasgians.

The people of Falerii resembled the Argives in many respects, especially in their religion, and Dionysius says that the temple of Hera at Falerii and the ritual of the goddess were copied from the Heraeum of Argos and its ceremonial. But we shall have occasion to refer to the cult of the goddess at greater length on a later page.

The settlers from Argos also introduced into Italy the round Argolic shield.

It is uncertain whether they were conquered by the Tyrrheni when they came, or whether on the contrary the latter made an alliance with them to strengthen themselves against the older peoples around them. But it is certain that they got incorporated with the Etruscans and under the name of Falisci continued in possession of this part of Etruria down to the Roman conquest. Yet they never blended wholly with the Etruscans, for we are told by Strabo that their language differed from that of the other Etruscans, and modern epigraphical study has shown that the Faliscans employed an alphabet of their own distinct in several features from the ordinary Etruscan alphabet, and approaching more closely that of Latium[1]. Even as late as the time of Strabo they retained traces of their Argive origin in their arrows, weapons and national customs[2].

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[1] Strabo, 226.

[2] Dionysius, I. 17; Ovid, *Fasti*, 9. 73; Cato, *ap*. Plin. *H. N.*, IV. 8; Servius, *ad Aeneid.* VII. 695; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Φάλισκος; Solinus, II. 13. All of these agree as to the Argive origin of Falerii, but Justinus (XX. 1) says the colonists were Chalcidians.

[3] I. 16, 19.

Tarquinii (*Corneto*), according to Justin[3], was founded by the Thessalians and Spinambri, whom Niebuhr and O. Müller regard as Pelasgians. But Herodotus[4] and all other ancient

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[1] Kirchhoff, *Studien z. Ges. d. gr. Alph.*, p. 133; Taylor, *The Alphabet*, II. 126—8.

[2] Strabo, 226.

[3] xx. 1.

[4] I. 94; Strabo, 219; Velleius Paterculus, I. 1. I here follow the tradition of Herodotus (as I did in 'UMBRIA' in *Encycl. Britan.*) though Sergi and Ripley (*The Races of Europe*, p. 266) follow the view of Th. Mommsen that the Etruscans came over the Rhaetian Alps from central Europe. The only basis for such a doctrine is that inscriptions in Etruscan characters have been found in Rhaetia. Yet these inscriptions are not necessarily in the Etruscan language. It does not follow that because Roman inscriptions are found in Gaul, therefore the Romans came originally from Gaul (Bertrand and S. Reinach, *Les Celtes*, etc. pp. 63—4). The only other evidence is that derived from a fancied resemblance between Rhaeti and Rasenna, the name by which the Etruscans called themselves (Dionys. Hal. I. 30, *αὐτοὶ μέντοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τινὸς Ῥασέννα τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνῳ τρόπον ὀνομάζουσι*). Even if the name Rasenna was well established, the argument would be worthless. But as Rasenna only occurs in this one passage, Lepsius' suggestion *Ταρασένα* or *Ταρσένα* is probably right. The Tyrrhenians derived their name from their leader *Τυρσηνός*. But there is a form *Ταρσηνοί*=*Τυρσηνοί*. But the single fact that whilst the Etruscans inhumed their dead in large chambers, the Rhaeti (as is proved by the cemetery of Vadena) cremated their dead and placed their ashes in urns as did the Celto-Umbrians of upper Italy, is decisive. The Etruscan tomb with its side approach (p. 239) is akin to the tombs of Caria (p. 192) and the tombs with a *dromos* of Mycenean Greece.

Sergi, followed by Ripley (p. 268), holds that, as about one quarter of the skulls found in Etruscan graves are brachycephalic, whilst the remainder are dolichocephalic, and (they argue) as the Etruscans were a conquering minority, therefore the broad skulls are Etruscan, and therefore they came from the Alps, the seat of the broad-skulled people. But they leave out of writers regard it as a purely Tyrrhenian city founded by Tarchon, kinsman of Tyrrhenus son of Atys, king of Lydia, who forced by a sore famine to leave his native land, brought a colony to this part of Italy, and founded the twelve cities of Etruria.

But, as the Pelasgians who settled in central Italy are said to have come from Thessaly, and there is an explicit statement to the same effect touching the Pelasgians of Agylla, a city later on reduced by the Tyrrhenians, we are justified in concluding that Tarquinii had likewise been a settlement of the Thessalian Pelasgians in combination with the Spinambri, probably a tribe of Aborigines (Ligyes), who later on were subdued and absorbed by the Tyrrhenian conquerors.

Alsion (*Palo*) was founded by the Pelasgi ages before the arrival of the Tyrrheni on these shores, if we are to believe Dionysius[1]. Silius Italicus ascribes its origin to the Argive Halesus, son of Agamemnon, from whom he thought it derived its name[2].

But it has been just shown that the Argives who came with Halesus were the old Pelasgian population of Argolis. Both traditions then make the town Pelasgian in origin.

Pisae still retains her ancient name, site, and importance. Dionysius[3] classes her amongst the primitive cities of Italy, either taken from the Siculi or subsequently built by the combined Pelasgians and Aborigines. Another tradition declares it to be an Arcadian colony, and that it was called after Pisa in Elis[4].

consideration the historical fact that long before the Etruscan conquest the Umbrians, who were broad-skulled, had conquered the dolichocephalic Aborigines (Ligurians) who nevertheless continued to form the bulk of the population in central Italy. The Pelasgians from Thessaly and the Tyrrhenians from Asia Minor were both dolichocephalic like the Ligurians, being of the same race. Thus the cranial evidence, taken by itself and without historical support, is most misleading.

[1] I. 16.

[2] VIII. 476.

[3] I. 16.

[4] Vergil, *Aeneid*, x. 179; Servius, *ad loc.*, says that it was a Phocicum oppidum, by which he probably means Phocaean, for Phocicus was frequently used = Phocaicus by the Roman writers (cf. Lucan, III. 340).

Saturnia is mentioned by Dionysius in the passage so often quoted[1] along with Agylla, Pisae, and Alsion, as one of the towns founded by the combined Pelasgians and the Aborigines, or taken by them from the Siculi.

Cortona was a city of the Umbrians, from whom it was taken by the united Pelasgians and Aborigines. The Pelasgian occupation of this city is further strengthened by the legend that Iasion, son of Corythus king of Crotona, settled in Samothrace, whence his brother Dardanus founded Troy[2].

We have now seen that there are not only indications of a connection between certain antiquities found on Etruscan soil and the Mycenean culture, but that there is a very strong body of traditional evidence in favour of considerable settlements in that country of Pelasgians, who are represented in several cases as emigrating from Greece during the Achean and before the Dorian domination. These settlers had established themselves by the aid of the Aborigines who helped them against the Umbrians.

The archaeological evidence confirms the statement that the Pelasgians had found two other races already in the land. Later came the Tyrrhenians from Asia Minor, who by the aid of the Aborigines as well as of the old Pelasgian communities extended their conquest over the Umbrians. The Tyrrheni gave their name to the land thus acquired.

It has long been assumed that the fine artistic remains found in this area are the outcome of the Etruscans, who are supposed to have either imported the best executed works from Greece, as was frequently the case, or to have had them made on the spot by Greek artists, or native artists who imitated Greek models.

Yet there are certain kinds of art for which Etruria is famous, but which cannot be said to be especially borrowed from classical Greek models. The Etruscan bronze work seems to have been quite independent of such influence. Thus they made the art of engraving on mirrors and cistae peculiarly their own. Indeed the ancient writers speak of the bronze working of Etruria as preeminent[1].

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[1] I. 20.

[2] Servius, *ad Aeneid.* III. 15, 167; VIII. 207.

There is even some evidence that their bronze works were imported into Greece[2]. Nor must we permit ourselves to believe that the Etruscans were devoid of all originality and imitated everything from Greek models.

Again, Etruria yields a class of gems often very finely engraved, which are practically unknown in classical Greece. These are a peculiar form of scarab, which cannot have been imported from Greece nor yet imitated from Greek models.

Although the Etruscans never reached the highest skill of the Greeks as vase-painters, and did import vast numbers of vases from Athens and Corinth, nevertheless, not only did they produce fine native wares such as *bucchero* and fine polished black ware with incised ornamentation, but some of their efforts in the more advanced styles, which from their clay are proved to be of home manufacture, are of high merit.

But it is in mural decoration that the Etruscan painter is seen at his best. Two paintings have been found on the walls of tombs at Caere. And many similar works of art have been found at Tarquinii (*Corneto*), Clusium, Vulci, Orvieto, Veii, Bomarzo, and Vetulonia[3]. They show the art in all its stages from its infancy down to the empire. The oldest—that in the Campana tomb of Veii—is rude in conception and execution. Next in point of age are the painted tiles lining the walls of certain tombs at Caere, where "the human figure is drawn with more truth to nature, though in bad outline, and an attempt is even shown at the expression of sentiment." The paintings at Tarquinii are of later date and better style, and betray the influence of Hellenic models.

Now Pliny tells us that frescoes of extreme beauty were still to be seen in his own day at Ardea and Lanuvium. These he held to be older than the city of Rome, and he adds that Caere possessed still more ancient paintings[1].

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[1] Athen. I. 28 B; XV. 700 C.

[2] The Greeks spoke of the bronze trumpet as Etruscan in origin; σάλπιγξ Τυρσηνική, Aesch. *Eum.* 567; χαλκοστόμου κώδωνος ὡς Τυρσηνικῆς, Soph. *Aj.* 17.

[3] Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, vol. I. pp. lxxxiv. *sqq.* (2nd ed.).

But if, as we contend, Agylla was not an Etruscan, but a Pelasgian foundation, the question of the origin of painting and the other arts in Etruria must arise.

Painting is one of the chief characteristics of the Mycenean culture, both as seen in its splendid pottery, and in the frescoes of Tiryns, Mycenae, Cnossus, and elsewhere. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the Pelasgian settlers who in the Mycenean age came from Argolis and Thessaly to Etruria should also have the same taste and art. Dr Murray[2] in describing a series of paintings from Caere (now in the British Museum) has pointed out their dependence on Greek models.

The story that Damaratus on his expulsion from Corinth brought with him the potters Eucheir, Eugrammus, and Diopus and the painter Cleophantus, proves that Greek artists did pass into Etruria[3]. But this was only a repetition of similar emigrations centuries earlier from Greece into Etruria, and perhaps the true explanation of the connection between the art of Etruria and Greece is to be found in the fact that the same artistic race was working in each country.

It was this people who produced in Etruria the works usually denominated Etruscan, and in Greece the frescoes of Cnossus and Tiryns, and the great works of classical times. The art of painting grew up within a narrow area—Egypt, Greece, and Italy.—If we are right, there was a common element in the population of all three, and it is to this element that not only painting but all the other arts must be ascribed. That portion of it which settled in Etruria has never ceased at any time to ply its craft, and the glorious outburst of Florentine art in the fifteenth century was only an extraordinary manifestation under new conditions of ideas and tastes deep-rooted through long ages in the soil of Etruria.

The Etruscan scarabs are but a continuation of the feeling for scarabs and scaraboids so universal in the Aegean in pre-classical and early classical times. The Greeks had gradually abandoned the scarab for a form of gem adapted for setting in rings, but in Etruria the scarab form took a further and independent development.

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[1] *H. N.* xxxv. 6, 17—18.

[2] *Jour. Hell. Stud.* x. (1889), pp. 243—52. There is a similar but later series of paintings from Caere in the Louvre. *Mon. Inst.* VI., VII., pl. XXX.

[3] Pliny, *N. H.* xxxv. 152; xxxv. 45.

This hypothesis explains why Greek subjects are so universally employed as decorative motives on Etruscan works of art. Thus Apollo, Aphrodite, and early Greek heroes, are very favourite subjects. If the artists who made the works were really Tyrrhenians in blood, it is indeed hard to understand why they should have selected Greek gods and heroes in preference to their own. But, from our point of view, the Pelasgian craftsmen who wrought in Etruria had a stock of religious and mythological ideas in common with the Athenians, who, though later called Hellenes, were Pelasgian in blood.

But if it be objected that, because the Etruscans were so inferior to the Greeks as artists, it is highly improbable that there was any racial connection, I answer that, whereas the whole population of Attica was Pelasgian, the Pelasgians in Etruria were but a mere handful in a population consisting of Aborigines (Ligurians), Umbrians, and Tyrrhenians from Asia Minor. Surrounded by and mixed in blood with races of inferior artistic feeling, they inevitably fell short of their kinsmen in Greece[1]. This contention may be supported from the Greeks of Magna Graecia and Sicily, who, though excelling in the minor departments of literature and art, never attained to the highest degree of excellence in either. The engravers of Magna Graecia and Sicily have left in their coins and gems the most wonderful monuments of their skill; and Sicily was the mother of rhetoric and bucolic poetry. But though she can point to Epicharmus, Gorgias, Theocritus, and the engravers Evaenetus and Cimon, she produced neither a Sophocles nor a Pheidias.

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[1] Sergi holds that the Etruscans were compounded of two ethnic elements, one from the north bringing the Hallstatt civilization of the Danube valley, the other Mediterranean both by race and by culture. "The sudden outburst of a notable civilisation may have been the result of the meeting of these two streams of human life at this point midway of the peninsula" (Ripley, p. 269). But this fails completely to account for the Etruscan culture. The Umbrians from the Alps and the aboriginal Ligurians, the two elements referred to, had met and mixed in Etruria long before the coming of Pelasgian and Etruscan, yet though we have a full knowledge of the Umbrian culture it is essentially different in its character from the Etruscan until after certain elements of a Mycenean character have begun to make their appearance. The art of Etruria must be due to the fact that a new element had been added to the Umbrian and Ligurian.

It must not be assumed that every part of the Mediterranean race was equally artistic. The Libyans, Sardinians, and Iberians never developed a culture like that of the Aegean. The artistic element in Etruria, which is so closely allied to that in Greece, has entered Etruria from Greece.

If the Tyrrhenians adopted the art of a people who were settled in Etruria before their coming, and have obtained the credit really due to the latter, a parallel is at hand in the case of Mexico, where there was an older race before the Aztecs. The former were the inventors of the calendar, and other elements of the civilization which is commonly ascribed to the latter[1].

LATIUM.

That in Latium there had been several races from a very early time there is little doubt, and it is more than likely that this circumstance explains much in the subsequent history of Rome, such as the origin of the Plebs, and its struggles against the Patricians.

Here, as in the region north of the Tiber, we hear of Aborigines, Siculi, and Pelasgians.

The various accounts preserved for us by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who drew his information from older authorities, such as Varro and Cato, are confused and apparently contradictory. Let us first start with the Aborigines. This name can mean nothing save an autochthonous race, and, as Niebuhr justly observed, can never have been a tribal name. It was already in use at the beginning of the third century B.C., for it was employed by Callias[2], who flourished about 284 B.C.; and Lycophron[3], who derived his knowledge of Rome from Timaeus of Locri (*floruit* 300 B.C.), seems to allude to them under the form Borigini, among whom it was predicted that Aeneas should settle. Cato[1] says that the chief part of the plain in the land of the Volsci had formerly belonged to the Aborigines. He also[2] says that the Aborigines dwelt about Carseoli and Reate and were driven thence by the Sabines, who had advanced from Aquila[3]. Varro enumerates the names of their towns, and says that their sites were still to be seen. Their capital, Lista, had been taken by surprise, and, as the attempts which they made to recover it for many years had proved fruitless, they withdrew from that district down the Anio. The Siculi were then in possession of Tibur, Antemnae, Ficulea, Tellena[4], Crustumerium and Aricia. These the Aborigines either subdued or expelled. Varro said that the Aborigines had joined the Pelasgians and aided them in driving out the Siculi. After this the Pelasgians withdrew and dispersed.

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[1] Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America*, IV. p. 508.

[2] Dion. Hal. I. 72.

[3] v. 1253.

The story of the alliance between the Aborigines and Pelasgians is exactly what we have had in the case of the country north of the Tiber, where we identified the Aborigines with the Ligurians, and there is no reason why the same should not have taken place in Latium, where remains similar to the Terramare culture are also found. It accounts for several apparent difficulties in the statements. Certain writers held that the Aborigines were Pelasgians; others, like Cato and Sempronius, said that the Aborigines were Acheans. Varro, as we saw, said that after the conquest of the Siculi the Pelasgians withdrew. This statement probably means that the Pelasgians in no long time merged into the native Ligurian population. This they would do all the more readily as they were probably of the same stock as the Aborigines.

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[1] Frag. *Origg.* I. (Priscian v., p. 608).

[2] Dion. Hal. I. 11.

[3] *Ibid.* II. 49. Tradition speaks of Sacrani, who entered Latium. This name corresponds so closely in form to Sabini, Lucani, Hirpini, and names of other tribes, of whose connection with the Sabine stock there is no doubt, that it is not improbable that the Sacrani were the Sabine tribe who drove the aboriginal Ligyes from Carseoli and Reate, where the Sabines are established from the dawn of history.

[4] *Ibid.* I. 16.

Indeed Dionysius says that the Aborigines had received the Pelasgians on terms of equality through hope of assistance, and especially on grounds of kinship. Both were parts of the dark-complexioned dolichocephalic race of the Mediterranean basin, and probably spoke closely related dialects.

Now the Pelasgian settlers at Falerii were said to have come under the leadership of Halesus, son of Agamemnon. In the Homeric poems the people of Argolis are often called Acheans, as well as Danaans and Argives, for though the population was Pelasgian, the ruling dynasty was Achean. It was therefore not unnatural that the nomenclature of settlers from Argos during the Achean domination should show signs of fluctuation similar to those in Homer.

By the time of the Dorian conquest the name Achean was so deeply rooted in parts of Peloponnesus that, though the refugees from Argolis and Laconia were largely of Pelasgian blood, nevertheless they were called Acheans in their new homes both in Peloponnesus (Achaia), and also in Magna Graecia (the Achean colonies). The same seems to have been the case in Latium and Etruria.

We now can see that there is no contradiction between Varro and Cato, as Niebuhr thought, but that Cato speaks of the settlers from Greece as Acheans, whilst Varro terms them by their older racial name of Pelasgians.

As we have ascribed the great walls of polygonal masonry in Etruria to the Pelasgians, so we may with equal reason ascribe to them the great gateways and walls of Signia and other towns south of Tiber.

The story of a Pelasgian settlement is supported by the legend of Evander and his Arcadians. Pausanias[1] relates that Evander, son of Hermes and a nymph of Ladon, was the best of the Arcadians both in council and in war, that he set out at the head of a band of Arcadians from Pallantium, and built a city by the river Tiber, and that that quarter of the city of Rome was called Pallantium in memory of the city in Arcadia. Evander brought with him his mother Carmenta, from whom the Carmental Gate derived its name.

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[1] viii. 43, 2.

The legend of the coming of Aeneas with his Trojans and his alliance with Evander is a further confirmation of settlements in Latium of Pelasgians driven from their homes elsewhere; and in the legend of the union between Aeneas and Latinus, king of the Aborigines, against the Rutuli and their fierce king, we can see one of those many combinations between the newcomers and the aboriginal tribes against the Umbrians and Siculans.

The Aborigines of Carseoli and Reate had probably been driven from the plain into the mountains by the Siculi, and being constantly pressed by the Sabines, another of the ever advancing tribes of Umbrians, would hail gladly any alliance with the new settlers from Greece, by whose aid they might succeed in overcoming their ancient enemies and recover at least a portion of their lost lands.

Romulus and his brother are represented as descended from the union between Aeneas and Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus. But to that wonderful alloy, from which the Romans were to develope, another element and that the most important had to be added. The Sabines had driven the Aborigines from Reate and Carseoli, and the surrounding district known as Sabina, in classical times. It was here that the simple, frugal and uncorrupt manners of life lingered when the morals of Rome had sunk low. According to the legend of the Rape of the Sabine women, Romulus provided his men with Sabine wives. In consequence of the method by which he compassed this end, war ensued between Romulus and Titus Tatius, the Sabine king of Cures, but it resulted in the amalgamation of the two peoples under the two kings. The fusion led to the classes of Titienses and Ramnenses. Numa, the successor of Romulus, was a Sabine of Cures, and Sabine also was the great patrician family of the Claudii.

We may conclude that the two main elements in the population of early Rome were the aboriginal Ligurians, who formed the Plebs, and the Umbrian Sabines, who formed the aristocracy. This is confirmed by the fact that it was only in 445 B.C. that the Canuleian law granted to the Plebs the *jus connubii*. At Athens, where the population was homogeneous, the question of intermarriage played no part in the struggle between the oligarchy and democracy. The existence of a special form of marriage (*confarreatio*) among the Roman Patricians is a further proof that they were of a different stock from the Plebeians. But we shall return to this point in a later chapter.

Some of the Siculi were expelled, according to the statement of Philistus of Syracuse, and passed down Italy into Sicily. According to Antiochus of Syracuse and Thucydides, the pressure of the Opici was the proximate cause of the crossing of the Siculi into Sicily. There is no reason why both accounts should not be true. The Siculi, on being expelled from Latium, would naturally pass down until they could conquer a people weaker than themselves; nor would they find a permanent resting-place in the country occupied by strong Opican tribes, but would be driven along until they crossed the Strait into Sicily.

CAMPANIA.

Strabo[1] says that the Osci originally possessed both Herculaneum and Pompeii, "which is next to it, by which the river Sarno flows; afterwards the Tyrrhenians and Pelasgians, and then the Samnites, obtained possession of them."

Once more then the Tyrrhenians are treated as distinct from the Pelasgians, and to the latter may be ascribed the Mycenean vases found in this area.

MAGNA GRAECIA.

Glazed as well as dull Mycenean pottery has been found in the districts which were once occupied by the Iapygians.

We have just seen that the Siculi were driven down to the south of Italy by the pressure not only of advancing tribes of the Italic stock such as the Sabines, but also owing to the combination of the Aborigines and new bodies of settlers from

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[1] 247.

Greece. As they advanced southwards, they found the land already in the occupation of the Peucetii, Chones and Oenotri. Some of these they conquered and probably enslaved before they (or at least part of them) crossed into Sicily, where they drove back or reduced to thraldom the Sicani. The Samnitic tribes, such as the Lucani, Apuli and Hirpini, followed the same course later on, when the first-mentioned tribe gradually overthrew the Greek cities and enslaved the old inhabitants of the region henceforth called Lucania. Some of the Samnites likewise crossed the Strait and established themselves at Messana.

Who the older people were, who occupied southern Italy before the coming of the Siculi and the Achean colonists, it is not hard to ascertain. According to the account given on an earlier page, Oenotrus, the eponymous hero of the Oenotrians, was one of the sons of Lycaon, the son of Pelasgus. But Stephanus of Byzantium gives us a more reliable piece of evidence, when he tells us that the serfs of the Italiot Greeks were called Pelasgi. From this it is more than probable that the Oenotrians of South Italy were Pelasgians.

There were therefore at least three elements in the early population of this region, Pelasgians, Siculi or Itali, and Greeks. Let us once more test the historical tradition by means of modern discoveries. The remains of the Greek towns are easily recognized, and just as we saw that the earliest pottery, found near the Panionium and other sites in Ionia, is of the Dipylon or geometric class, so in Italy already indications are not wanting of Dipylon pottery of the type familiar at Miletus and Samos[1]. So much then for the Greek settlements. Lately a cemetery containing objects of distinctly Siculan type, corresponding to those found in the Siculan graves near Syracuse, has been excavated in South Italy[2]. This amply confirms the tradition of the Siculan advance into that region. Finally, we have left the pottery of the early Mycenean unglazed type. This must belong either to the Oenotrian Pelasgi or to the Iapygians. If the latter are really only a tribe of Oenotrians, as Mommsen holds[1], then the pottery is certainly Pelasgian; if, on the other hand, they are Illyrian settlers who crossed the sea from the north-east side of the Adriatic and gradually extended their conquests over the eastern peninsula of the south of Italy, as is maintained by Helbig[2], the question can only be finally settled by considerable discoveries of similar pottery in Bruttii, which seems certainly never to have been occupied by Iapygians.

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[1] J. Boehlau, *Aus ionischen und italischen Nekropolen* (Leipzig, 1898), p. 76.

[2] *Monumenti Antichi*, vol. VIII. (1898), pp. 418—519. ("Un Villaggio Siculo presso Matera nell' antica Apulia" by G. Patroni.)

As 'Pelasgos' became equivalent for *serf* in the earlier times in South Italy, so in later days when the Oenotrian Bruttii (Βρέττιοι) were reduced to villenage by the Samnite Lucanians, the name 'Brettios' seems to have been equivalent to *slave*. For, although Strabo[3] says that the Brettioi were so termed by the Lucanians because that people call *runaways* Βρέττιοι, and Diodorus[4] also says that *runaways* are called Βρέττιοι in the local dialect, nevertheless it is more probable that 'Brettios' = *slave* is one of the class of servile names derived from conquered races (such as Helots, Penestae, Aphamiotae, and Slavs).

There therefore can be little doubt that the Bruttians were a portion of the Oenotrians, who had maintained themselves in the southern extremity of the peninsula.

SICILY.

Syracuse. We have now in or near Syracuse the remains of (*a*) the Greek settlers, (*b*) the Sicels, whom the Greeks on their coming in the eighth century B.C. found in possession, (*c*) the pre-Sicel population. These distinctive layers correspond completely to the concise account of the early population of Sicily given us by Thucydides[5], and almost certainly derived by him from Antiochus of Syracuse. He states that the earliest inhabitants were some Iberians from the river Iberus in Spain, who were expelled from their old home by the Ligyes. In time came the Siculi who, pressed on by other tribes from above, crossed the Strait and reduced to subjection, or drove into the west of the island, the old Iberian population. Finally came the Hellenes from the east, who planted their colonies, such as Naxos, Syracuse, Leontini, Himera, and who either conquered or drove back the Sicels from the eastern part of the island.

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[1] *Unterital. Dialekt.*, p. 79.

[2] *Hermes*, XI. p. 257 *sqq.*

[3] 255.

[4] VI. 16, 15: see Conway, *The Italic Dialects*, pp. 15, 16.

[5] VI. 2.

On a former page we tested the truth of the traditions respecting the earliest period of Argolis, Laconia, and Attica, by the aid of the political conditions of the various parts of the population in the fifth century B.C. We then found that tradition was amply confirmed in all three cases by the presence or absence of serf classes. Let us now apply the same test to Sicily, and we at once find that there was an old servile population called Cyllyrii[1]. Now these must have been either Sicels reduced to villenage by the Greek colonists, or Sicani enslaved by the Sicels on their conquest. The latter is the more probable alternative.

As the aboriginal inhabitants of lower Italy became the serfs of the conquering Italic tribes, and as Pelasgi and Brettii became the names of the serf populations, there is a probability that the serf population at Syracuse was not composed of Sicels, but rather of the Sicani. It is probable that the Greeks were enabled to plant their colonies in Sicily by the aid of the Sicani, who, like the aborigines of central Italy, would have been only too glad to help the invader against their old oppressors, but would in the end only have exchanged one master for another. Thus later on, during the siege of Syracuse, the Sicels were ready to help the Athenians against the Syracusans, by whom they in their turn had been oppressed.

The struggle then between the old oligarchy of the Gamori and the Demus at Syracuse was probably a race question, as well as one of wealth and poverty. This is confirmed by drachms[1] of Syracuse, on which is a warrior with the name Leucaspis. As this hero was neither a Greek nor a Sicel, but a native Sicanian chieftain slain by Heracles[2], it is likely that the Syracusan Demus regarded themselves as Sicanians. At Rome the cause of the early intestine troubles was probably the same as at Syracuse, while at Athens it seems to have been purely a question of poverty and riches.

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[1] Herod. VII. 155.

The similarity of culture presented by the earliest prehistoric antiquities in both Sicily and Italy points clearly to a similarity of race.

But besides the earlier unglazed pottery, Syracuse has yielded a dome-grave and vessels of the fully developed Mycenean type. It is probable that this advance was due to direct influence from the Aegean area, where the true Mycenean culture had made its great strides. It was said that Daedalus had escaped from Minos and taken refuge with Cocalus in Sicily, and his fame spread over Sicily and Italy, and by some he was even said to have planted a colony in Sardinia along with Aristaeus[3]. This tradition may refer to the coming of some colony from Crete to Sicily in Mycenean days, part of which later on may have returned to Greece. We can now see a cause for such a migration from Sicily to Attica in the advance into Sicily of the Sicels[4], and their conquest of the Sicani, whose tombs were brought to light by Orsi. The story that the Sicani were Iberians from Spain derives confirmation from the remarkable excavations of the brothers H. and L. Siret in south-eastern Spain. They have indicated many points of similarity between the culture of Spain in the earliest age of metal, and that found in Sicily, Sardinia and other places[5].

At this point it will be convenient to discuss the traditional chronology of Italy and Sicily and its connection with that of Greece.

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[1] Head (*Hist. Num.* p. 154) assigns these coins to the period 412 B.C.

[2] Diod. Sic. IV. 23, 5. Leucaspis was worshipped as a hero.

[3] Paus. I. 21, 4; VII. 4, 6; IX. 11, 4; X. 17, 4.

[4] So the Phaeacians, who once dwelt in Hypereia near the Cyclopes (*i.e.* in South Italy or Sicily), had removed to Scheria (Corcyra) to escape from Cyc. (*Od.* VI. 5—8).

[5] *Les premiers Ages du Métal dans le Sud-est de l'Espagne*, p. 399.

According to Hellanicus of Lesbos the Sicels, who were driven out by the combined Pelasgians and Aborigines, after passing down Italy crossed over to Sicily in the third generation before the Trojan war (1184 B.C.). Philistus of Syracuse agrees with this as he sets the invasion in the eightieth year before the Trojan war. The date is therefore about 1260 B.C.

But the Pelasgians who had settled in Italy, who had helped the Aborigines to expel the Siculi, and who had taken various towns from the Umbrians, had been driven from their own homes in Thessaly by an invasion led by Deucalion the father of Hellen, whose host comprised Aetolians and Locrians, and those who settled round Parnassus. This invasion is of course no other than the coming of the Acheans into Thessaly alluded to in Homer (p. 172). But Achilles was son of Peleus the son of Aeacus the son of Aeolus, the son of Hellen. This same incursion had caused Neleus, Nestor's father, to seek a new home at Pylus. But as Nestor had seen three generations of men, Neleus belongs to the fourth generation before the Trojan war. Achilles is fourth in descent from Hellen son of Deucalion. All these considerations point to the conquest of Thessaly as having taken place in about 1300 B.C. The Pelasgian emigration to central Italy would therefore fall about 1270 B.C. But as the Siculi are said to have crossed over to Sicily about 1264 B.C., the dates coincide very well.

Later came other Pelasgian colonists from Argolis, who founded towns such as Falerii and Fescennium. As these were planted after the Trojan war, they may be set about 1170 B.C. But if the tradition of these towns and their Greek culture is true, a considerable time must have elapsed between their foundation and the coming of the Tyrrhenians. But when we turn to the Etruscan chronology, it gives us all that we can desire.

Müller[1] sets the commencement of the era referred to by Censorinus[2] in 1044 B.C. Helbig[3] agrees with him.

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[1] *Etrusk. Einl.* II. 2; IV. 7, 8.

[2] *De natali die* XVII.

[3] *Ann. Inst.* 1876, p. 227 *sqq.* Niebuhr (*Hist. Rom.* I. p. 138) however would place the first Etruscan *Saeculum* as far back as 434 years before the foundation of Rome, *i.e.* 1188 B.C.

SARDINIA.

The ancients said that the Iolenses, the chief tribe, had been planted there by Iolaus[1], whose connection with the myths referring to Libya we have already seen. From this it is not improbable that they were Libyans. Accordingly it is natural that the primitive culture of the island should coincide with that of the more eastern parts of the Mediterranean.

But traces of the more advanced Mycenean culture have already been noticed. We have also seen in the preceding section that, according to one legend, Daedalus, the great craftsman of the Mycenean age, was said to have settled in Sardinia. In this myth therefore there may be the echo of some early connection between this island and the Aegean in the Mycenean age. Certain it is that later on the Phoenicians and Carthaginians got a strong hold on the coast, and introduced many articles from Asia Minor and Egypt, among which are a well-known series of scarabs.

At the end of the last chapter we concluded that the Mycenean antiquities must have been produced by a people who had dwelt in the Aegean basin from the neolithic age, and who continued to live in classical times in many districts within that area, as it was shewn that there was unbroken continuity between the art of the Mycenean and classical periods; that this people had a pre-Phoenician system of writing used in Cyprus down to a comparatively late date; that it was in the stage of culture known as the Bronze Age; and that there was some evidence that it was dolichocephalic.

We have now taken a survey of the traditional evidence regarding the earliest inhabitants of all the districts which have hitherto furnished any kind of Mycenean remains. The result shows that, whilst there is no tradition of an Achean occupation of Attica and other prominent seats of the Bronze Age culture, in every instance we could point to legends, which connected the monuments with the Pelasgians.

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[1] Strabo, 225.

According to Homer the Achean civilization belonged to the Iron Age, and was therefore later than the Mycenean. It was likewise observed that in Ionia, where on the Dorian invasion many of the ancient inhabitants of Peloponnesus took refuge, the excavations at Ephesus, near the Panionium, and elsewhere reveal no true Mycenean pottery, but nothing earlier than Dipylon. The scanty evidence as yet gleaned from Italy points to the same conclusion.

But as these emigrations to Asia and Italy took place on the downfall of the Achean supremacy, it follows that the Dipylon, or geometrical style, had been in full vogue during the Achean domination (which according to tradition had lasted at most for about 150 years). Accordingly the undebased Mycenean style of the Bronze Age must be referred to the older people, whom the Acheans on their coming had found in the great fortress-towns of Argolis.

But there was further evidence that it was under Achean influence that the full Mycenean style had fallen into decay. Olympia has yielded up no objects which can be termed true Mycenean, but on the contrary, the vast majority of the bronze articles found near the Pelopium and Heraeum belong to the Dipylon period.

This is in complete conformity with the traditions concerning Elis, for during the period, when Proetus and Perseus dwelt in splendour at Tiryns and Mycenae and were the lords of Argolis, the legends are silent about Elis, and it is only with the coming of Pelops and his Acheans from Phthiotis, and the worship of the Panhellenic Zeus, that Elis and Olympia come on the stage. It is also to be observed that in Elis there were no great walled cities, which are so special a feature of Mycenean Greece.

As then tradition states that it was only after the Achean conquest that Olympia became prominent, it follows that the great mass of dedications found there must be posterior to the coming of the Acheans. But as the true Mycenean is wanting and the Dipylon is so prominent, it follows that the Dipylon style begins with the Achean period.

But objects of a similar kind are found in the topmost strata of Mycenae and Tiryns, where the Acheans were the last occupants. From this it follows that the Dipylon period of Mycenae and Tiryns also is that of the Acheans. But, as the Dipylon is the Achean period, therefore the Mycenean is pre-Achean, and belongs to the time when, according to the traditions, the great ancient kingly houses of the Pelasgic stock were reigning in the cities of Peloponnesus, Attica, Boeotia and Thessaly.

Those who hold that the Mycenean age is Achean, are logically bound to believe that the Dipylon style came in along with the Dorians. If this be so, it is indeed strange that the Ionic emigrants to Asia, and the Achean colonists of Magna Graecia, did not bring with them the Mycenean pottery, which is assumed to be Achean, but should have during the process of their expatriation adopted the pottery of their enemies, and taken it with them in preference to their own to their new homes beyond the sea[1]. This hypothesis is so contrary to human experience that it may be safely rejected. We may therefore conclude that the Dipylon style was the outcome of a new influence in art arising from the Achean conquest, and consequently that the full Mycenean culture belongs to the Pelasgians.

There is no one who does not admit that a people called the Pelasgians once dwelt in some part of Greece, for instance in Thessaly. Where are the remains of this people unless they be those of the Mycenean period, which go back without a break to the Stone Age? Palaeolithic man has not left himself without witness in his implements embedded in our fluviatile gravels; nay, even the humblest species of snail that ever crawled on earth can hardly perish without leaving some vestige. It cannot then be admitted that a people who were once so powerful should have left not a wrack behind.

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[1] Pausanias (v. 16, 1) says that the Heraeum was built by the Scilluntians eight years after Oxylus had conquered Elis, that is about 1096 B.C. Dr Dörpfeld on archaeological grounds holds that the temple dates from the eleventh or tenth cent. B.C. (Frazer, *ad Paus. l. c.*). From this it follows that the Dipylon style was already in full vogue when the Aetolians came: for if it had not ousted completely the true Mycenean before the building of the Heraeum, it is highly probable that objects of the normal Mycenean type would have been found in considerable numbers. The Dorians at no time held Elis or Olympia.

Since the appearance (1896) of my paper "What People made the objects called Mycenean?" no one has directly championed the claims of the Acheans, or disputed those of the Pelasgians, although several writers, long committed to the Achean theory, have published works connected with the earliest period of Greece. Prof. Percy Gardner[1], who still clings to the Acheans, nevertheless admits that he does so "not without some trepidation." The only reason assigned for his continued adhesion to his old belief is that "the verdict of the majority of archaeologists is in favour of the Acheans, and the sober judgment of M. Perrot has accepted their claims in his great work *La Grèce Primitive*[2]." Plainly, Prof. Gardner has no solid arguments to urge, or he would not have fallen back on authority. But, as M. Perrot's work appeared years before my inquiry, Prof. Gardner's sole grounds for adhering to the Achean theory rest on the unwarrantable assumption that M. Perrot and the other eminent archaeologists, having once expressed an opinion on any subject, are incapable of changing it, no matter what fresh facts or new arguments may be produced: we shall soon see that Dr Helbig, once the most potent champion of the Acheans, now presses the claims of the Phoenicians. Prof. Gardner comforts himself by the reflection that most archaeologists have held the Achean theory, but he forgets that there was a time when the majority of astronomers believed that the sun revolved round the earth.

We have now disposed of the claims of the Achean as well as of the Dorian, but it is desirable here to briefly refer to the various other candidates for the Mycenean throne, and to state the grounds on which their claims are based. Several of them have been put forward for reasons not very dissimilar to those urged on behalf of the Acheans and Dorians, and it will be found that the arguments which have proved fatal to the Acheans will apply *a fortiori* to the aspirants with whom we have now to deal.

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[1] *The Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*, p. 51.

[2] M. Perrot (p. 89 *supra*) believes in the existence of the Pelasgians. He thinks that the Acheans came very early into the Aegean, because they appear under the name of Aquaiousha in an inscription of Menephtah I. But as this cannot be earlier than 1203 B.C. (see p. 216), and the Achean conquest of Greece took place about 1300 B.C. (p. 263), the Aquaiousha who invaded Egypt may have been Acheans from Crete, where this people had settlements before the Trojan war, and from whence according to Homer they made descents on Egypt. The Egyptian evidence therefore is in accord with the traditional Greek chronology.

Carians, Phoenicians, Hittites, nay even Goths[1] and Byzantines, have in turn come forward as the true heirs of this goodly heritage.

I do not think there are now many who seriously maintain either that the Mycenean remains belong to the Byzantine epoch, or that they are to be ascribed to a Gothic invasion some centuries after Christ. No one will maintain that the Goths had dwelt in Crete, Argolis, Amorgus, or Melos, from the Stone Age, or that bronze swords, bronze spears, and arrows of obsidian, formed the regular weapons of the warriors of the Eastern Empire. The complete absence of Byzantine inscriptions and coins is sufficient in itself to render such a suggestion ridiculous in the present state of our knowledge.

But we cannot so easily dispose of the Hittites, the Carians and the Phoenicians, for all three peoples at a remote period possessed great and far-reaching influence in or around the Aegean.

Let us first examine the claim of the Hittite, who a few years since was pertinaciously thrust forward as the author of every monument in the Levant which could not otherwise be explained. In fact he had almost completely supplanted the Phoenician, who has in his time played many parts. When Mr A. J. Evans made his brilliant discovery that the symbols found occasionally on the necks of vases, and frequently on engraved gems of Mycenean types, were probably some kind of writing, he likewise observed that they had many points in common with the characters seen on the so-called Hittite seals, as well as the Cypriote syllabary. He was not unnaturally induced to suggest that the whole Mycenean civilization was due to the Hittites of Asia Minor known to us in the Bible as the children of Heth, and some of whom, as we learn from the sale of the cave of Machpelah by Ephron the Hittite, were dwelling in an early time in Palestine. King Solomon traded with them, acting as intermediary between them and the Egyptians.

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[1] Stephani, *Comptes Rendus* (St Petersburg, 1877), pp. 31 *sqq.*; *cf.* P. Gardner's criticism, *Jour. Hell. Stud.* I. pp. 94—106.

But the geographical distribution of the Mycenean antiquities renders it imperative to hold that the creators of that culture dwelt at a very early age not only in Crete, and the islands, but also in Attica, Thessaly, Boeotia, Southern Italy, and Sicily. For this there is no support in either history or legend, and we must therefore abandon the Hittite doctrine, and seek rather some other explanation for the occurrence in Asia Minor of seals engraved with symbols resembling those found in Greece and the Aegean islands.

On the other hand the claims of the Carians were urged with much more probability by Prof. Koehler[1], who was followed by Dümmler, Furtwängler, Loesche, and Studniczka[2]. These distinguished scholars rightly saw that the Achean theory was beset by grave difficulties, and they sought for a better substitute.

Their chief arguments are that the Carians are said by Aristotle[3] to have occupied Epidaurus and Hermione; that in the time of Minos they were the possessors of the Egean islands and were powerful by sea[4]; that when the Athenians opened the graves and removed the dead from Delos in 425 B.C. more than half of the dead were recognized as Carians by the fashion of the weapons buried with them[5]; that one of the two citadels at Megara was called Caria after the mythical Car[6], and that the bipennis so common at Mycenae was a symbol of the Carian Zeus.

This view also is overthrown by the geographical distribution of the Mycenean remains, for to sustain it it would be necessary to show that the Carians had occupied Thessaly, Delphi, Southern and Central Italy, and Sicily[1]. Secondly, no traces of the true Mycenean style of architecture have been discovered in Caria itself. Furtwängler himself has pointed out that the excavations at the temple of Ephesus do not seem to have brought to light any traces of Mycenean pottery[2]. Thirdly, the argument drawn from the statement of Thucydides has been met by an explanation offered on an earlier page (192); and that derived from the bipennis is futile, as that kind of axe was used ceremonially at Pagasae in Thessaly in the worship of Dionysus, and it was also employed on the coins of Tenedos, where no connection with the worship of Zeus has ever been suggested.

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[1] *Mitth. Athen.* 3 (1888), pp. 1—12.

[2] *Ibid.* 12 (1888), pp. 1—24.

[3] Strabo, 374.

[4] Herod. I. 171.

[5] Thuc. I. 8.

[6] Paus. I. 40, 6; Frazer, *op. cit.*, III. p. 124.

The researches of Messrs W. R. Paton and J. L. Myres tend to prove that Caria, so far from being the centre from which the Mycenean civilization was radiated over the Aegean, felt the influence of that culture only towards the end of the Mycenean age (pp. 191—2)[3].

Lately the Phoenicians have found an able and eminent advocate in Dr Helbig[4], who argues that the so-called Mycenean culture is nothing but the Phoenician art of the second millennium B.C. He bases his thesis on the views already indicated by M. Pottier[5] that the monuments of Mycenean art, which must have been executed on the spot where they were found, such as the Lion Gate, the sculptured tombstones, and the fresco on the palace-wall at Tiryns, are far inferior in style and execution to the portable objects, such as the inlaid dagger-blades, the ivory handles, the golden seals, the gold cups found at Vaphio and the like: from this difference in skill and workmanship he argues that the two sets of objects were made by two different peoples, the former by the native workmen on the spot, the latter by Phoenician artificers who wrought either in Phoenicia or in Greece itself. Helbig includes the Mycenean pottery among the articles of Phoenician manufacture, but Pottier thinks it of Aegean origin.

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[1] Prof. P. Gardner (*New Chapters in Greek History*, p. 87), though unsuccessful in his defence of the Achean theory, rightly pointed out that there was no historical evidence for "lasting and widespread settlements of Carians in Greece Proper."

[2] *Myken. Vasen*, p. 33.

[3] *Jour. Hell. Stud.* XVI. (1896), p. 265.

[4] W. Helbig, "Sur la question Mycénienne," *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, vol. XXXV. pp. 291—373; *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscript.*, 4th Series, XXIII. (1895), pp. 237—240, 244—250; *American Jour. Arch.* x. (1895), pp. 554—557; cf. J. L. Myres' criticism, *Class. Rev.* x. (1896), pp. 350—7.

[5] *Rev. des Études grecques*, VII. (1894), pp. 117—32; *Cat. des Vases antiques de Terre cuite du Musée du Louvre*, part I. pp. 181—210.

Helbig argues that (1) Mycenean art is an exotic production in the Aegean; for it appears there already mature and is just as abruptly extinguished; it is preceded, and followed, by a barbaric rectilinear style of decoration, with which it has little or nothing in common. He therefore infers that it must have developed elsewhere and have been introduced from abroad. (2) Certain sporadic finds show that Mycenean art was represented in Phoenicia itself. (3) There are striking analogies between Mycenean art and that of the Keftiu, a Levantine people, who brought tribute to Egypt under the XVIIIth Dynasty, which is contemporary with the Mycenean age. (4) The Keftiu are, according to Helbig, the Phoenicians: from this he infers that the Keftiu art is the long sought-for art of Phoenicia in the 'Sidonian Age' before the rise of Tyre in or about the tenth century B.C. (5) He also bases an argument on the existence of certain Semitic loan-words in Greek. (6) The Epic, which is largely of the Mycenean age, and the great mass of Greek traditional history recognize 'Sidonian' importations, especially of metal-work, as superior to the native manufactures of Greece, and speak of Sidonian merchants in the Aegean. On the other hand, the literature indicates no early 'Achean' commerce with Egypt, for we only hear of occasional raids. Hence Mycenean art borrowed its Egyptian elements not directly, but through Sidon.

The reply to the argument of Pottier and Helbig, that there is such a wide difference between the technical skill of the heavier monuments and the more portable objects, is not far to seek. They assume that skill in one branch of art implies skill in all the rest. Because the Mycenean goldwork is superior in technique to the sculptured tombstones which covered the graves in which these masterpieces of the goldsmith's craft were found, it no more follows that the gold objects are of foreign origin than that the gold ornaments of early Ireland must have been imported because the carving seen at New Grange and elsewhere on the stones which mark the resting-places of the dead are of the rudest work. The fact is overlooked that, whilst most beautiful work in gold can be accomplished by means of bronze tools, such as those miniature chisels often found in Ireland, and occasionally in England (Fig. 43), the cutting of stone requires either infinitely more time and patience, which is not the heritage of every people, or the possession of tools of iron, such as those with which the great sculptures of Nineveh were wrought. Ireland can furnish us with a further illustration of the doctrine that skill in the minor arts does not necessarily imply equal skill in architecture and sculpture; for, though the delicacy of manipulation evinced by the Irish illustrated manuscripts of the eighth century has never been surpassed, yet the architectural remains of the same period in Ireland are far inferior.

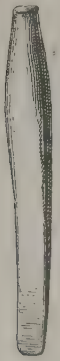
FIG. 43. Bronze Chisel, Suffolk[1]. (*Full size.*)

To go further, we may say that it is a regular feature in barbaric art to find the greatest skill in the smaller phases of decoration and ornamentation side by side with the rudest attempts at depicting the human form either in painting or in sculpture. Any one who will take the trouble of going into any ethnological museum can abundantly verify this for himself by examining the beautiful products of the Polynesian and Melanesian islanders. The Maoris attained to the highest level in South Sea art, and have tried to grapple with the problem of representing the human form. Let the reader contrast the ornamentation on the staff (Fig. 44 *a*) held by the speaker in the Maori assembly and the beautiful whorl wrought on the blade of the chieftain's wooden axe (Fig. 44 *b*) with the rude attempt to portray the human face and body on the former[1].

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[1] In my own possession. The Malay goldsmiths still employ very similar bronze chisels.

But this is the very lesson which Mycenean art itself teaches us, for whilst it succeeds eminently in decorative effects derived from natural objects such as plants and animals, it is only in its highest development that it attempts to wrestle with the human form artistically, and even then it cannot be said to have succeeded, for the modelling of the men on the Vaphio cups is inferior to that of the bulls (p. 27). Nor are we without the means of measuring its skill in the plastic art at its earlier period, for the female idols from Mycenae, Tiryns, the Heraeum, and Eleusis show us attempts at portraying the human form as rude as any to be found in the Pacific.

But the fatal objection to this theory is that, as we now have seen that the Mycenean culture has gradually been evolved in the basin of the Aegean not only in the islands but equally in Attica and Argolis, Helbig would be forced to maintain that the Phoenicians have formed the population of the islands, and of the mainland of Greece, from the neolithic period. This is so completely in contradiction of all historical tradition that no one is likely to maintain it.

Mr J. L. Myres[2] has likewise well pointed out that Cyprus (which of all places stood nearest to Phoenician influence and which therefore ought to have been the first place in the Aegean area to feel the Mycenean influence if it really emanated from Phoenicia) borrowed nothing till quite a late date which can be assigned to Phoenician sources; and on the other hand it had exported and taught much from an early period to the whole Syrian coast, from Sinjirli to Tel-el-Hesy. For in Cyprus the Bronze Age had a long and characteristic development, and that island was in regular communication with the outside world. Again, Mycenean civilization appears

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[1] Both these objects are in my own possession. They were brought from New Zealand many years ago by the late Col. Honnor, of Cork. There is a similar staff in the Aboriginal Museum at Auckland, but no other specimen is known in Europe. The 'tewha-tewha' is also of a very rare type.

[2] *Classical Review*, Vol. x. (1876), p. 352.

SOUTHWARK CENTRAL

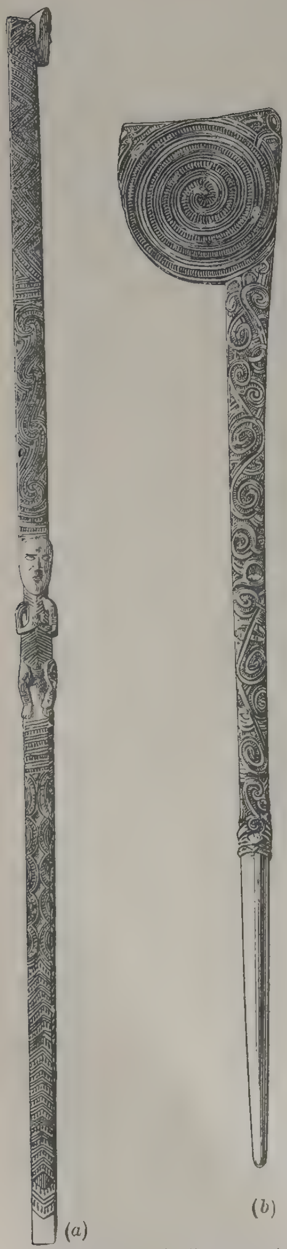

FIG. 44. (*a*) Sceptre, (*b*) ceremonial axe; New Zealand.

much later in Cyprus than anywhere else, for that culture does not appear there till about the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty. "Its affinities lie rather with Cilicia and Cappadocia, and its nearest parallel is with Hissarlik. Perhaps the full Mycenean art reached it from Rhodes, but when it did reach it, it was in its full maturity, almost in its decadence." It is more probable that the Mycenean culture was planted in Cyprus by colonists who came from the mainland of Greece or from Crete (pp. 205—6), but even if Rhodes had also added to the stream, this would have been due to the fact that she herself had received that culture from the Greek mainland or from Crete (p. 198), and not from Phoenicia.

All the evidence of Mycenean manufactures in Phoenicia which Dr Helbig can produce consists of some "sub-Mycenean vases, and characteristically Cypriotic flasks," all probably imports from Cyprus.

The actual remains of Phoenician pottery as seen in the collections at Beyrut, which show the same series of leather-type vases, show that this type is common if not indigenous on the Syrian coast and has nothing in common with the Mycenean. As these are common to Phoenicia and Carthage, they may be regarded as typically Phoenician.

The evidence before us up to the present shows that in the Mycenean age Phoenicia was far behind the Aegean in the ceramic art[1], and that before and after it was influenced by Cyprus. Painted pottery has up to now been always conspicuously absent from Phoenician sites.

Neither have "island gems nor has any Mycenean glass, which differs widely from that made in Egypt or elsewhere in form and colour, been found in Phoenicia[2]."

We have described one of the blades from Mycenae (p. 12) and one from Thera (p. 57) inlaid with designs in different metals. There are also five others from the Shaft-graves of Mycenae and one from Vaphio. The last is inlaid with a simple leaf pattern; one from Mycenae is adorned with detached blossoms, another with three running lions, a third with cats or panthers hunting wild ducks on the banks of a river full of fishes and fringed with the lotus.

But there is as yet no evidence that Phoenicia produced metal work of this character, nor must we be induced by the presence of lions, and ducks hunted by cats on a lotus-edged river, to regard these objects as either Asiatic or African in origin. Although sporadic examples of such work have been found in Egypt, we are not more justified in holding that the Mycenean blades were made in Egypt and thence carried to Greece by the Phoenicians than we should be in supposing that because a few Mycenean vases have been found at Tel-el-Amarna, therefore all the pottery of the same kind found in Greece has been imported from Egypt.

The Homeric poems certainly speak of certain *silver* vessels as imports from Phoenicia, but though the shield of Achilles and the breastplate of Agamemnon are examples of inlaid work similar to the Mycenean blades, these masterpieces are not described as imports from Phoenicia, for one is the work of the native divine craftsman Hephaestus, the other is from Cyprus (*cf.* p. 474).

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[1] Helbig thinks that his theory is supported by a wall-painting in a tomb at Thebes in Egypt. This represents a fleet putting into shore, and the shipmen landing and trafficking with the natives. He takes the natives for Egyptians, the mariners for Phoenicians, and the pottery seen among the goods being landed to be of the so-called Mycenean type. *Cf.* G. Daressy, *Revue Archéol.* 3rd ser. XXVII. (1895), pp. 286—92; W. Helbig, *Sitzungsb. Phil. Ges. München* (1896), pp. 539—82. But the vases, even if 'Mycenean,' need not have been made in Phoenicia.

[2] J. L. Myres, *loc. cit.*

It is probable then that the art of inlaying in metals arose not on the Asiatic or African, but on the European side of the Mediterranean[1].

Finally, if the Phoenicians were really the creators of the Mycenean works of art, such objects ought to be found in parts of the Mediterranean where their influence is undisputed. Carthage and Gades offer two examples of great Phoenician colonies dating from a time when the Mycenean culture was still flourishing, at least in Cyprus, for whilst Carthage dates from the ninth century B.C., Gades was founded by Sidon at a still earlier epoch. But the French excavations at Carthage have not brought to light a single fragment of Mycenean pottery, nor has any such been found at Gades up to the present time.

We have now disposed of the pretensions of the Byzantine, the Goth, the Hittite, the Carian, and the Phoenician. Each of them has failed to make good his claim. Whilst many minor arguments have been urged against some of them, especially the Carians and Phoenicians, based not unfrequently on negative evidence which is always liable to be upset by the next archaeological discovery, there are at least three main positive arguments, the validity of which cannot be easily disputed: (1) that the authors of the Mycenean culture have now been proved to have developed their civilization within the basin of the Aegean from the neolithic age onwards: (2) the geographical distribution of the remains requires that a claimant to be successful must show that he has been in possession of Attica, Salamis, Argolis, Thessaly, the Troad, Crete, Melos, and Thera from either the neolithic or early Bronze Age. These are fatal to the claims which have already been put forward for the Goths, Hittites, Carians, and Phoenicians, and also to any which may hereafter be started on behalf of Venetians, or Normans, ancient Egyptians, or Libyans; for it will be equally impossible to show any historical evidence that any one of these peoples ever occupied Thessaly, Attica, Peloponnesus, the Troad, Crete, Melos, Central Italy, and Sicily. In addition to these two arguments, which apply to all these avowed or potential claimants, there is another which is deadly to the claims of the post-Christian competitors. The evidence of the monuments has made it absolutely certain that the people of the Mycenean age used bronze for their cutting implements and weapons, as no trace of iron weapons has been found in any site on the mainland of Greece. Now, as the Romans and Greeks of the classical time invariably used iron for their weapons of offence, and as we know that the Teutonic tribes who overran the Empire were abundantly equipped with iron, it is absurd to suppose that the Mycenean culture is the outcome of any people who occupied the Aegean area at any time since the Christian era.

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[1] On p. 435 I figure a bronze helmet inlaid with silver or tin. It belongs to the early Iron Age of Bosnia.

All these claimants have been disqualified from failing to fulfil two out of the three conditions which we laid down at the outset, viz., evidence (1) of wide geographical distribution, and (2) of being indigenous in the Aegean basin.

On the other hand, the evidence for the extension and duration of the Pelasgian occupation of the eastern Mediterranean is complete. Furthermore, the Pelasgians fulfil our third condition, that the successful claimant should have employed a script similar to the Cypriote syllabary, and non-Phoenician letters in the Lycian and Carian alphabets. But Homer proves that Proetus, who wrote at Tiryns a letter intelligible to the king of Lycia, reigned in Argolis generations before either Achean or Dorian ever set foot in Peloponnesus; and a large body of traditional evidence has shown that Proetus was a Pelasgian.

What became of this people in historical times, and who were they? From the archaeological and historical data before us it is not difficult to answer the first question.

The same race has practically occupied the Aegean area from the neolithic time down to the present day. It will be admitted that in spite of the admixture of Turks, Albanians, Slavs, Venetians, Normans, and Goths, the mass of the present population of Greece (especially in the islands) are the descendants of the Greeks of the Byzantine and Roman periods, who, though much mixed with foreign blood in seaports and large cities, were certainly descended from the Greeks of the age of Pericles. But we have seen that in Attica and elsewhere the archaeological evidence shows that there was an unbroken continuity of population from the Stone Age, a result perfectly in accord with the statements of the historians that the Athenians were autochthonous.

But what is true of Attica is probably true of many other parts of Greece, for even in districts such as Laconia, Argolis, and Thessaly, there is strong evidence to show that the bulk of the population consisted of the old race reduced to serfdom.

The unbroken continuity in the development of the arts exhibited in so many other Mycenean sites, but especially prominent in Melos and at Hissarlik, is a clear indication that the mass of the population in all these cases remained unchanged. Thus we can trace the gradual transition from archaic hand-made pottery with linear ornament to wheel-made fabrics with similar decoration, from the latter to painted ware exhibiting the same principle in its adornment, until we come to the splendid products of the potters of the classical time. There is no sudden appearance of a totally distinct kind of pottery differing essentially in form and decoration from that already on the spot. This latter phase is known well in England, where the Anglo-Saxon pottery appears *per saltum* on top of the Romano-British fabrics, which in their turn had suddenly burst into the domain of the old Celtic forms. Nor is it only in the ceramic arts that this continuity between the prehistoric and classical periods can be observed.

The architecture of classical times shows indications that it was the lineal descendant of that of the Mycenean age. Several such characteristics have long been pointed out. Thus the cella and the portico leading into it, that is, the essential elements in the Greek temple, are derived from the same source as the hall and portico seen in the palaces of the Mycenean period at Mycenae, Tiryns, and Hissarlik. Again, the grand portal at Tiryns is identical in plan with the similar propylaea erected by the Greeks of the classical age as entrances to their most revered sanctuaries, such as the Acropolis at Athens, and the Precinct of Demeter at Eleusis.

Again, it is probable that the style called Doric is derived from the Mycenean columns so far as the form of the latter is known to us from the half-columns of the 'Tomb of Clytemnestra,' and from the ivory model of a column fluted in the Doric fashion.

Lastly, the sloping gabled roofs of the Greek temple, which differ so essentially from the flat roofs which prevail in the hot climates of Asia and North Africa, have their counterparts in the roofs of the Mycenean houses, which in all probability had gables and a sloping roof, as may be inferred from the similar roofs of the rock-hewn tombs at Mycenae, and from two sepulchral urns of the Mycenean age found in Crete, which are fashioned in the shape of small houses with gabled roofs.

Now there seems to have been never a time when the inhabitants of the Greek islands did not employ engraved stones either as amulets or as signets or as both. Many of these island gems, and scarabs, and scaraboids, cannot be dated earlier than the sixth century B.C. Thus the scarab[1] which bears the inscription, I AM THE BADGE OF THYRSIS; DO NOT BREAK ME, cannot be set much earlier than the well-known electrum coin, which bears as its legend, I AM THE BADGE OF PHANES, the earliest inscribed Greek coin as yet known. We may therefore without fear of cavil maintain that the engraving of archaic gems overlapped the invention of the art of coinage and the cutting of coin-dies. In fact it was probably the same artist who engraved both. For a coin is only an impression from a signet placed on metal instead of clay or wax, and a coin-die is only a signet cut for stamping a hard substance.

We may therefore expect that under these circumstances the archaic Greek coins ought to exhibit some survivals of the artistic methods of earlier days, which had lingered on long in the archaic gems.

We have repeatedly spoken of the distinctive Mycenean motive, two animals ranged like heraldic supporters on either side of a tree or a pillar, or some other object. This is seen not only in the Lion Gate, and in the architecture of Phrygia and Lycia, but is a regular feature of the engraved stones.

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[1] *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, p. 337, Pl. xvi. 19.

The fondness evinced by the engravers of many Mycencan gems for pairs of animals thus grouped[1] can be seen in works of a far later date. Thus on a scarab[2] of unknown provenance, but of a class known at Rhodes, which bears a palm-tree and four baboons, the Mycenean feeling for symmetrical grouping of animals on each side of a tree is still seen, two apes being on each side, though a movement towards a freer treatment can be detected in the fact that the baboons do not exactly correspond in position and posture (Fig. 45). But in the Pelasgian Lesbos the true Mycenean arrangement is seen on the archaic billon coins of Mytilene[3], which show a tree between the heads of two calves facing each other (Fig. 46). At Methymna[4] in the same island diobols of like date and metal as the last mentioned exhibit two boars' heads facing each other, but the tree is absent. On certain coins of Delphi there is a similar arrangement of two rams' heads above which are two dolphins (Fig. 47), and of two goats' heads with a dolphin above (Fig. 48); but here

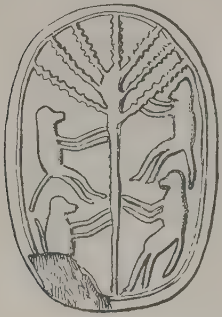
FIG. 45. Scarab, with apes.

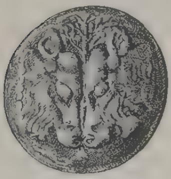
FIG. 46. Coin of Mitylene.

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[1] Furtwängler and Loesche, *Myken. Vasen*, p. 75, Pl. E, no. 6 (from the tombs of Ialysus), two hound-like animals posed like the lions at Mycenae; no. 11 (from Crete), two lions with their fore-paws resting on a base between them, with their heads turned back; no. 16 (from Argos), two goats standing upright and butting at each other, with a tree between them; no. 39 (from Ialysus?), two oxen confronted with a tree between; below is the so-called *crux ansata* engraved on a steatite scarab (Brit. Mus.); no. 13 (*Brit. Mus. Cat.* no. 55), two goats standing as if resting their fore-legs on a raised objec between them, turning their heads outwards.

[2] In my own possession.

[3] Wroth, *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Greek Coins of Troas, Aeolis, and Lesbos*, p. 154.
Ibid. p. 151.

again there is neither tree nor pillar. Nor need we be surprised to find this treatment surviving on the coins of Delphi, for in the temple there the Omphalos with its two eagles looking towards each other is essentially Mycenean, as may be seen from a well-known Cyzicene stater (Fig. 49). The strange device of two owls with a common head, seen on some Attic coins, is a last remnant of the same motive (Fig. 50), for a Mycenean gem shows two lions with a common head. Similarly in Lycia, where this principle is found in architecture, and from whence according to tradition came the makers of the Lion Gate, the coins also exhibit the same treatment of animal devices. One of these shows two lions seated and confronted, with their right-fore-paws raised, between them a symbol[1]. There are gems with cows suckling their calves (p. 18) and a hind suckling her fawn (p. 69), a motive repeated on the coins of Corcyra and Dyrrhacium (Fig. 65). Again, the love of spiral shown in the tentacles of the cuttle-fish (Fig. 3) and in the tail of the dog (Fig. 61) lingers in the recurved wing of Pegasus on the archaic coins of Corinth, while the Great Mycenean ox-head with a star on the forehead finds a counterpart in the bull's head similarly adorned seen on Phocian coins (Fig. 67). Thus then in Lesbos, Delphi, Attica, Corinth, Lycia, and Cyzicus, there is distinct evidence of the gradual transition from the older to the newer spirit of art; and we are therefore justified in believing that, as there was unbroken continuity in art, so was there a like continuity of population.

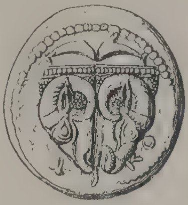
FIG. 47. Coin of Delphi.

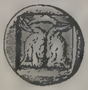
FIG. 48.
Coin of Delphi.

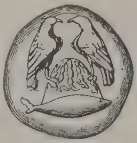
FIG. 49. Coin of Cyzicus with Omphalos.

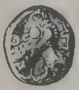
FIG. 50.
Coin of Athens.

It is not without significance that Theodorus and Mnesarchus (the father of Pythagoras the philosopher), the only two engravers of the sixth century B.C. whose names have survived, were both natives of Samos, the population of which was Pelasgic. Theodorus engraved the famous smaragdus of Polycrates, the despot of Samos, and he made a statue of himself holding a gem (probably a scarab[1]) in one hand and his file in the other.

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[1] Hill, *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Coins of Lycia*, p. 31.

As there is now reason to believe that the same race practically has dwelt in the Aegean from the earliest times down to the present, it is possible to attain with considerable certainty to some knowledge of its characteristics.

The island statuettes have already furnished us with an indication that the prehistoric people of the Aegean were dolichocephalic. But the modern population of the same area is likewise distinguished by dolichocephalism[2], from which it seems that the modern Greek and the prehistoric islanders had a similar type of skull.

Again, the modern Greeks have dark hair and dark eyes, and there are strong reasons for holding that the Greeks of classical times had hair and eyes of the like colour. Thus Plato[3] remarks that the eyes of statues were usually black, and the Pseudo-Dicaearchus[4] speaks of the yellow hair of the Theban women as if it were exceptional (for which later on we shall find good historical reasons); Pausanias[1] mentions as a strange circumstance that a statue of Athena, which stood in the temple of Hephaestus at Athens, had blue eyes (*γλαυκοὺς τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς*).

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[1] Benndorf, *Zeitschr. f. oesterr. Gymn.* 1873, p. 401 *sq.*; Middleton, *Engraved Gems*, p. 70.

[2] About a hundred well authenticated ancient Greek crania known, show that "at all times from 400 B.C. to the third century of our era" the Greeks were of the dolichocephalic type. Stephanos gives the average cranial index of them all as about 75·7, "betokening a people like the present Calabrians in head form"; that is, about as long-headed as the Anglo-Saxons in England and America (Ripley, *op. cit.*, p. 407). The Albanian immigrants have brought a broad-skulled element into the Greek population, and to them likewise is ascribed the proportion of fair hair and light eyes found among the Greeks of to-day. Ornstein found less than 10 per cent. of light hair, "although blue and grey eyes were characteristic of rather more than a quarter of his 1767 recruits." Amongst the Albanians light eyes are quite common. Weisbach's data show that 96 per cent. of his Greeks were pure brunettes (Ripley, *op. cit.* p. 410). Pericles, a typical Athenian of ancient family, was probably abnormally dolichocephalic, and it was to this circumstance that Eupolis alluded when he called him *σχινοκέφαλος* and *κεφαληγερέτα Ζεύς*.

[3] *Rep.* 420 C, *οἱ γὰρ ὀφθαλμοί, κάλλιστον ὄν, οὐκ ὀστρείῳ ἐναληλιμμένοι εἶεν, ἀλλὰ μέλανι—μὴ οἴου δεῖν ἡμᾶς οὕτω καλοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς γράφειν, ὥστε μηδὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς φαίνεσθαι, κτλ.*

[4] *Descriptio Graeciae* (Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* II. p. 258—9).

Now if we go to Holland and see that at the present moment the great bulk of the population of South Holland is melanochrous, and on examining the pictures in the galleries of The Hague, Amsterdam, Haarlem, and Leyden, we find that with very rare exceptions the pictures of syndics, governors of hospitals, family groups of wealthy burghers, and the jovial banqueters of Franz Hals, all exhibit dark eyes, we may with safety conclude that the mass of the Dutch population of the 16th and 17th centuries had dark hair and dark eyes.

If then Greek statues usually had black eyes, we may conclude that this was the prevailing characteristic of the race.

The investigations of physical anthropologists have long since clearly established that over a large extent of southern Europe, north Africa, and north-western Europe a type characterized by dark hair and eyes and dolichocephalic skulls had spread at a very early period.

In his recent work on the Mediterranean Race Prof. Sergi[2] distinguishes between a 'White Race' and a distinct Brown or 'Brunette' branch, and the Negro type. The swarthy complexion and dark hair of the Brown Race have no negroid affinities and are not due to any intermixture with the latter stock. This brown race is distinguished by dolichocephalic skulls, amongst which certain clearly defined types constantly repeat themselves. It extends over the whole basin of the Mediterranean from Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor, through a large part of southern Europe, in which are comprised the Balkan, Italic, and Spanish peninsulas; it is distributed along the whole of north Africa, and extends up to the British Isles. Dr Sergi holds that its original centre of diffusion was somewhere in the parts of Somaliland.

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[1] I. 14, 6.

[2] G. Sergi, *Ursprung und Verbreitung des Mittelländischen Stammes* (transated by Dr A. Byhan), Leipzig, 1897, pp. 35 *sqq.*; Ripley, *Races of Europe*, pp. 128—130.

That the makers of the Mycenean civilization were a dark-complexioned people, is strongly attested by the legends. The great monuments of Mycenae, Tiryns, and the Heraeum of Argolis are all associated with the dynasty of Danaus.

But Epaphus, the forefather of the race, is, as we saw above (p. 217), especially designated 'the Swarthy,' and Danaus and his daughters are described as dark by the chorus in the *Supplices*[1] (of Aeschylus), who conjecture from their appearance that they are either such a race as is nurtured by the Nile, or that they are from Cyprus.

The modern Berberine, well known in Egypt, whilst comparatively light coloured in skin, especially where there has been no admixture of negro blood, is nevertheless always distinguished by black hair and black eyes. He is therefore probably distinct from the fair-haired Berber tribes of the Atlas, who from time to time have kept pushing eastwards, and forcing back on Egypt the dark-haired Mediterranean race.

On the other hand the Achean heroes, such as Achilles, Odysseus, Meleager, and Menelaus, are regularly described as fair-haired (ξανθός). Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, was surnamed Pyrrhos (Red-head). Indeed it is not unlikely that the distinctive epithet 'fair-haired' is applied in Homer to the Achean chiefs, because they were thus marked off from the mass of their subjects. I have elsewhere pointed out that the *Anagnorisis* in the *Choephoroe*[2] of Aeschylus assumes that the royal house of the Pelopidae had hair of a different kind from that of their dependents. Accordingly, when Electra finds a lock of hair similar to her own on the grave, by the method of elimination she concludes that it can only belong to Orestes and no one else.

But, as has been shown (p. 112), tradition declares that these fair-haired Acheans were but newcomers into Greece, and therefore on historical grounds we cannot regard them as indigenous in the Aegean. But unless they were indigenous they cannot have created the Aegean culture.

This fair-haired ruling caste has long since disappeared from the Aegean area, nor need this excite surprise. Where is the posterity of the fair-haired Normans who carved out with their great swords counties and marquisates and kingdoms in Sicily, southern Italy and the Levant?

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[1] 278.

[2] Verrall, *Choephoroe*, p. li.

In a later chapter it will be shown that the xanthochrous peoples of upper Europe, when settled in the Mediterranean basin, inevitably deteriorate, dwindle, and finally disappear.

But some may urge that, although the Acheans were not the authors of the Aegean civilization, nevertheless it may be ascribed to a fair-haired race from the south side of the Mediterranean.

Although there is not a shred of historical evidence to indicate that the fair-haired Acheans of Homer came from Libya, and although it has been shown that in the Libyan remains as yet known there is no trace of any evolution from the lower to the highest form of the Mediterranean culture, which we term 'Mycenean,' nevertheless let us grant such a possibility for the sake of argument.

Anthropologists have long recognized the existence of such people in various times and at various places in that region. Some have regarded such people in modern times among the Berbers as survivals of Roman colonization when fair-haired settlers from Europe were planted in Libya; others, again, hold that in such cases we have the outcome of the Vandals who crossed from Spain and swept along all North Africa. But though it is possible that a certain proportion of fair-haired people are to be met with in the present day in that region, who may be credited to Roman colonists and Vandal invaders, it is certain that besides such elements there had been a fair-haired stock in Libya long before Rome had conquered Carthage, or the Vandals had appeared above the horizon of history.

Callimachus, himself a native of Cyrene, in his hymn to Apollo[1], describes how the warriors "dance with the fair-haired Libyan maidens when the season ordained for the Carnea has come." Callimachus is a reliable witness for the complexion of the Libyan women in the third century B.C. But we can get still earlier evidence for a xanthochrous Libyan race. On the wall-paintings of Egypt executed in the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty we see representations of fair-haired men who have been identified as Libyans. Some even think that that remarkable people brought to light at Naqada by Prof. Flinders Petrie (p. 65) were of this complexion, for a fragment of skin adhering to one of the skulls exhibited reddish-brown hair, but hair once black may well have become discoloured by the surrounding soil and lapse of time.

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[1] 85—6: ἦ ῥ' ἐχάρη μέγα Φοῖβος, ὅτε ζωστῆρες Ἐννοῦς
ἀνέρες ὠρχήσαντο μετὰ ξανθῇσι Λιβύσσαις.

The Berbers of the present day who live in the Atlas have a large blonde element, as has been shown by Mr Walter Harris[1], and the same phenomenon is observable among the Riff tribes. In the region lower down and in Western Tunis the occurrence of the xanthochrous type seems much less frequent, whilst further east it practically disappears. Now we know from Pausanias that in the second century A.D. the great Libyan tribe of the Nasamones were the occupants of the Atlas. It is then probable that in the fair-haired inhabitants of the Atlas of the present day we have the descendants of the Nasamones. Modern ethnologists connect with the Berbers the Guanches of the Canary islands, who were almost certainly a fair-skinned race. It may be that it was some vague rumour about these people that formed the nucleus of the story told Pausanias[2] by Euphemus the Carian, who said that on a voyage to Italy he was driven out of his course into the outer ocean, where there were many islands, some desert, but others inhabited by wild men with red hair and tails on their loins little less than the tails of horses. The sailors called these the islands of Satyrs.

It is quite possible that the horses' tails growing on the hips may refer to some peculiar form of waistcloth or ornament. In any case the statement that there were red-headed people in islands in the ocean is of interest.

It has also been held that the Basques show more affinity to the Berbers than to any other known race: but as this has been said of so many languages and races, we must suspend judgment and not build too hastily on any statement respecting that mysterious people. One fact, however, is of importance—the testimony of several mediaeval writers who aver that the Basques were a fair-haired people. Hence it has been suggested that Picts, Basques, Berbers, and the fair Libyans of the Egyptian paintings were all of the same ethnic stock[1]. This is very far from being proved, but it is worth while, for the sake of argument, to admit that it has been demonstrated[2].

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[1] *Tafilet*, pp. 27, 147, 160.

[2] I. 20, 5; I. 23, 5.

We want now to discover if it was this stock which created the Aegean civilization. If they had been in the Aegean islands and in Peloponnesus from the Stone Age, what became of them? There is abundant evidence to show that the population of the last-named region in modern times is almost exclusively melanochrous. There is also very good evidence that the same was the case in the fifth century B.C.

Now, if it be said that the Mycenean civilization of Crete, Cyprus, Amorgus, Peloponnesus, and Attica was the outcome of a fair-haired people, the disappearance of such a race has to be accounted for. It will hardly be maintained that the fair-haired race turned dark. But if it did not, there is no ground left for believing that they produced the Aegean culture. For if they did not turn melanochrous, then they must have disappeared and others must have entered into their heritage. As we have pointed out, the authors of the Mycenean culture were indigenous, and as they had grown up and developed their civilization from the Stone Age, it is plain that the climatic conditions were favourable to the race, and therefore there was no reason why it should have died out, and left not a trace behind. On the other hand, there is reason for believing that even in North Africa the conditions of climate are not especially suited to the fair race. We have found such a people in the

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[1] A. H. Keane, *Ethnology*, pp. 378—9; for various theories about Basques *cf.* Ripley, *Races of Europe*, pp. 191—2, who holds that though the Basques all speak the same language they are a mixture of the broad-skulled (Asiatic) and dolichocephalic (Mediterranean) races.

[2] This is perhaps desirable, because of the legend embodied in the *Critias* (p. 113) of Plato, that in very ancient days Attica had been invaded by the people of Atlantis.

Egyptian paintings and possibly in the graves of Naqada, but where are they to be found among the fellaheen of Egypt to-day? In the wall-paintings they are contrasted by their light hair with the ordinary Egyptians, and there is no evidence to show that the mass of the Egyptian population, in either ancient, mediaeval, or modern times, was ever anything except melanochrous. As the fair type has disappeared entirely, it would seem that the climatic conditions were unfavourable for it, and hence we may safely infer that it had not grown up under the climatic conditions of Egypt, and therefore was not an element in the primal population of that country.

If then this race had once occupied the Aegean Islands and Greece, and Italy, it must have perished under adverse climatic conditions, and therefore cannot have been that indigenous race which evidently found the conditions exceedingly favourable, for it so throve in its environment that its art is the marvel of all time.

Now it is remarkable that the fair-haired Berbers of to-day are chiefly found in the highlands of North Morocco and in the Atlas, whilst the type is much less frequent in the less elevated parts of North Africa. This indicates that the race was cradled in a cool region and that it did not grow up in the Mediterranean basin. It may be that this fair-haired stock of Barbary, and the Libyans whom Callimachus saw in the Cyrenaica, may have been a jet from some xanthochrous race of Upper Europe, which had crossed the Strait, nay, may have passed over a land-bridge into Africa before a great convulsion had divorced the two continents. It is possible that in the legend that Heracles with a great host from Spain invaded North Africa and the Atlas we have an echo of some great ethnic movement such as those of the Celts and Vandals in after days.

But it is more likely that the blonde Berber type is the outcome of the climate of the mountain districts of Morocco.

Finally, it is highly improbable that a race which was so backward in civilization as were the Nasamones in the time of Pausanias, the Guanches and the modern Kabyles, should have initiated the movement which culminated in the art of Greece. If, as will be probably the case, Mycenean objects come to light in the Cyrenaica and other parts of North Africa, they must not be assigned to the fair-haired Berber, but to the dark-haired race, which in Egypt, the Isles of Greece, Attica, and Peloponnesus, were the makers of the same class of objects.

If the reader is disposed to raise the objection that in historical times the name Pelasgian hardly survived as an ethnic appellation, and that consequently it is improbable that at any period it had any great importance, I would ask him whether he is prepared to deny that there was ever any wide-spread Celtic race which inhabited all the broad region from the Danube valley to the shores of the Atlantic, extending as far south as Andalusia, because at the present hour there is no people or community which bears as its political denomination the name of Celt. And yet if we are to put the slightest faith in the history of the past such a mighty race once existed.

The formation of new clans which take a name from their first founder is constantly going on in barbaric races, and when one of those tribes becomes the ruling political factor, frequently its name becomes that of all its weaker sister clans. The names of the latter either perish utterly, or linger on as local names. Thus the once powerful tribe of Encheleis had disappeared in the time of Strabo[1], and their name only survived in the town of Encheleae in Illyria. Dio Cassius[2] gives us an excellent illustration of the manner in which the names of some tribes get lost, and those of others get more prominent. In describing the natives of Britain he says "among the Britons the two greatest tribes are the Caledonians and the Maetae; for even the names of the others may be said to have merged in these."

With the rise of a powerful clan, which becomes a master-state, the old ethnic ceases to have significance, and is but rarely used. But because we read of Suessiones, Bituriges, or Pictavi (whose names still survive in Soissons, Berri, and Poitou), it does not follow that these tribes had not also ethnic names in common with many other tribes. Who will assert that the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, who settled in England, were three different races? Yet what ancient authority speaks of these three tribes by any common ethnic term? In fact the latest research has failed to find any dialectic difference in their respective tongues until they had been long domiciled in their new land[1]. So in the mountains of Central Asia, though there are tribes who are commonly only known as Hunzas, Nagars, or Chilas, nevertheless they are all members of the Dard race, and the ethnic name retains its hold in Dardastan, as that of the Pelasgi long held its grasp of that part of Thessaly called Pelasgiotis.

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[1] 326.

[2] LXXVI. 12 (Epitome of Xiphilinus).

When therefore we read of some Pelasgians who were also called Minyans, of others called Athenians, or Arcadians, or Danaoi, or Argeioi, or Ionians, there is no legitimate reason for assuming that it is only because of the wanton mendacity of the ancients that the common name of Pelasgian is at times applied to them all.

There is likewise ample confirmation of the belief of the ancients that the various communities whom they denominated Pelasgian were really related. That community of worship was held by the ancients as good evidence for community of blood it is hardly necessary to point out. Thus Herodotus[2] being unable to obtain the pedigree of Isagoras, the Athenian statesman, says "Howbeit his kinsmen offer sacrifice to the Carian Zeus." What is true for the family is true also for the tribe or state, for the Carians admitted the Mysians and Lydians to the temple of Zeus Carius at Mylasa on the ground that they were of the same kindred, but excluded all others from that privilege even though they spake the Carian tongue (p. 185).

Now we saw that all the pre-Achean royal families of Argolis, Laconia, Messenia, Arcadia, Corinth, Megara, Attica, Phocis, Boeotia, and Thessaly, and even Libya, all derived their lineage from Poseidon[3], from whom were also sprang the non-

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[1] H. M. Chadwick, "Studies in Old English," *Cambridge Philol. Soc. Transactions*, Vol. IV. Part II. pp. 93—265.

[2] v. 66.

[3] Similarly Plato (*Critias*, 113—4) represents the island of Atlantis as ruled by ten kings of a common ancestry, descending respectively from ten sons (among whom Atlas was firstborn and chief) of Poseidon by the indigenous nymph Clito. These kings and their people were destroyed by Zeus.

Achean Phaeacians, and the Cyclopes of the west, whilst on the other hand the Achean chiefs were sprung from Zeus (διογενέες).

When the Ionians went to Asia, they set up as their common bond of union at the Panionium not the cult of Zeus but that of Poseidon, the ancestor of their kings. To celebrate the Apaturia and trace descent from Athens was the test of Ionism[1]. Nor did the Ionians admit the Phoceans to the Panionium until the latter took to themselves kings of the house of Codrus, who was descended from Poseidon[2]. Later on we shall see that at Athens, Olympia, Mount Lycaeus, Ithome and Crete the worship of Zeus was of comparatively recent date.

Culture, tradition, physical anthropology, and religion, thus all declare for the existence from the earliest days in the Mediterranean of that race, whose descendants still form the main element in its population.

As with other families, the various members of this race have had very various fortunes, due probably to the accident of geographical position, climate, soil and external influence. Whilst some of them progressed until they developed that splendid art, which reached its zenith in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C., others seem never to have advanced beyond the common unglazed pottery. The evidence up to the present points to the mainland of Greece as the focus of fullest development. It certainly was not produced on the Asiatic side, in Mysia, Caria, or Lycia, Palestine, or Egypt, although it is probable that it derived certain elements, such as decorative motives, from Egypt and possibly Phoenicia, to both of which it in its turn supplied certain of its wares, and probably its ideas. It was not produced in Libya, although we saw close congeners of the pottery of Cyprus and Hissarlik in the Libyan red polished ware. It appears in Rhodes a little later, in Cyprus much later, than on the mainland of Greece. The evidence from Crete is as yet insufficient to enable us to judge of its relative age in that island, but we may at least point out that, as it was not borrowed from Libya or Egypt, it is not likely that Crete, which stood so near the latter areas, was the author of the final steps in the evolution. To this must be added the consideration that the legends speak of the settlers from the mainland of Greece passing to Crete, but not of Cretan settlements in Greece, although we hear of certain attacks made on Attica and Megara by Minos. But it is especially significant that all tradition is agreed in representing Daedalus, the greatest artificer of the pre-Homeric age, as an Athenian employed in Crete. From this it is natural to infer that the mainland of Greece was far more advanced in the arts in the time of Minos than was that monarch's own island.

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[1] Herod. I. 147.

[2] Paus. VII. 3, 10.

We are thus gradually reduced to find the focus of the Mycenean grand style on the mainland of Greece. Such advancement in the arts is dependent on wealth and security. Attica had neither great wealth nor political importance in early days, as is proved not only by Homer, but by her own native legends, which cannot be suspected of being composed with a view to minimize her glory. But in the rich plain of Argos, in the fertile alluvium of Copais in Boeotia, and in the rich grass-lands of Thessaly, and in the Troad, there was all that could bring wealth, if not security. It is highly probable that the development of the Aegean culture was due to the fact that the race learned early to build great walls. The rearing of such fortresses is directly connected with two heroes of the old race in the case of Thebes. Amphion and Zethus walled Thebes, for valiant though they were, they could not hold the city without walls (p. 170). Thessaly has no mighty walled city such as Tiryns or Mycenae, nor were any of its towns designated 'rich in gold,' as were Orchomenus, Mycenae, and Troy. It was always liable to attack from tribes either crossing Pindus from Epirus, or descending by the valley of the Peneius from Thrace. We may therefore regard it as not the most likely place for the most advanced development of the culture.

It was probably under the shelter of the great walls of Tiryns, Mycenae, and Goulas, that the Pelasgian art took its highest form.

CHAPTER III.

THE HOMERIC AGE[1].

νῦν γὰρ δὴ γένοϲ ἐϲτὶ ϲιδήρεον.
Hesiod, *W. & D.* 176.

In the preceding chapters we have reviewed the evidence both material and literary for the Mycenean culture, and we were led to conclude that its creators had long dwelt in the Aegean area, and had reached the height of their culture before the introduction of iron, and that all the facts before us pointed to the Pelasgians as the strongest claimants for authorship.

Our object in the present chapter is to compare the remains of the Mycenean Age as laid bare in Argolis, Attica, Thessaly and its other chief seats up to the present known, with the culture pictured for us in the Homeric poems in which the glories of the sons of the Acheans have been immortalized. If we find on comparison that the metals, weapons, armour, dress, funeral customs and the like coincide, then we shall have to modify our conclusion already arrived at,—that the Acheans were not the authors of the Mycenean civilization. But if on the contrary we shall find that there are many striking discrepancies between the equipment, dress, and funeral practices of the Mycenean men and the Homeric Acheans, then we shall have obtained a strong confirmation of the conclusion to which we were led by the considerations set forth in our previous inquiries. Furthermore, if we shall find that the Mycenean culture is of an earlier character than the Homeric, or in other words, if it should turn out that, whilst the Mycenean culture belongs to the Bronze Age, that portrayed in Homer is in the

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[1] The doctrines set out in this chapter I have already put forward in *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, xvi. (1896), pp. 113—4, before the Anthrop. Institute on Dec. 14th, 1896 (*Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxvi. p. 271), and in a more expanded form in a lecture before the Hellenic Society, Feb. 24th, 1898, of which a summary appeared in *Athenæum*, Mar. 5th, 1898, pp. 315—6, and in *Jour. Hell. Stud* 1898, pp. xxxiv.—v.

Iron Age, we shall then be completely convinced of the truth of traditions which are unanimous in making the Pelasgians the creators of the great fortresses and palaces with their manifold contents, and which at the same time affirm that the Acheans were but new comers into Argolis and Thessaly.

Iron. We saw that there was a complete absence of iron in the acropolis graves of Mycenae, and that it is only in the form of finger-rings[1] that this metal has occasionally been found in the graves of the Lower Town and at Vaphio,—tombs which, as we saw, may be assigned to the close of the Mycenean age.

But when we turn to Homer, we find that iron is in general use for all kinds of *cutting* instruments, and for agricultural purposes. Thus the axes both double-headed (*πελεκεῖς*) and single-headed (*ἡμιπέλεκκα*), which Achilles offered as prizes for the archery contest[2], are of 'dark iron'; so is the knife with which the same hero cut the throat of a hapless youth[3], and the arrow with which Pandarus wounded Menelaus[4]; maces with iron heads were likewise in use in war[5]. Finally, the weapons that hung on the walls of the Megaron of Odysseus are collectively spoken of as iron. The reason to be given for their removal by Telemachus to prepare the way for the Slaying of the Suitors is that 'Iron of itself doth attract a man[6].' But it was even of such common use as to be employed for the fittings of the plough, for Achilles declares that the winner of the mass of natural iron (*σόλος αὐτοχόωνος*) will be well supplied for the needs of his ploughman and shepherd, nor will they want to go to a town for several years to come to procure iron[7].

Yet in spite of all this Homeric scholars have persisted in imagining that the Homeric Age was that of Bronze because the word *copper* or *bronze* (*χαλκός*) occurs more frequently than that for *iron* (*σίδηρος*). But this is just one of those cases where the statistical method has misled the Homeric student[8]. *Chalkos* is the name for the older metal of which *cutting* weapons were made, and it thus lingered in many phrases in the Epic dialect; to smite with the *chalkos* was equivalent to our phrase 'to smite with the steel[1].' As the smith had worked in copper and bronze long before he had ever beaten iron on his anvil, he and his smithy derived their names from the earlier known metal, and the terms *chalkeus* and *chalkeion* continued to designate *blacksmith* and *forge* throughout all classical Greek literature, when beyond all doubt the chief metal wrought by the *chalkeus* was iron.

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[1] The legend that Prometheus wore an iron finger-ring as a memorial of his torture indicates that iron was first used in Greece for this purpose, a tradition amply confirmed by the discoveries just cited.

[2] *Il.* XXIII. 850 *sqq.*

[3] XVIII. 34.

[4] IV. 129.

[5] VII. 141.

[6] *Od.* XVI. 291.

[7] *Il.* XXIII. 826 *sqq.*

[8] *Cf.* F. B. Jevons, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, XIII. p. 25.

Of course we naturally hear much of bronze armour (*χάλκεια τεύχεα*), and of various other objects made of that metal. But it does not follow that with the introduction of iron for cutting implements and the purposes of the plough and herdsman bronze disappears from use, any more than it follows that as soon as copper and bronze began to be employed, weapons and implements of stone and flint at once ceased to be made or used.

Stone has survived for various purposes such as millstones, pestles and mortars, and there is evidence to show that axes of stone were employed side by side with those of bronze. For instance in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy there are stone axes which undoubtedly exhibit in the shape of their faces the influence of those made of metal. In all ages the poor man, who cannot afford to procure an article of the best and most costly material, must content himself with an inferior, and long after the discovery of copper and the making of bronze those who could not afford weapons of that metal had to put up with those of stone.

It would be unnecessary to call attention to so obvious a fact, were it not that this cataclysmic archaeology is both very widespread and deeply rooted.

As stone continued in use for certain objects, and in a certain sense the Stone Age has never ceased, so bronze continued to be used for defensive armour through the classical Greek and Roman times and through the Middle Ages. Suits of beautiful bronze armour are to be seen in our great armouries, yet the mediaeval knight, who donned these bronze breastplates and cuisses, wielded good swords forged not of bronze but of stout steel. Bronze offers many advantages over iron for defensive armour. It makes a lighter and more beautiful helmet or cuirass, and does not suffer from rust, the great bane of the harder metal.

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[1] *Cf.* Schol. Ven. B in *Il.* xix. 283, p. 525.

To argue then that because the Homeric warrior wore helmet, breastplate, and greaves of bronze, the Homeric Acheans were therefore in the Bronze Age, is just as absurd as it would be to say that we ourselves are in that stage of culture because our firemen wear brass helmets and the French dragoons are protected by a brass cuirass.

If it be objected that the passages in the Homeric poems which mention the use of iron are all the interpolations[1] of a later period introduced when all Greeks were employing iron freely, we at once reply, if such interpolations are found in the case of iron, how is it that there is no reference to the Dorian invasion, or coined money, or to the numerous Greek colonies that fringed the shores of Asia Minor, Italy, Sicily, and Libya? No one can deny that there must have been every inducement to foist into the poems passages in praise of the great cities of Ionia and of the Dorian states, and yet the lynx-eyed critics have never succeeded in detecting any such allusion in either *Iliad* or *Odyssey*.

As only two rings of iron have been found in the lower city at Mycenae it follows that iron was still very scarce in even the later Mycenean age, and probably used for finger-rings because of its magical properties. Magnetic iron early attracted the notice of the dwellers around the Aegean, and the fact that the mere beating of a piece of iron renders it magnetic always has made this metal an object of superstition.

Probably this very property is alluded to in the line of the *Odyssey* just cited, where iron is said to attract a man of itself,

αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα σίδηρος[2].

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[1] Jevons (*Jour. Hell. Stud.*, XIII. p. 25) shows that σίδηρος occurs proportionately just as often in the so-called early as in the so-called later strata of *Iliad*.

[2] *Od.* XVI. 294. The use of αὐτός combined with the middle voice of ἐφέλκειν, the only case where this verb is so used in Homer, seems to shew that the poet wants to emphasize the effect wrought on a warrior by some personal agency on the part of iron.

Dress. We have learned from the representations of the men and women of the Mycenean age which they have left for us on their works of art,—gold and silver vessels worked in *repoussé*, tombstones, frescoes, pottery, and engraved gems,—how both sexes habitually were clad, with what weapons their warriors fought, and what defensive armour they wore. This pictorial evidence is amply supported by that derived from the examination of the contents of the graves.

On the early Mycenean objects the men are either represented as stark naked, as in the siege scene on the silver cup (Fig. 54), or wearing a loincloth or apron, which sometimes, as on the inlaid dagger blade, takes the form of bathing-drawers pure and simple.

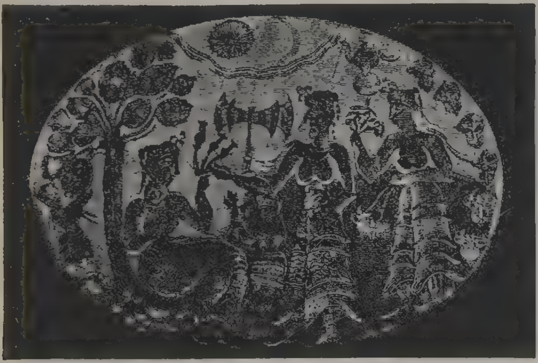

Fig. 51. Signet from Mycenae.

On the other hand the Achean warrior invariably wears a shirt or *chiton*, a cut and sewn linen garment, such as that which fitted Odysseus like an onion peel[1]. It is in sharp contrast to the mere web of woollen girt about the loins as an apron, or thrown over the shoulders as a cloak, by the Myceneans[2].

The Mycenean woman appears to have worn a long *chiton*, which sometimes perhaps only started from the waist, as is seen possibly in the case of the older women on the gold signet from Mycenae (Fig. 51), though on a limestone tablet from Mycenae

[1] *Od.* XIX. 233.

[2] Tsountas and Manatt, *op. cit.*, 161.

two women are seen sacrificing in a costume which closely corresponds to that of the women on the ring, but, as the bosom is painted yellow to match the skirt instead of being left white like the hands and face, the *chiton* was perhaps a full length dress; still as the skirt has flounces (coloured black on the tablet) there is a notable difference between its upper and lower parts. It falls rather free from the waist and is relieved by tucks or flounces, between which, in the case of two of the women on the signet, a scale pattern is seen. On a gold signet recently found in a chambered tomb at Mycenae there are three women wearing *chitons* all alike, but slightly different from those just mentioned. The skirts are divided into three horizontal sections, of which the lower two are arranged in thick folds. The upper portion of the dress is again quite plain. On a gem from Vaphio two women are seen wearing the same close-fitting bodice and wide petticoat, but each of these skirts shows novel kinds of trimming. The women on the ivory mirror-handle exhibit with slight variations a similar mode of dress[1].

It is on the whole most probable that the women wore a plain *chiton*, and a petticoat perhaps of different materials. These were secured at the waist by a girdle which can be plainly seen on the gold signet.

Neither do the works of art exhibit any appearance of brooches, nor on the other hand was a single fibula of any description found in any of the graves on the acropolis of Mycenae, although, as we have seen above (p. 5), there is abundant proof that several of the interments were those of women.

On the other hand, nowhere in Homer do we read of any man wearing such a garment as that seen clothing the Myceneans. The Homeric Achean always wears a shirt or *chiton*, which envelops the upper part of his body, and he likewise wears an upper garment (*χλαῖνα*, *φᾶρος*)[2], which was fastened by a brooch (*περόνη*).

Later on we shall learn that the practice of wearing cloaks fastened with fibulae largely prevailed in the upper Balkan and Central Europe. Indeed at least one Homeric brooch took an animal form, a type well known in Bosnia, Central Europe, and northern Italy (p. 423). Thus Odysseus fastened his cloak with a brooch fashioned like a dog grasping a fawn in his forepaws[1]. The Homeric *chlaina* corresponds to the *chlamys* of classical times, used especially in Thessaly and Macedonia, the latter of which according to Aristotle[2] was its true home. The Homeric woman wears a *chiton* and a *peplus* fastened by brooches,[3] but nowhere do we read of any of the heroines being clad in a garment corresponding to the petticoat with many flounces which was in vogue in the Bronze Age of Mycenae.

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[1] Tsountas and Manatt, *op. cit.*, pp. 167—72, Fig. 84.

[2] *Od.* XIX. 225, *Il.* II. 42.

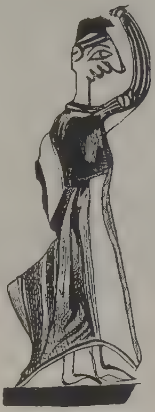

FIG. 52. Woman on Warrior Vase from later stratum at Mycenae.

The woman seen bidding farewell (Fig. 52) on the warrior vase is dressed in a costume unlike that of the Mycenean, but resembling that of the Achean dames. But we shall discuss the relation of this and similar objects to the Mycenean age at a later page.

Arms and Armour. The Mycenean warrior had no helmet of bronze, nor had he breastplate nor greaves of that metal, for no traces of such have been found in the tombs, nor do we see any representations of warriors so equipped on any monument of the Mycenean period. The warrior was armed with a bronze spear, a bronze sword or dagger, and with bow and arrows. Of spears and swords and daggers we have numerous examples from the tombs, whilst in Tomb IV. at Mycenae the contents of a quiver of obsidian-tipped arrows came to light, and there were also what may have been the remains of bows. In the upper stratum of Mycenae and in the later tombs the arrowhead is usually of bronze, though those of obsidian still occur. The bronze arrows thus found are plainly modelled on those of obsidian which they replaced, for they were commonly of the V-shaped type seen in Fig. 55, though occasionally having a

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[1] *Od. l. c.* χλαῖναν πορφυρέην οὔλην ἔχε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,
διπλῆν· αὐτάρ οἱ περόνη χρυσοῖο τέτυκτο
αὐλοῖσιν διδύμοισι· πάροιθε δὲ δαίδαλον ἦεν·
ἐν προτέροισι πόδεσσι κύων ἔχε ποικίλον ἐλλόν,
ἀσπαίροντα λάων· τὸ δὲ θαυμάζεσκον ἅπαντες,
ὡς οἱ χρύσεοι ἐόντες ὁ μὲν λάε νεβρὸν ἀπάγχων,
αὐτὰρ ὁ ἐκφυγέειν μεμαὼς ἤσπαιρε πόδεσσιν.

Frag. 458.

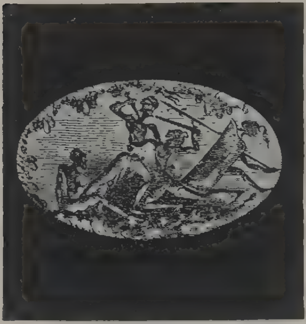

FIG. 53. Gold signet; Mycenae.

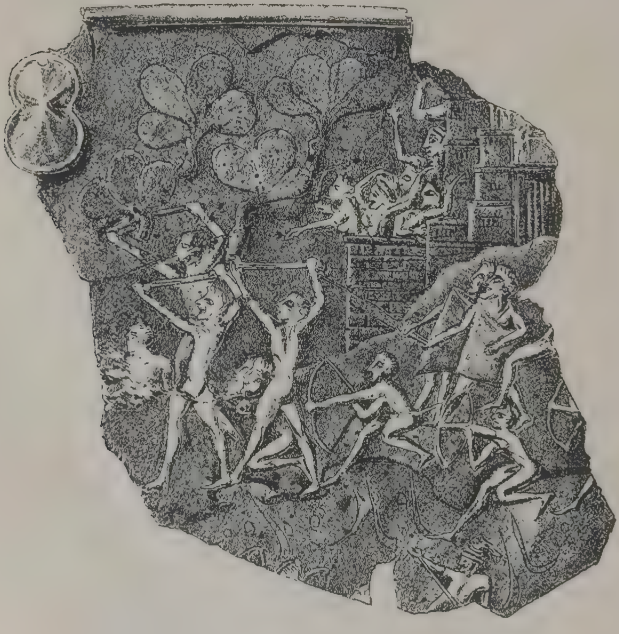

FIG. 54. Fragment of a silver vase; Mycenae.

central tang. Warriors are seen fighting with the spear, as on Fig. 53, whilst on the fragment of the silver vase from Mycenae the defenders of the fortress are seen plying the bow (Fig. 54). But, as Tsountas has remarked, only the picked men used spears and shields, the mass being armed with bows and slings. The only defence of the body was the shield. Two varieties are seen depicted on the monuments, a large oblong shield narrowed in the middle and roughly resembling the figure 8; a smaller one of quadrangular shape (Figs. 53, 54).

The Homeric warrior on the contrary has regularly, as we have seen, spear and sword of iron: above all things he despises a man who employs the bow in warfare, and the word *archer* (τοξότης) is used as a term of reproach to Paris. No Achean warrior employs the bow for war (though of course it was used for the chase), but it is the chief weapon of Pandarus, the chieftain of the Lycians[1], a people who, we saw, had come from Crete (ever famous for its archery) and who were indubitably closely connected with the oldest inhabitants of Greece. Whilst the arrowheads found in the Acropolis graves at Mycenae are all of obsidian, the arrow shot by Pandarus, which severely wounded Menelaus, was of iron, and fashioned with long slender barbs which bent back as it was drawn out of the wound by the chirurgeon. It was attached to the shaft by sinew (*νεῦρον*), its tang probably being inserted in the top of the shaft. Such iron arrowheads with long barbs and tangs are a characteristic of the early Iron Age in Central Europe. We, however, hear of arrows tipped with bronze (*χαλκήρης οἰστός, ἰός*[2]). Sometimes the epithet 'thrice-barbed' (*τριγλώχιν*) is applied to the arrow, as for example that of Heracles, which pierced the breast of the goddess Hera. Now, in the

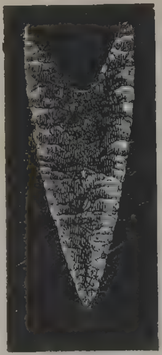

FIG. 55. Obsidian Arrowhead; Mycenae.

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[1] The Lycians in Xerxes' host were all bowmen (Herod. v. 89).

[2] *Il.* XIII. 950; *Od.* I. 262.

upper stratum of the Mycenean Acropolis Schliemann[1] found bronze arrowheads of a triangular or bayonet shape, such as the one from Athens here figured (Fig. 56 *A*). Arrowheads with three real barbs are, as far as I am aware, unknown on Greek soil or anywhere else in Europe. We may therefore reasonably conclude that the epithet '*triglochin*' refers to the three-edged socketed arrowheads.

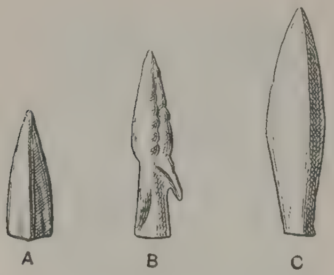

FIG. 56. Bronze Arrowheads: *A* and *B*, Athens or Syracuse; *C*, Ecbatana.

This form is common in Greece, and has been found in Sicily[2], Egypt[3], and Arabia[4]. In the two latter countries the leaf-shaped form such as that from Cyprus[5] here given (Fig. 57) is also known[6].

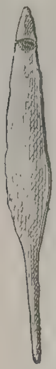

FIG. 57. Arrowhead; Nicosia, Cyprus.

Bronze arrowheads with double barbs, of much the same shape as iron arrows found at Glasinatz, are known on Greek soil (Fig. 56 *B*), and probably belong to the Iron Age. We shall meet rare examples of bronze arrowheads of both the barbed and bayonet type in the early Iron Age at Hallstatt (p. 417).

Homer thus gives us examples of iron-barbed arrows and of bronze arrows, some of which seem to correspond in shape to a form of bronze arrowhead found in the top soil at Mycenae[7], but nowhere in the poems do we hear of arrows tipped with stone.

It is indeed highly probable that all

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[1] *Mycenae*, p. 271, Fig. 435.

[2] *Id.*, *loc. cit.*

[3] J. de Morgan, *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Égypte*, 1896, p. 210, nos. 573, 576, 577.

[4] Evans, *Bronze Implements*, p. 318.

[5] The four arrowheads here figured are in the Prehistoric Department, British Museum.

[6] J. de Morgan, nos. 569, 570.

[7] Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 271, Fig. 435.

through the Bronze Age in Greece, as in most other countries of Europe, arrows were usually tipped with stone and flint and not with bronze. The metal was so valuable for providing cutting implements of a superior kind that, except in countries where copper was more than commonly abundant, no one thought of employing it to tip arrows, which were to be shot away and frequently lost. In our own islands arrowheads of bronze are practically unknown. The same scarcity of this class of arrowhead is the rule in the countries north of the Alps, and bronze arrows even in the southern countries, where they are mainly found, seem usually to belong to the early Iron Age[1].

In Spain, however, we find arrowheads of copper appearing in the earliest age of metal. The types range from a simple bar of copper, flattened and sharpened at one end, which passes into the lozenge-shaped or simple triangle, thence to the regular leaf type with a tang (like those of Cyprus and Egypt), culminating in a well-finished form with tang and two well-detached barbs. These types all correspond to well-known forms of flint arrowheads[2].

Swords. About 150 bronze swords have been found in the royal graves at Mycenae (Figs. 6, 7), but not a single sword has been found in any of the pre-historic settlements of Hissarlik. These swords are often three feet long or more, with a straight two-edged blade of rigid metal. They are rather broad at the heel and taper towards the point. This adapts them rather for thrusting than for cutting. Accordingly we see them used for the thrust exclusively in the encounters represented in Mycenean designs[3].

On the other hand the Homeric swordsman preferred the stroke. Thus Helbig[4] has shown that there are twenty-four instances of the cut as against eleven cases of the thrust in the poems.

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[1] Evans, *Ancient Bronze Implements of Great Britain*, p. 318.

[2] H. and L. Siret, *Les premiers Ages du Métal dans le Sud-est de l'Espagne*. pp. 9, 47, 94, 108, 126, etc.

[3] Tsountas and Manatt, p. 199.

[4] *Hom. Epos*, p. 332.

Blades made of bronze were badly adapted for striking. It was only with the discovery of iron and its employment for sword-blades that at last the warrior was furnished with a strong sword capable of dealing a sweeping blow without risk of snapping off short at the hilt. Thus the general use of iron for all kinds of weapons and implements in the Homeric age tallies completely with the preponderance of the cut over the thrust in the poems; and, on the other hand, equally striking is the coincidence that all the pictorial representations of the use of the sword in the Bronze Age exhibit always the thrust and never the cut.

What we have already remarked on the overlapping of the Bronze and Iron Ages applies to the facts connected with the history of the early Greek sword.

None of the swords found in the Acropolis graves at Mycenae have entire bronze hilts, but these are generally of wood, bone, or ivory, ending in a pommel of the same material, often mounted with gold, or of alabaster. Occasionally the upper end of the blade runs out into a shank, on which the wooden hilt was mounted. The hilt is riveted on to the blade. The rivets were of bronze or gold.

The blade has usually a midrib, and is sometimes decorated with geometric ornament or animal subjects, such as galloping horses, or flying griffons.

Outside the royal graves, and therefore presumably later than the inlaid daggers, some swords of a somewhat different type have been found. One of them has the usual bronze blade, but this broadens at the heel to form a guard, and then runs back in a wood-mounted hilt to form a knob at the end. The latest Mycenean swords are comparatively short, with a hilt differing but little from the earlier type save in respect to the guard, which is occasionally found. Iron swords of the same type are met with in parts of Greece, showing that the fashion outlasted the Mycenean age. To this transition type we shall return later on.

The hilts of the Mycenean swords are short, as they do not measure more than 3·3 inches, showing that the people who used them were a small-handed race.

That iron and bronze swords of the same form were in use at the same time is shown thus by the actual remains found; and this harmonizes completely with the evidence of Homer, where we learn that Euryalus the Phaeacian presented to Odysseus a bronze sword, though, as we have seen, the usual material for all such weapons is iron. But the Phaeacians both belonged to the older race and lived in a remote island, and therefore swords of bronze may well have continued in use in such out-of-the-world places long after iron swords were in use elsewhere in Greece. The man who could not afford iron had to be satisfied with bronze.

The Homeric swords are often described as studded with silver (*ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον*). The sword of Agamemnon had studs of gold, but it was of Cypriote workmanship, and therefore, from what we have seen about Cyprus as a seat of Mycenean culture, we may regard this weapon as possessing the decorative characteristics of the Mycenean rather than of Achean art.

With iron came the power of dealing a trenchant stroke, and such a blow could be delivered more effectively with a long than with a short sword. It is therefore natural to find Odysseus armed with a 'long hanger' (*τανύηκες ἄορ*)[1]. We shall presently find long straight iron swords, with hilts and pommels of the same metal, one of the features of the Iron Age of central Europe.

Spears. All the spears found in the Mycenean graves are of bronze. They are comparatively rare at Mycenae, and those found are all socketed and were secured to the shaft by rivets; two are furnished with two loops[2]. Those found at Amorgus

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[1] *Od.* XI. 231.

[2] Schliemann, *Mycenae*, pp. 279, 291, Fig. 441. Spearheads with loops at the sides of the sockets are almost unknown outside the British Isles. Though they are occasionally found in Hungary and France, they seem practically unknown in Italy and at Hallstatt (Evans, *Bronze Implements*, pp. 327, 342). That these side loops were for lashing on the head, there can be no doubt. Certain Irish bronze spears have similar loops on each side of the lower end of the blade. The principle of the loop was first developed in the palstave, from which it passed to the socketed celt, from the latter it passed to the socketed spear. As there can be no doubt that the loop served to hold the celt to its wooden handle, as is shown by the unique handled celt now in the

(Fig. 24) are of an earlier period and are furnished with a tang instead of a socket.

The Homeric hero has often a spear (ἔγχος)[1] probably of iron. It has a socket (αὐλός)[2] like the bronze spears, but it corresponds accurately to the general type of spearhead which came in to replace the socketed bronze spearhead in central Europe.

There is therefore no decisive difference in *shape* between the Mycenean and Homeric spearhead, nor is it surprising that the spearhead should not offer us any criterion, seeing that the socketed spear was already developed (like the socketed axe) in the Bronze Age. It is therefore all the more important to find a notable distinction between the Mycenean and Homeric spear-shaft. The former, according to the evidence both of the works of art and that derived from the gear buried with the

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Murray Collection (Cambridge), we may assume that the loops served a similar purpose for the spear. We may therefore dismiss the hypothesis of Schuchhardt that loops on the bronze spears at Mycenae served to hold the object (knapsack), carried on their lances by the men on the warrior vase.

[1] The word ἔγχος has a wide signification in Greek. In Homer where it seems always used of spears it is yet often qualified by the epithet δολιχόσκιον, which refers to the long shaft of a large lance. But in the Attic tragedians it is used for both spear, sword, and arrow (Soph. *Antig.* 1231, 1236, where the same weapon is called both ξίφους διπλοῦς κνώδοντας and ἔγχος; cf. *Aj.* 287 etc.), and even of arrows (Eur. *H. F.* 1097, πτερωτὰ ἔγχη). From these facts it would appear that ἔγχος originally meant any sharp pointed weapon, whether stone or bronze. If such a weapon had a short handle, it became a dagger or short sword; if it was mounted on a long shaft, it became a δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος. The material evidence for this doctrine is not wanting on Greek soil (as well as in upper Europe). Bronze blades such as those from Amorgus (Fig. 24, nos. C and D) with a tang for securing the weapon to the handle could be used as either dagger or spear. The same is the case with certain bronze blades with tangs pierced for rivets found by Schliemann at Troy (*Ilios*, pp. 475—7; *Troja*, p. 95). In weapons of this class we see the ἔγχος of the Bronze Age. We thus learn that when δολιχόσκιον is used, it is not a mere *epitheton ornans*, as commonly held.

[2] Round the socket of Hector's spear ran a golden ferule (πόρκης). Classical scholars (*e.g.* Leaf, *Jour. Hell. Stud.* IV. 300—1) have argued foolishly on *a priori* grounds about this ferule, but its nature is put beyond doubt by an iron spearhead with a long socket (δολίχαυλος) adorned with seven bronze rings found in a cremation grave of the early Iron Age at Verona (Montelius, *Civ. Prim. en Italie*, p. 265, Pl. XLVIII. no. 2); whilst a bronze spear from Loch Gur, Co. Limerick, has round its socket two ferules of very thin gold (Evans, *Bronze Impl.*, p. 313).

dead, was a simple staff without any buttpiece[1], the only exception being those on the warrior vase, to which we shall return later on (p. 314). On the other hand, the Homeric spear is distinguished by its buttpiece (*οὐρίαχος*[2], *σαυρωτήρ*)[3]. It is probable that the *οὐρίαχος* was a conical knob, whilst the *σαυρωτήρ* was a spike not unlike that with which the butt of a modern fishing-rod is shod. It formed a feature of the spear of the classical as well as of the Homeric age[4], and we shall find it, as well as the conical type, in the early Iron Age in Bosnia and North Italy (Fig. 74). To use metal so lavishly on the spear indicates that people are abundantly supplied with it, and thus once more we get an unexpected confirmation of our doctrine that the Homeric life represents the fully developed Iron Age, a time when iron was so abundant that it was freely used by both shepherd and ploughman and was shot away in arrowheads by the archer.

Helmet. No bronze helmet has yet been found in a Mycenean grave. It seems therefore almost certain that the Mycenean helmet was of leather merely[5]. The crest is shown on the men on a gold intaglio. On the other hand the Acheans of Homer wear helmets such as that of Odysseus, helmets all of bronze[6] (*κυνέη πάγχαλκος*), but leathern helms as well as those of metal were also in use as is shown by the epithets *ταυρείη* (cf. *ῥινοῦ ποιητή*), *κτιδέη*, *αἰγείη*[7], as well as *χαλκήρης*,

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[1] Tsountas and Manatt, *op. cit.*, 205.

[2] *Il.* xiii. 443; xvi. 612; xvii. 528.

[3] *σαυρωτήρ* only occurs in *Il.* x. 153.

[4] Herod. vii. 41. The guards of Xerxes bore spears with butt-pieces shaped like pomegranates instead of spikes (*ἀντὶ σαυρωτήρων ῥοιάς*). Some modern barbarians, *e.g.* the Dyaks, shoe their spears with like butt-pieces. It was also termed *στύραξ*, Xenophon, *Hell.* 6. 2, 19, etc.

[5] Tsountas and Manatt, *op. cit.*, 196.

[6] *Od.* xviii. 378.

[7] Goebel, followed by Leaf (*Jour. Hell. Stud.* iv. p. 298), rejects the old derivation of *κυνέη* from *κύων* and derives it from root *κυ*, 'as being the *hollow* helmet.' But who ever heard of a helmet that was not hollow? Leaf says that "it would be hard to find a more inappropriate material for a helmet than dogskin." But dogskin is surely just as well adapted for a cap or helmet as a *κτιδέη* (=marten-skin). Leaf himself (*ad Il.* x. 335) follows the usual interpre-

χρυσείη, χαλκοπάρῃος, πάγχαλκος. That the Acheans used helmets of different shapes is proved by the epithets *ἀμφίφαλος, τρυφάλεια, τετράφαλος, ἄφαλος, ἄλοφος, τετραφάληρος*. The terms *φάλαρα* and *φάλος* have caused much difficulty. The former only occurs once in the *Iliad*, but the word is well known in classical Greek and always means a *boss* or ornamental plate. *Tetraphaleros*[1] then probably meant a helmet adorned with four such bosses on its sides. Helmets with such bosses are known in the early Iron Age in Carniola[2].

Buttmann (followed by Helbig) rightly saw that the *phalos* was the same as the later *konos*, the long ridge running across the helmet into which the crest was fixed. The epithet *amphiphalos* would then mean a helmet with two such ridges running across it. But Carniola presents us with genuine examples of this type also[3]. *Truphaleia* originally meant a helmet with three such *phaloi*, but (like *κυνέη*) it became in time a general term for a helmet, possibly because the type with three *phaloi* became a favourite. Indeed it would seem that the helmet of the chryselephantine Athena made by Pheidias was of this type[4].

Truphaleia is qualified by the epithet *αὐλῶπις*[5] in the *Iliad*. As *aulos* means some kind of a *pipe*, the epithet *aulopis* probably means that this helmet was fitted with a pipe to receive the horsehair crest. A helmet so furnished has been found at Glasinatz in Bosnia (p. 434, Fig. 76). The term

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tation that this means the skin of some animal of the stoat or weasel tribe. If the Thracians in Xerxes' army (Herod. VII. 75) wore caps of *foxskin* (ἀλωπεκέας), it is highly probable that other peoples of the Balkan Peninsula may have worn caps of *dogskin*. The helmet was gradually evolved out of such skin caps by the addition of bronze plates, the original cap forming the lining of the metal helmet. Such a combination as κυνέη αἰγείη no more proves that κυνέη is not derived from κύων than does ἱπποκομεῖν καμήλους that ἱπποκομεῖν is not derived from ἵππος.

[1] The old scholars made τετραφάληρος = τετράφαλος; Buttmann thought that it meant 'having four plumes.'

[2] Much, *Kunsthistorischer Atlas*, p. 129, pl. LV. 1; Bertrand and S. Reinach, *Les Celtes dans les vallées du Pô et du Danube*, 103, Fig. 62.

[3] Much, *op. cit.*, Pl. LI. Fig. 1.

[4] Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*, II. p. 119—120.

[5] v. 182 etc.; the schol. rightly explains it as a helmet with a tube (αὐλός) to hold the *lophos*. Soph. *Fr.* uses it of a socketed spearhead.

καταῖτυξ is applied to a κυνέη of bullhide which has neither *phalos* nor *lophos*[1]. Bronze helmets without either a ridge (*phalos*) or a place for a *lophos* are known in Carniola and at Hallstatt[2]. They represent in metal the earlier plain leathern cap.

Whilst then the Mycenean tombs present us with not a single bronze helmet, the countries north of Greece furnish examples corresponding closely in shape and decoration to those described in Homer. We shall presently find such bronze helmets a characteristic of the early Iron Age of central Europe.

Breastplate. No trace of a bronze breastplate has either been found in any Mycenean grave, or detected on the monuments, though a shirt of thin sheet gold was worn by the dead in the Shaftgraves IV. and V. at Mycenae.

The Homeric warrior on the contrary was defended by a corselet or hauberk of bronze. The breastplate (θώρηξ) is frequently mentioned as part of the warrior's gear. Achilles gave the breastplate of Asteropaeus the Paeonian as one of the prizes in the Funeral Games. It was of bronze, "whereon a casting of bright tin was overlaid." The epithet χαλκεοθώρηξ is applied to a warrior, whilst in plain reference to their shirts of mail the Acheans are described as χαλκοχίτωνες no less than 34 times.

The *thorex* is described as χάλκεος, πολυδαίδαλος, παναίολος. These epithets prove that it was commonly composed of bronze and often highly ornate, as was that of Agamemnon[3]. It was sometimes composed of γύαλα or hollow plates, which were probably fastened on to a substructure of leather. It was in fact a hauberk rather than a cuirass. As the Acheans are called constantly χαλκοχίτωνες, it seems certain that στρεπτὸς χιτών means, as Aristarchus held, a shirt of mail (λεπιδωτός). We shall find at Hallstatt pieces of hollow plates which were probably parts of corselets, whilst Bosnia has furnished examples of the hauberk composed of small pieces of metal (p. 435, Fig. 77).

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[1] *Il.* x. 258.

[2] Much, *op. cit.*, Pl. LI.

[3] This breastplate was of Cypriote work: it had "ten courses of black cyanus, and twelve of gold, and twenty of tin, and dark blue snakes writhed up towards the neck."

As the *chiton* is the national dress of the Acheans, and they are regularly termed *bronze-shirted*, it is not hard to see how the *στρεπτὸς χιτών* was evolved. For purposes of defence the ordinary *chiton* could be strengthened by padding it, from which would arise those linen corselets, which are alluded to in the Homeric epithet *λινοθώρηξ* and which were worn by the Egyptians in classical times. A leathern shirt would be a defence of itself, and it could be rendered still more secure by attaching to it small pieces of bronze, either in the form of studs or scales or rings, or by the addition of plates of larger size. This is the history of the development of the mediaeval breastplate. The hauberk was the earlier, and it was only gradually superseded by plate armour. As Asteropaeus the Paeonian wore a fine *thorex*[1], it is clear that in Homeric times the peoples to the north of Greece had such equipment. Since then the Mycenean monuments do not show warriors clad in either chain or plated armour, and on the other hand not only the Acheans, but also the Paeonians wore such, we may infer without much rashness that the hauberk had entered Greece from the northern lands where we shall find it in full use in the early Iron Age.

It may also be pointed out that a bronze helmet found at Glasinatz (Fig. 76) is apparently inlaid with tin like the *thorex* of Asteropaeus.

For protection of the belly the chieftains occasionally wore a *μίτρη*[2]. It was worn by Ares and Menelaus. As it is described as *πολυδαίδαλος*, and as 'wrought by the smiths' (*χαλκῆες*), it was certainly made of metal. It is mentioned in close connection with the *ζῶμα*, and from the epithet *αἰολομίτρης* it was probably visible when worn. It lay next the skin under the lower part of the hauberk, which was girt to it by the girdle (*ζωστήρ*), which seems to have been of leather (sometimes red) fitted with bronze clasps: "the bitter arrow lighted upon the firm belt; through the inwrought belt it sped,

[1] *Il.* xxxiii. 560.

[2] *Il.* iv. 137, 187, 216; v. 857.

and through the breastplate of cunning work it sped, and through the *mitre* which he wore to shield his flesh, a barrier against darts, and this best shielded him[1]."

There can be no doubt that Helbig[2] (followed by Reichel) is right in identifying the Homeric *mitre* with the well-known broad belts of bronze, which are found at Bologna (Benacci cemetery), at Corneto (Fig. 58), at Este, Hallstatt, and in Hungary[3]. They are adorned with wheels flanked by serpentine ornament or ducks' heads. They are as much as a foot in breadth at the widest part and taper to the ends which were fastened by catches at the wearer's back, the broad metal plate in front thus forming an admirable protection for the belly.

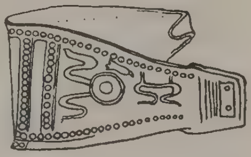

FIG. 58. Bronze Belt (μίτρη); Corneto.

From the close connection of the *mitre* and the ζῶμα, it is not unlikely that the latter was a broad belt of leather worn to protect the belly. Just as the leathern shirt was later strengthened by metal attachments, so further security was obtained for the abdomen by wearing a broad bronze belt (μίτρη) over the earlier ζῶμα[4].

But for our purpose it is most important to observe that, whilst no object corresponding to the Homeric *mitre* has been found in Mycenean tombs, the early Iron Age of central Europe and upper Italy supplies us with a piece of armour which fits in every respect the Homeric passages.

That the Homeric poet described a piece of armour once used on Greek soil is proved by the occurrence of such a belt in Euboea[5], but not in company with Mycenean remains. This circumstance, combined with their absence from the acropolis graves of Mycenae and other tombs of the Bronze Age, justifies the inference that they had only entered Greece in the early Iron Age. But as they are a characteristic of the early Iron Age of central Europe, the probability is that they had come thence to Greece.

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[1] IV. 137.

[2] *Das homer. Epos*, pp. 290—1.

[3] Bertrand and S. Reinach, *Les Celtes*, etc., pp. 120 *sqq*.

[4] Some have identified the *mitre* and *zoma* completely, making them a kind of kilt; others made the *mitre* the lower part of the *thorex* seen below the *zoster*; Reichel (*Homer. Waffen*, p. 109), following Studniczka, finds in the *zoma* the drawers worn by the men on the Mycenean monuments.

[5] Helbig, *loc. cit.*

Greaves. The Mycenean monuments show no evidence of metal greaves, and no such objects have been discovered amid the rest of the warriors' equipment in the graves.

On the other hand, the Homeric Acheans are above all things 'well-greaved' (*ἐυκνήμιδες*). Forty times are they so termed in the *Iliad*, and in one passage[1] they are called 'bronze-greaved' (*χαλκοκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί*). Achilles had greaves of tin.

The reiteration of the epithet 'well-greaved' clearly indicates that the Acheans were differentiated by the use of this form of armour from the older population, which they had conquered. We shall presently find that bronze greaves were worn in the early Iron Age by the warriors of Bosnia (Fig. 78) and northern Italy (p. 436).

Shield. No shield of the Mycenean age has survived, but the monuments give us considerable evidence for its form. It was of two kinds: (1) a long shield extending from the neck to the feet, having its sides notched or incurved; the whole has rather the appearance of the figure 8 (like some New Guinea shields)[2]: (2) a rectangular oblong shield, possibly bent into the form of a half cylinder. On no monument of the true Mycenean age is a circular shield to be seen. Certain objects on which this form of shield is visible will be presently discussed (p. 314).

Some archaeologists have thought that from the earliest times the Mycenean shield was distinguished by devices either in colours, inlaid, or riveted on. On one of the notched shields in the Lion-hunt we see stars set in the silver field, and Reichel[3] has suggested that some of the large double stars of gold from the royal graves served the same purpose. Schuchhardt[4] has

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[1] *Il.* VII. 41. The question of the genuineness of this line has never been raised by the Homeric scholars.

[2] I have one of this type from Cloudy Bay.

[3] *Cf. Homer. Waffen*, p. 6.

[4] *op. cit.*, p. 223.

protruding from under their shirts of mail. On the left a woman watches them depart. The equipment of these men is exactly that of the Homeric worthies. If then this fragment had been found in one of the acropolis graves, its striking resemblance to the Homeric descriptions of men armed for battle would have been of the greatest importance. But, as soon as we realize its *provenance*, its value as a means of identifying the Mycenean and Homeric periods vanishes, though it derives a new importance, which we shall presently refer to.

This oft-cited vase was found in the remains of the ruins of the houses south of the enclosure, which had been built over old tombs when the acropolis was enlarged. In these ruins we may still see some oblong pits hollowed in the soft rock, but of little depth. One of these is clearly older than the houses, since a house-wall is built over part of it. These houses therefore belong to a later period[1].

Warriors equipped in similar fashion have been discovered on a stele (Fig. 60) found in recent years outside the acropolis of Mycenae, not in its original position, but serving with other stones to wall up a grave hewn in the side of a circular sepulchral chamber[2]. Originally it was a sculptured tombstone, it was afterwards plastered over and painted in fresco. Where the coating of plaster is broken away at the top, a part of the old chisel design is visible. It comprises two bands of circles connected by double parallel lines. The fresco is in three horizontal zones, of which the uppermost is nearly all gone, whilst the other two are in fair preservation. The lower panel is filled by four deer and a hedgehog. The top was probably occupied by three seated figures, one of which can be tolerably well made out. The middle zone is filled with five warriors in the act of hurling spears. In arms, dress, attitude and drawing the design repeats exactly that on the warrior vase. The fact that this painting is on an ancient stone carved in true Mycenean style, which had been plastered over at a later date, is sufficient to prove that it is of a late epoch.

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[1] According to M. Pottier, *Rev. Arch.* 3rd Series, 28 (1896), pp. 17—25, this vase has nothing to do with the Mycenean time, but belongs to the class of Attic vases of the seventh cent. B.C.

[2] Tsountas, *Ephemeris Archaiologike*, 1896 (Pll. I. and II.). Tsountas and Manatt, *op. cit.*, p. 395—6.

Finally, at Tiryns, besides the Mycenean and Dipylon vases, there were discovered some fragments of a style of pottery not hitherto found elsewhere. "They represent the transition between the Mycenean and the Dipylon vases." On one of these (Fig. 61), besides a horse and dog, both of very wooden appearance, the former with a bridle, the latter with his tail curled up into a spiral, there are two men both with the left hand raised and holding a small round shield, whilst the right grasps the spear ready to be hurled[1]. Their legs are very thin, their waists are very much drawn up, but not of the shape seen on the Dipylon vases[2]. The scene is painted in brown lustrous paint on a light yellow ground, but above the varnish white body-colour has been lavishly used for inner markings and dottings. The drawing comes very near the Dipylon vases[3].

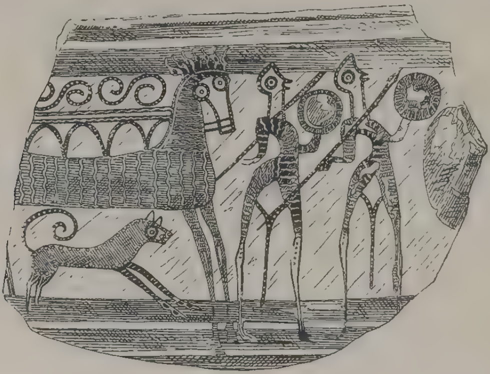

Fig. 61. Fragment of pottery, Tiryns.

Now we saw above (p. 192) that the oldest Greek pottery as yet found on the sites occupied by the Ionian settlers in Asia Minor was of the Dipylon style. From that I inferred that the period of decadence had set in and was well advanced under the Achean dynasties and before the Dorian invasion. Accordingly when we see this transition style at Tiryns bearing on it men with round shields, we are led to conclude that the form of shield is Achean and not Mycenean. If the tradition of the Achean conquest is true, it would have been strange if no trace of the Achean domination, brief though it was, had come to light. But in the warrior vase and the painted stele from Mycenae, and the fragment from Tiryns with figures clad in true Homeric fashion, we have complete confirmation of the literary evidence. Here we see the Mycenean craftsman working under the influence of his new masters. Later on we shall find the conquered Illyrians adopting the arms and dress of the Celts who conquered them, and we need not feel any difficulty in believing that the native Argives gradually adopted the accoutrements and dress of the warrior race who had entered in, although they retained their own language and customs with but slight modifications, as did also the Illyrians subject to the Celts. But the ancient fashion of armature would probably long be retained by the less wealthy Argives, as it certainly was by the Arcadians and Messenians (p. 324).

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[1] *Cf.* warrior from Olympia with round bossed shield (Furtwängler, *Bronz.*, p. 39).

[2] Schliemann, *Tiryns*, pl. xiv.

[3] Schuchhardt, *op. cit.*, pp. 131—3.

A drastic method of harmonizing the culture of Mycenae and Homer is employed by Dr Reichel[1], who was followed in this country by Dr Leaf[2], Prof. Platt[3], Prof. Bury[4], Mr A. J. Evans[5], Mr J. L. Myres, and others. This method is simple, and has good ancient precedent, for it was that practised on hapless travellers by Procrustes the robber. The miscreant laid his captive on a bed to which he fitted all alike, either by lopping off with an axe the superfluous portions of a large man, or in the case of a small one by racking and stretching him. Dr Reichel made a Procrustean bed of the Bronze Age of Mycenae, placed Homer on it, and finding that there were many parts which hung over the extremities of the couch proceeded to lop them off as vigorously as Procrustes himself. Every passage in the poems, which contained a reference to any kind of armour which has not been found in the graves of Mycenae, was ruthlessly hacked off as a late interpolation.

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[1] *Ueber Hom. Waffen* (1894). As these pages are being printed off, I learn with deep regret the early death of this brilliant archaeologist.

[2] *Class. Rev.*, 1895, p. 55 *sqq.*; Leaf and Bayfield, *Iliad*, Bks I.—XII., App.; Leaf, *Iliad*, Vol. I., 2nd ed. (1900), App.

[3] *Class. Rev.*, 1896, pp. 376 *sqq.*

[4] *The National Rev.*, 1896, pp. 334—44.

[5] Address to Anthrop. Section of Brit. Ass., 1896. M. Meyer and Perrot and Chipiez (Vol. VII. pp. 258—9) also follow Reichel.

The Breastplate. As no bronze breastplate had been found in the tombs, so whenever the word *thorex* occurred, the line was usually denounced as a late addition. Yet, as the word often appears in those parts of the *Iliad* which the critics hold to be the earliest stratum of the poem, another explanation had to be sought for. Accordingly Reichel and his followers maintain that, whilst many passages in which *thorex* undoubtedly means a corselet are later interpolations, when the same term is met in really old parts of the *Iliad*, it is a general term meaning the whole defensive armour. This he endeavours to support by quoting the verb θωρήσσεσθαι, 'to arm oneself.' But the verb must be a derivative from the noun *thorex*, and it is contrary to experience to find that the general sense of a word such as *thorex* is the earlier, and that later on it is narrowed into a particular meaning. There is no evidence that in any Greek dialect at any time *thorex* was used as a collective noun. As the Mycenean warrior had no defensive armour except his shield, the *thorex*, according to Reichel, in the oldest passages is practically the shield. But the Homeric student naturally asks how does Reichel explain the fact that the Acheans are regularly termed 'bronze-shirted' (χαλκοχίτωνες 'Αχαιοί), an epithet which has always been regarded as referring to the fact that they wore a bronze *thorex.* Reichel boldly replies that the epithet merely refers to the great shields of the Mycenean warriors, and that to the poet's eye the ranks of shieldbearing heroes would look as if they were shirted in bronze. But, as no bronze shields have been found in the tombs, and it has been therefore inferred that the Mycenean shield was made of ox-hide, how could such shields as these appear as glittering shirts of bronze to even a poet's eye rolling in fine frenzy? Then we naturally ask why the poet should describe a shield as a shirt, for all the Homeric epithets are accurate descriptions rather than extravagant metaphors. But there is another difficulty. Tsountas points out that the chiton is not worn by any of the men seen on Mycenean monuments (save only on the warrior vase and its fellow objects from the later strata). A Mycenean poet could hardly even in bold metaphor compare a shield to a kind of garment, the existence of which among the people of the Mycenean age has yet to be proved. But on the warrior vase both the *chiton* and *thorex* appear together as they are described in Homer and in company with the round shield and greaves, both of which Reichel and his followers would fain deny to the Homeric Achean. As therefore monuments, dating from the Iron Age, show us a style of equipment identical with that portrayed in Homer, we need not seek to tear the Homeric poems in pieces.

The Shield. The Homeric shield is described by the epithets 'circular' (κυκλοτερής), 'very circular' (εὔκυκλος), 'equal in every direction' (πάντοσ᾽ ἐίση), 'bossed' (ὀμφαλόεσσα). Reichel explains the epithet 'circular' as referring to the large Mycenean shield, which rather resembles the figure 8. Even though we grant that this epithet could bear what is certainly a strained meaning, how can we refer the epithets 'very circular,' and 'equal in every direction,' to the Mycenean shield? It certainly cannot be described as either 'a good circle' or as 'equal in every direction.' These epithets can only apply to a well-formed circle or disc.

Moreover, a simile referring to the shield of Achilles loses its appropriateness unless this shield was round:—

τοῦ δὲ σέλας γένετ᾽ ἠΰτε μήνης[1].

In the other passage where the *moon* is used similarly in a comparison, regard is had to the *shape* as well as the *colour* of the objects compared. It is a mark on a horse's forehead:— λευκὸν σῆμ᾽ ἐτέτυκτο περίτροχον ἠΰτε μήνη[2]. It is therefore more likely that the poet had a circular shield in his mind rather than one of the peculiar Mycenean form.

Homer does not tell us the shape of the shield of the Telamonian Ajax; he only says that it was like a tower, which may refer simply to its massive strength[3], but, as we have seen, it is quite possible that shields of the older pattern continued in use in Achean times. It is not unlikely that this famous buckler was made by a craftsman of the ancient race, and therefore possibly it was of the ancient shape. It was the work of Tychius of Hyle on Lake Copais in Boeotia. Chalcus the son of Athamas, of the Minyan Orchomenus, was traditionally the inventor of some kind of shield, and possibly Tychius may have kept up the tradition of such a manufacture. Now the traditional shield of Ajax placed on the coins of Salamis at a late period is a Boeotian shield, so familiar on Boeotian coins (Fig. 62), and which according to a suggestion of Mr A. J. Evans may be derived from the Mycenean type. If this be so, it is remarkable to find such a connection existing between the shield invented by the Minyans of Orchomenus and the Mycenean. Of course, to make the argument really cogent, we ought to be able to show what was the shape of the shield invented by Chalcus. Pliny calls it a *clipeus*, by which he meant a round shield[1].

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[1] *Il.* XIX. 374.
[2] *Il.* XXIII. 455.
[3] *Il.* XI. 485.

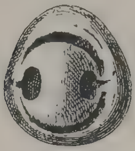

FIG. 62. Coin of Boeotia with a shield.

There is also a late tradition that Proetus and Acrisius were the first who introduced the *clipeus* into Argolis. Whatever may be the value of either of these statements, we can at least infer from them that there was a general feeling that the round shield was not indigenous, but that it had been introduced or invented in the close of the Mycenean period.

The people of Salamis may very well have made the shield of Ajax like that seen on the coins of Boeotia, because of the statement of Homer that it was made by a Boeotian.

On the other hand the Locrians represent Ajax, son of Oileus, on their coins with the usual round Greek shield (Fig. 96). If we could rely upon this as a true tradition, it would show that the Achean shield was round.

It is perhaps significant that in the chief passage in the *Iliad* where the great shield which extended from the neck to the ankles is mentioned, it is Periphetes the Mycenean who stumbles over his own great clumsy shield and is immediately pinned to the earth by the spear of Hector. It would seem that Periphetes, one of the native Myceneans, and not an Achean, still wore the ancient shield of his race. In a short time we shall see that in Pelasgic Arcadia the old Mycenean armature remained in vogue until the second century B.C.

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[1] *N. H.* VII. 200.

Reichel holds that it was because the Homeric warriors used the great Mycenean shield, which was too heavy to be carried any distance with ease, that they used war chariots. But I shall presently show that the war chariot was largely used by peoples of upper Europe who never employed any but round shields of no great diameter, and a very different reason for the employment of the war chariot will be offered.

Nor need we wonder if some of the native Argives in the host led by the Acheans should be equipped with their old national weapons, armour and shield. It takes some time for such changes to come about, and often a considerable period may elapse before all classes can afford to arm themselves with the newer and better panoply. In the late Chino-Japanese war, men armed with bows and arrows were serving in the Chinese army at the same time that others were furnished with the most modern form of magazine rifles.

The archaeologists have explained the epithet *ὀμφαλόεσσα* by certain small discs found in the shaft-graves at Mycenae, and which are conjectured to have been fastened along the rims of the shields as ornaments[1]. This is in itself highly improbable. For to the Greek *omphalos* meant the *navel* literally or metaphorically, the central point of an object. Thus Delphi was the Omphalos of the earth. So to the Romans *umbilicus* and *umbo* conveyed the idea of a real navel or central point of anything, though the term navel was extended in use by both Greeks and Romans.

Moreover, at least two passages of the *Iliad* show that the shield had a central boss. In one[2] Ajax is represented as having struck the shield of Hector on the *omphalos*, which indicates that the poet regarded the shield as having but one

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[1] Schuchhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

[2] XIII. 192.

omphalos, and that of course in the centre. The other passage describes the shield of Agamemnon: "he took the richly-dight shield of his valour (*πολυδαίδαλον ἀσπίδα θοῦριν*), that covereth all the body of a man (*ἀμφιβρότην*), a fair shield, and round about it were ten circles of bronze and thereon were twenty white bosses (*ὀμφαλός*) of tin, and one in the midst of dark cyanus." On this central boss "was the Gorgon fell of aspect[1]." His silver baldric bore a snake of *cyanus*.

This shield was evidently circular, and in its structure and decoration resembled the bronze shields of upper Europe, which commonly have many concentric circles[2] in *repoussé* round a conical boss. The spaces between the raised circles are often filled with diminutive knobs or bosses also in *repoussé* (p. 457) though sometimes they are rivet heads.

The twenty small knobs may have formed a single circle or served as the heads of the rivets which secured the metal plate to its substructure of leather or wood.

Shields decorated with snakes have been found in Denmark (p. 456) and England (Fig. 87).

Later on we shall see that the shield of Achilles finds its closest analogues in the bronze *situlae* adorned in *repoussé* with scenes from human life arranged in parallel bands, found in upper Italy and in Carniola.

The epithet Omphaloessa is used not as a mere ornamental adjunct, but because it differentiated a particular kind of shield, which had a central boss (*ὀμφαλός*, umbo), from such shields as the Mycenean (Fig. 54). Thus in later times the Macedonian shield (Fig. 94) was distinguished by a boss, on which was the Gorgon or the head of Pan or Artemis, from both the ordinary round Greek *aspis* (Fig. 96) and the Boeotian buckler (Fig. 62), neither of which had any central boss. If it can be shown that such a shield was not only known in the region contiguous to the north of Greece about 1000 B.C., but was actually a characteristic of the particular stage to which the Acheans of the Homeric poems belonged, we shall have an irresistible argument in support of our view that the Homeric shield called *Omphaloessa* had really an *umbo* or central boss.

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[1] XI. 32 *sqq.* (Lang, Leaf, and Myers). As Helbig has well pointed out, it is natural to find glass paste (*kuanos*) lavishly employed on a shield, which was probably, like the breastplate, of Cypriote workmanship.

[2] It is not unlikely that the Homeric description of a shield as *ῥινοῖσι βοῶν καὶ νώροπι χαλκῷ δινωτήν* (N. 406) refers to this kind of structure.

We saw that there is evidence for the use of blazons on the shields of the Mycenean age (p. 312), but in Homer nowhere do we find a trace of any such practice. For, though some find a case of the Mycenean usage in the shield of Achilles, the scenes on that are purely decorative ornament closely resembling some well-known bronze Etruscan shields of circular form.

Scholars have always felt the contrast between the heroes described by Aeschylus in the *Seven against Thebes* and by Euripides in the *Phoenissae*, distinguished by their blazons and mottoes like mediaeval knights, and the Homeric chieftains without a trace of heraldry.

The Greek shield of classical times was the lineal descendant of the circular shield of the Acheans of Homer, but it bore no boss. This had probably disappeared when the practice of placing blazons on the centre of the shield came into fashion once more. According to Herodotus[1] the Carians were the first to employ devices in this manner, and the Greeks borrowed the practice from them. Now if we are right in our connection of the Carians with the Pelasgian, that is, the Mycenean race, it is probable that they had never ceased to blazon devices on their shields as practised in Greece in Mycenean days, though this custom had disappeared from use in many parts of the mainland of Greece after the Achean conquest.

The Greeks are likewise said to have borrowed from the Carians the handles (ὄχανον) as a substitute for the older straps (τελαμών) by which the shield was held[2]. The two *kanones* of the shield mentioned twice in the *Iliad*[3] probably correspond to the two bronze straps or buttons to which were fastened the ends of the baldrics of the bronze shields of upper Europe (p. 459).

The whole question of shields will be treated in a later section.

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[1] I. 171. [2] *Id.*, *l.c.* [3] *Il.* XIII. 407; VIII. 192 (a doubtful passage).

Greaves. As no metal greaves have been found in the Mycenean graves, nor do any warriors on the works of art exhibit such protections, Reichel holds that the Achean warriors did not wear them. He would therefore eliminate the line in which the Acheans are termed 'bronze-greaved.' Certain straps have been found in the tombs, from which he suggests that the Mycenean warriors wore leggings of some perishable material, and accordingly the 'well-greaved' Acheans are to be regarded by us as simply clad in gaiters. These (he supposes) were worn to protect the shins of the warrior not from the enemy's weapons, but against the rim of his own long shield, which knocked against him as he ran.

But the use so frequently of the epithet 'well-greaved' indicates that the greave was a special feature of the Achean accoutrements, by which they stood in contrast to the warriors of the native race. Later on we shall find bronze greaves a characteristic of the early Iron Age of central Europe.

Finally, if the Homeric warrior had neither a bronze helmet nor bronze greaves, nor a bronze corselet, nor yet a metal shield, how possibly could it be said that when he "fell with a thud, his armour rang upon him" (*ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ*)? Leather certainly does not rattle or ring.

Now if we can find any district of Greece where in historical times the people employed a form of armature closely resembling that uncovered in the graves and seen on the monuments of the Mycenean period, and if further that region should prove to be an acknowledged seat of the oldest inhabitants of Greece, we shall have materially strengthened our contention that the equipment of the Mycenean period is that of the older race, and not that of the invading Acheans. Arcadia at once comes to our aid. It is confessedly the abode of the least disturbed population of Greece, and is essentially Pelasgian. In this primitive land down to the time of Philopoemen, the famous Megalopolitan, the men employed neither breastplates nor greaves, and used oblong shields, for we are told by Pausanias[1] that it was Philopoemen who first induced them and other members of the Achean League to don breastplates and greaves, and to discard their oblong shields (ἐπιμηκέστερα ὅπλα) and short javelins for the Argolic round shield (Ἀργολικὰς ἀσπίδας) and long spears.

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[1] viii. 50, 1.

At the battle of Ithome the mass of the Arcadians and Messenians appear to have had no defensive armour, but wore only goatskins or sheepskins; "some were clad in the skins of wild beasts, wolfskins and bearskins being especially worn by the highlanders of Arcadia. Each carried a bundle of darts, and some of them spears as well[1]."

It is evident from this that it was the oblong and not the circular shield which was the national type of the Pelasgians of Peloponnesus. Again, the absence of corselets and greaves in the Mycenean graves need no longer excite wonder, for, as the Pelasgians of Arcadia only adopted both these forms of defensive armour at so late an epoch, it would be strange if their kindred in Argolis had habitually worn them at a very early time.

The result of our comparison of the dress, arms and armour of the Mycenean and Homeric periods is that we have found discrepancies at every step, to reconcile which archaeologists have made only futile attempts or none. There remain however some further criteria for determining the ethnic agreement or disagreement of the two periods.

Wheels. The chariot of the Mycenean warrior is represented on the monuments with wheels of only four spokes[2] (Fig. 1). On the other hand the chariot of Hera in the *Iliad*[3] has eight spokes. It is not likely in itself that the poet simply doubled the number of spokes in the wheel because it was divine, but rather because the chariots in use in his own day had eight spokes.

This will be made all the more certain when we find that in central Europe the regular number of spokes in the chariot wheel was eight. Thus the little waggon of bronze found at Glasinatz in Bosnia has four wheels[4], each with eight spokes.

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[1] IV. 11, 3.

[2] The four-spoked wheel on archaic coins (700—480 B.C.) of Chalcis indicates its use by the Pelasgians of Euboea. The Lycian chariots had four-spoked wheels (Fellowes, *Lycia*, p. 170).

[3] v. 723.

[4] *Mitth. der anth. Gesell. Wien*, Vol. x. p. 289.

So also have the wheels of the waggon bearing more than twelve figures found in Styria and figured by Much[1]. Finally, a small Gaulish bronze wheel found at Camp de la Cheppe (called Attila's Camp) is of the same type[2].

Hair. The fashion of wearing the hair is one of the chief distinctions between races and tribes in modern times, and it was just as important in early Greece and other parts of the ancient world. The Acheans of the Homeric poems prided themselves on their hair which they allowed to grow long all over the head, hence calling themselves *κάρη κομόωντες*, as distinguished from other peoples such as the Abantes of Euboea, who grew their hair long only behind (*ὄπιθεν κομόωντες*)[3], and from the Thracians who wore their hair in a high tuft on the top of the head (*ἀκρόκομοι*)[4]. The wearing of the hair in such tufts was regarded by the Acheans with scorn. Thus Diomede when wounded by Paris alludes contemptuously to his coil of hair like a horn—

> *τοξότα, λωβητήρ, κέρᾳ ἀγλαέ, παρθενοπῖπα*[5].

We saw that not only in Argolis and Boeotia, but also in Etruria, Sardinia and Spain, spirals of gold, silver and bronze have been discovered. These have been commonly regarded as earrings, but it has been pointed out by M. George Perrot[6] that there are no hooks to suspend them to the ears, and that several have been found with a single interment. He well explains (after the scholiast) their true use from the passage in the *Iliad* where the Trojan Panthous is described as having the tresses of his hair compressed tightly in gold and silver[7].

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[1] *Kunsthistorischer Atlas*, p. 98, Pl. XLI.

[2] Morel, *La Champagne Souterraine*, pp. 205 (with figure) and 209.

[3] *Il.* II. 542.

[4] *Il.* IV. 533. Cf. *ὑψιχαίτης*, used by Pindar (*P.* IV. 306) of the sons of Boreas, who came from Thrace.

[5] *Il.* XI. 385.

Virgil, *Aen.* XII. 100:

> semiuiri Phrygis, et foedare in puluere crines
> uibratos calido ferro murraque madentes.

[6] *Revue de deux Mondes*, vol. LXX. (1885), p. 502.

[7] *Schol. ad Il.* XVIII. 401.

But, as will be noticed, Panthous is not an Achean, but a Pelasgian, and his method of wearing the hair is described by the poet because it is a practice unknown to the Acheans.

There is certainly no reference to any such fashion on the part of any Achean hero in Homer. Furthermore, when the opportunity for such reference occurs, the hair is represented as streaming down from the head entirely unrestrained, as in the case of Odysseus[1]. We shall soon see that this fashion of wearing the hair was characteristic of the fair-haired people of central Europe.

On the other hand, the Mycenean fashion of wearing the hair is well known from twenty-one heads in gold which form a band round a silver cup found in a Mycenean chambered tomb, and also from the Kampos statuette. These heads show a shaven upper lip, a pointed beard, and the hair arranged in three curls[2]. This exactly corresponds to the practice of the Abantes, who were a Pelasgian tribe, but as it is not that of the Acheans, to call such figures Achean is erroneous. Such a fashion of wearing the hair was known in one part of Greece in the historical period. Thucydides tells that down nearly to his own time the nobles at Athens continued on account of their effeminacy to wear linen tunics and to wear their hair long and tied up in a bunch (κρωβύλος) fastened with a clasp of golden grasshoppers[3]. This *krobulos* seems to be the same as the bunch of the Mycenean warrior. If the Athenians were originally Acheans, when did they begin the effeminate practice which they abandon in the fifth century? On the other hand, if they are Pelasgians, as stated by Herodotus and Thucydides, the fashion of wearing the hair in a bunch had survived among the Athenian Pelasgi when it had already perished in the parts of Greece which had come under Achean and Dorian influence. This fashion being non-Achean and

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[1] *Od.* VI. 336.

[2] Schuchhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 297; Tsountas and Manatt, p. 167.

[3] I. 6. Down to the fourth century B.C. fops at Athens sometimes wore their hair long in the ancient style. Thus the orator Hegesippus, a contemporary and supporter of Demosthenes, was on this account nicknamed Krobulos, 'Top-knot.' The knights also are said to have retained the privilege of wearing long hair (Aristoph. *Equites*, 580).

Pelasgian, we are led to conclude that the heads on the Mycenean vase are not those of Acheans, but of Pelasgians.

Burial.[1] We saw (p. 74) that the Mycenean people buried the body intact in a contracted posture, whether it was placed in a *pithos*, a cist-grave, or in a spacious chambered tomb. They possibly employed some kind of embalming.

In Homer on the other hand the dead are always cremated, the bones are then carefully gathered from the remains of the pyre, and placed in an urn; "they quenched with bright wine all the burning parts of the pyre, then his brethren gathered his white bones, and laid them in an urn, and straightway they laid the urn in a hollow grave, and piled thereon great close-set stones, and heaped a barrow[2]."

It has been sought to minimise this difficulty by pointing out that the Athenians continued to practise inhumation and not cremation down to the sixth century B.C., as is proved by the evidence derived from the cemetery at the Dipylon gate[3]. But, as it has been shown repeatedly that the Athenians are Pelasgians and not Acheans, the evidence therefore of the Dipylon cemetery goes rather to show that the Pelasgians did not practise cremation until quite late when they had already merged into the Hellenic body. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that the Myceneans were Pelasgians and not Acheans.

On the other hand we shall find that the practice of cremating the dead originated in central Europe before the end of the Bronze Age, and that from thence it slowly spread southwards into Illyria and Greece.

It is remarkable that just as we are able to produce evidence from the later Mycenean remains which confirms the Homeric tradition as regards the Achean domination and the fashion of their dress, weapons and armour, so also is it with burial. In the cemetery of Salamis in company with a large series of cist-graves of the regular Mycenean type "there were two circular pits lined with stone like the rest. One of these contained an earthen vase full of bones, the other a similar vase full of ashes[1]." M. Kabbadias rightly infers that this cemetery belonged to "a transition stage between the Mycenean and Homeric epochs." When we recollect that Salamis was one of the chief seats of the great Achean house of the Aeacidae, we are justified in concluding that after the conquest of the island by the Acheans the newcomers would be buried in their own fashion.

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[1] The difference between the Homeric and Mycenean usage was first pointed out by Dummler (*Mitth. Ath.*, vol. XII.).

[2] *Il.* XXIV. *fin.*

[3] Schuchhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

Engraved Gems. Pliny[2] remarked on the complete absence of any mention of signets in Homer. This is a very remarkable fact, for there are many passages where we should naturally expect to find mention of signets, such as the fastening and unfastening of doors of the treasure chambers; and in the passage which relates the sending of the letter, though Proetus scratched the characters on a tablet, we are not told that he sealed it, as some have hastily assumed to have been the case. The men of the Mycenean tombs used engraved gems very freely, either as amulets or signets or as both combined. We hear of jewellery and all kinds of ornaments in Homer, but of no kind of stone or other substance used for setting, except amber, a substance too brittle for engraving on, but which can be bored for beads with the greatest ease by primitive men, such as the lake-dwellers of Switzerland and the Po valley, and the Angles and Saxons, who could not work hard stones. On the other hand the Mycenean people could work green jasper, cornelian, serpentine, sardonyx, lapis lazuli, and rock crystal, for their engraved gems. If the Acheans of Homer had used such stones, it would be strange that nowhere in the poems are they mentioned. If the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were late compositions, or full of late interpolations, references to the use of the signet must have crept in, for it is absolutely certain that the practice of using seals was one that grew more and more as we get to classical times, and that at no time in the Hellenic period did it tend to fall into desuetude.

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[1] Tsountas and Manatt, *op. cit.*, p. 388.

[2] *H. N.* xxxiii. 12.

It is indeed most probable that even under the Achean domination the use of Mycenean engraved stones went on without check among their subjects of the old race, for that these stones are still in use down to our own day in the Greek islands is a well established fact. They are employed as milk amulets by the women of Crete, where they are called *Galopetras*[1], and also by those of Melos, where they are termed by the similar name of *Galoussai*[2]. If we are right in our conclusion that there has been no complete change in the population of the Greek islands, and that the present inhabitants for the most part are the descendants of those who dwelt there in the neolithic period, it is likely that at no time have these people ever ceased to wear engraved stones as amulets. Nor can it be maintained that this practice of wearing milk charms is only of modern growth on Greek soil. In the Orphic poem *Lithica*, which treats of the virtues of different stones, the *Galaktis* or *milk-stone* has a conspicuous place:

> "And bid the bride but late a mother made
> To drink this gem with honied mead allayed,
> That her sweet infant on her flowing breast,
> Drunk with the copious stream, may soundly rest[3]."

That these stones were primarily amulets and not seals is highly probable. Though the stones themselves are so abundant, impressions from them seem unknown in most Mycenean sites[4]. This stands in strong contrast to Babylon, where the cylinder was actually used as a signet and where countless impressions have been found in clay. But even in Babylonia the original use of the engraved stone seems to have been purely amuletic, for such cylinders without any engraving are regularly found in the graves of the earliest Babylonian cemeteries. It is significant that at least one worked stone of the usual Mycenean shape, but without any engraving on it, has been discovered in a Mycenean tomb (p. 28). This fact indicates that such stones, like the oldest Babylonian cylinders, were used as amulets long before they had any device wrought on them. Rock crystal and other stones are employed for magical purposes by the most primitive tribes, such as the aborigines of Australia, and this use is universal among all races. The Babylonians sought to enhance the virtue of their talismans by engraving on them some sacred object. Indeed the extreme frequency with which the same subject is repeated on the cylinders is a strong argument that their original purpose was not for sealing. For the essence of a signet is that it should bear a device differing from that on every other stone. Thus a law of Solon forbade seal-engravers to keep impressions of any signet which they had cut, for fear of it leading to counterfeiting and fraud. The Egyptian scarabs which appear a little later than the cylinders at Medum, and which were placed in such quantities on the dead, were plainly amuletic and not primarily for signets. So in late times the green jasper engraved with the Abraxas was held to be a specific for certain diseases, but Galen tells us that he had tried these stones without the Abraxas and that their medicinal virtue was just as good.

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[1] A. J. Evans, "Primitive Pictographs" (*Jour. Hell. Stud.* xiv. p. 276). The Cretan women wear them "round their necks as charms of great virtue, especially in time of childbearing."

[2] For this fact I am indebted to my friend Mr R. C. Bosanquet, M.A., Director of the British School at Athens.

[3] *Lithica*, 211, *sqq*. The English rendering is that of the late C. W. King. As the stone resembles milk in colour, it is a nice example of sympathetic magic, and it is certain that the modern Greeks attribute the efficacy of such stones to their milky appearance.

[4] Mr A. J. Evans has now found many at Cnossus (p. 59).

The Mycenean gems are sometimes found covered all over with gold leaf. If this had only been applied to the unengraved part of the stone, it could of course have been used as a signet, but, as it actually covers the face which bears the device and the device itself, it is likely that such gems were meant not for impressing either wax or clay, but rather to be worn as amuletic ornaments.

It is certainly interesting to find the art of gem-engraving especially flourishing in regions where the Pelasgic race was dominant. Theodorus and Mnesarchus of Samos are the two names of engravers which reach us from the sixth century B.C. Cyprus has supplied many gems of fine Greek art of the best period, Cyrene was famous for its engraved signet stones, and the engravers of Magna Graecia and Sicily were the most eminent in Hellas. A series of Etruscan scarabs engraved in Greek style is well known. Are these the work of the same race which had its settlements in Etruria from a remote period?

Any one who takes a sober view of the matter will find it hard to reconcile the existence of the large and important series of gems (whether they were used as amulets suspended to necklaces, as some of those found at Vaphio, or as signets) with the complete absence of any allusion to such objects in the Homeric poems.

Thus then the Homeric Achean differs from the Mycenean in every particular of dress, weapons, armour, fashion of wearing the hair, and method of disposing of his dead.

There are also subsidiary arguments of considerable cumulative importance, though apparently of no great significance individually.

Cattle. There are very many representations of the cow or ox from Mycenean sites, some exceedingly rude, such as the terra-cotta idols so frequently mentioned. These are so roughly fashioned that it would be folly to draw from their appearance any argument respecting the physical aspect of the breed of cattle kept by the men of the Bronze Age in Greece. But there are also very careful reproductions of the cattle on many works of art of the finest workmanship, such as the wild cattle seen on the Vaphio cup, the bull depicted in fresco on the wall of the palace of Tiryns, the numerous heads of cows wrought in gold found in Grave IV. at Mycenae, the large head in silver with gilt horns, and also examples cut in intaglio on various gems (Fig. 63). All the cattle portrayed on these numerous monuments seem to be of the same breed. They all have the same twisted horns, which when seen from the front have the outline of a lyre placed perpendicularly. Not a single specimen of any other variety of horn is to be found.

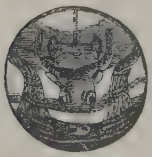
Fig. 63. Engraved Gem; Mycenae.

Now when we turn to the Homeric poems we find that, though there are some epithets such as εἰλίπους, *with shambling gait*, and εὐρυμέτωπος, *broadbrowed*, which may apply to any breed, there are others which are mutually exclusive, and therefore are apparently used designedly for differentiation. The one is *straight-horned* (ὀρθόκραιρος), the other *crumple-horned* (ἕλιξ). The latter epithet has been interpreted in several ways, but its meaning is clearly shown by a passage in the Homeric Hymn to Hermes, where the cattle of Apollo are described as having twisted horns. There can be no doubt of the affinity of *helix* and *heliktos*, and since the latter is here joined with *keras*, it is perfectly certain that it refers to the twist of the horn[1].

Now from the coins of the various Greek states, on which from the very beginning of coinage the cow and bull were amongst the most favourite types, we are certain that from the sixth century B.C. there were in Greece two breeds of cattle which exactly correspond to the two kinds of horned cattle known in the Homeric poems. Thus on the coins of Euboea, one of the earliest places to issue stamped money, we see a cow's head, or frequently the whole of the animal, sometimes licking herself, sometimes with a bird perched on her back. These cows are usually drawn with twisted horns which assume the lyre-like shape above referred to (Fig. 64). On the coins of Corcyra and Epidamnus (Dyrrhachium) the regular type is a cow suckling her calf (Fig. 65). These cows also invariably show the same twisted horn as those of Euboea and the Mycenean monuments. This breed is probably derived from the great large-horned *urus* (*Bos primogenius*) common in Thrace[2] in the fifth century B.C. and which is seen (Fig. 66) (often in deadly combat with a lion) on the coins of Acanthus.

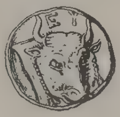

FIG. 64. Coin of Eretria.

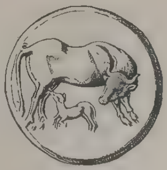

FIG. 65. Coin of Dyrrhachium.

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[1] *Hymn Herm.* 192: πάσας θηλείας, πάσας κεράεσσιν ἑλικτάς.

[2] Herod. VII. 125 *sq.*

But when we turn to the coins of Phocis (Fig. 67), on which a bull's head facing is the customary stamp, we see an animal with short straight horns perfectly distinct from those just described. The same breed may be seen on the coins of Thessaly, and also on the mintage of Samos[1].

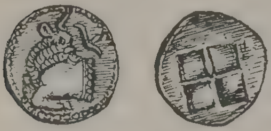

Fig. 66. Coin of Acanthus.

From this evidence we may infer that the cattle with the twisted horns were the cattle of the Mycenean period, that they were probably indigenous in Greece, as the wild bull captured in the toils seen on the Vaphio cup is of this breed, and that the other breed with the short straight horns only came into Greece in the Iron Age.

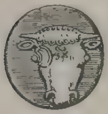

Fig. 67. Coin of Phocis.

On the Egyptian monuments of the XVIIIth Dynasty the conventional ox exhibits the same upright and lyre-like horns seen on the Mycenean monuments and the Euboean coins. This breed is likewise still predominant in southern Italy, and seems to have been one of the chief elements in the long-horned cattle of Spain[2].

Whence came the short-horn breed into Greece?

Now, such a breed of cattle is a characteristic of central Europe, the British Isles and Scandinavia.

We know from an examination of the *fauna* of the Lake-dwellings of Switzerland that the Celtic ox (*Bos longifrons*) was there the common type, and its descendants still survive in the mountains of that country. This Celtic ox is characterized by its short horns, from which circumstance it has been termed *Bos brachyceros* by Rutimeyer. It was remarkable for the height of its forehead above its orbits, for its strongly developed occipital region, and its small horns curved forward and inward[1].

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[1] There are Cretan coins (attributed to Lappa, see *Numismatic Chron.*, 1894, Pl. I. 9), on which there is the head of a bull or cow with one horn turned up and the other down. This reminds one of the fashion of the Moru tribe of Central Africa, who distinguish their cattle by training their horns in different directions. The Bechuana tribes have a like practice.

[2] Prof. T. McKenny Hughes, "On the more important breeds of cattle" etc., *Archaeologia*, LV. 141.

An improved breed allied to *Bos longifrons* has been found in the Swiss Lake-dwellings, and a closely allied domesticated breed existed at a very early period in Scandinavia: the latter is known as *Bos frontosus.* We learn from Polybius[2] that when the Gauls entered Italy they brought with them their herds of cattle and their gold ornaments. We thus have sure evidence that tribes who passed down from central Europe into the southern peninsulas brought with them their own breed of cattle. We need not therefore be surprised to find that after the advent of the Acheans there was a second breed of cattle in Greece. As this later breed corresponds to that found beyond the Alps, it affords a distinct indication of the region from which they were brought, and it is an additional proof that the Homeric Iron Age is later than the Mycenean Bronze period.

As the cattle with the long twisted horns are a concomitant of the early peoples of Greece, Egypt, southern Italy, Sicily, and Spain, so the short horn is characteristic of the regions to the north of the Alps, and from its distribution it has been termed Celtic. The appearance of this latter in Greece in historical and Homeric times may be most readily explained as the result of a downward movement from the Alps of peoples who brought with them into Greece their own breed of cattle, as the Gauls did into Italy.

If we may judge from the Tiryns fresco, the Mycenean cattle were white with patches of red. This corresponds to what we know of the colour of the Roman cattle, which seem to have been generally red (*fulvus*) and white.

On the other hand the Celtic short-horn is usually of an uniform yellowish grey or brown tint, white being uncommon[3]. Sometimes there is a light streak down the back, the belly and inner side of the legs being of lighter colour.

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[1] *op. cit.*, p. 134.

[2] II. 19.

[3] Hughes, *loc. cit.*

We have shown reasons for ascribing to the Acheans the antiquities found at Olympia, among which little figures of cattle and horses are very numerous.

The terra-cotta oxen have for the most part heads running up to a point, with horns curving in front[1].

As this is not the characteristic of the Mycenean breed, but rather that of the Celtic ox, it is a further indication that the Acheans are not the creators of the monuments of the Bronze Age of Greece.

We have now compared the culture of the Mycenean age with that of the Homeric Acheans, and we have found that the Achean and Mycenean differed essentially by all the criteria of arms, armour, dress, personal ornament, and method of disposing of their dead. Even their cattle exhibit a difference. We therefore must conclude that the Homeric poems do not give us a picture of the Mycenean Bronze Age, but rather of a much later period, when Greece was already in the Iron Age.

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[1] Furtwängler, *Die Bronzen und die übrigen kleineren Fünde von Olympia*, p. 44.

CHAPTER IV.

WHENCE CAME THE ACHEANS?[1]

Οἵη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοίη δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν.
φύλλα τὰ μέν τ' ἄνεμοϲ χαμάδιϲ χέει, ἄλλα δέ θ' ὕλη
τηλεθόωϲα φύει, ἔαροϲ δ' ἐπιγίγνεται ὥρῃ.

Homer, *Il.* VI. 146.

In the preceding chapters we have endeavoured to prove that the people of the Mycenean period as shown by the contents of the graves on the acropolis of Mycenae and elsewhere were in the Bronze Age, whilst the Acheans of the Homeric poems exhibit the culture of the fully developed Iron Age.

Our next step is to inquire if in any part of Europe contiguous to the Greek peninsula we can find corresponding periods of Bronze and Iron. Next we must determine whether bronze or iron is the earlier. If we can show that over the whole of Europe iron came into use at a very much later date than copper and its alloy, bronze, then it follows that the age represented in the Homeric poems is much later than that revealed at Mycenae, either in the Shaft-graves on the acropolis where not a single scrap of iron has been found, or in the graves of the Lower City, where finger-rings made of that metal have been occasionally discovered.

Thirdly, we shall inquire whether in any of those regions bordering on Greece, where iron supplanted bronze for cutting weapons, such a condition of culture as that represented as Achean in Homer can be found, that is, graves which disclose the practice of cremation, round shields with bosses, helmets and greaves made of bronze, brooches for fastening on the garments, beads of amber and blue glass, but no engraved gems, nor any sign of advanced skill in the arts of painting and pottery.

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[1] The principle set out in this chapter I put forward before the Anthrop. Institute (Dec. 14th, 1896, *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* XXVI. p. 271), and in a fuller form in a lecture before the Hellenic Society, Feb. 24th, 1898, of which a summary appeared in *Athenaeum*, March 5th, 1898, pp. 315—6, and in *Jour. Hell. Stud.* 1898, pp. XXXIV.—V.

If we can produce evidence of such a culture in the Iron Age, it will be admitted that the Homeric poems give a picture of a real form of life, and not an imaginary state of culture and society.

If furthermore it can be shown that a people in this condition lived in Epirus at least 1000 B.C., and if it can also be shown that by their own traditions the Acheans at one time dwelt near to and in Epirus before they entered Thessaly, an event which cannot be placed later than 1200 B.C., we shall have established a strong probability that the culture represented by Homer as Achean is identical with that revealed by modern investigations in the countries north-east of the Adriatic.

Again as the Acheans by the traditions came into regions and cities occupied by an older race, such as that which dwelt in Mycenae and Tiryns, we ought to find some indications of mutual relations and intercourse. For the conquest did not take place at a single blow. If we find traces of Mycenean art in the countries lying northward of Greece, which were occupied by the people of the Iron Age, such remains are indications that these folk had intercourse with the Mycenean people, as the Acheans by their traditions state to have been their own case.

On the other hand, if we can point to any objects in the upper stratum of the acropolis at Mycenae and in the Lower City, and in late Mycenean graves, which can be identified as belonging to the region from which the Acheans advanced into Thessaly, we shall obtain a still stronger confirmation of the mutual relations of the Acheans and the older owners of Mycenae before the conquest actually took place. Such intercourse and trade is the usual precursor of conquest and annexation. In proof of the truth of this principle it is only necessary to point out that Roman *negotiatores* filled Gaul with Roman wares long before Caesar conquered it, and that many articles from Gaul had reached Italy and Rome,—slaves, hounds, carriages,—as is shown by the Gaulish names in Latin such as *vertagus* and *petoritum*. A still better analogy for our purpose is offered by Germany, which was permeated by Roman trade centuries before the barbarians swept down on Italy and Rome, just as the Acheans entered in and took possession of the older civilization of Mycenae. The story of our conquests of India, America, and of South African tribes, offers countless examples of the same kind.

If we can succeed in showing that in the area just indicated there existed a culture very similar to that of the Homeric poems, we shall have made an important step towards the solution of the whole problem of the ethnology of early Greece.

The Acheans, as we learn from the Homeric poems, had, when we first meet them, only lately come into Thessaly. They had but recently got possession of the district of Pelasgic Argos, which extended from the Peneus to Thermopylae, but here as we saw (p. 173) the older population maintained itself down to classical times. Whence had they come? Was it from Thrace on the north-east, as is commonly held[1], or from the north-west? There seems to be no evidence of any weight to support the former view. Let us therefore see if we can find any for the latter.

It is at once rendered probable that the Acheans entered southern Thessaly from Epirus when we recollect that the worship of the Dodonean Zeus was a strong feature in the cult of the Acheans of Phthiotis. If they had come from Thrace, Achilles would have been found invoking the aid of some deity whose immemorial fane was in Thrace rather than one whose sanctuary lay in Epirus. But on the contrary, Ares the deity whose home was in Thrace cuts a very poor figure in Homer. He is wounded by the Achean hero Diomede; moreover, he sympathizes with the Trojans, and not with the Acheans, the significance of which fact is strengthened when we remember that the Thracians are the allies of the Trojans.

The inference here drawn from the worship of Dodonean Zeus by the Acheans is fully justified not only by the veneration in which Jerusalem and Mecca are held by Jew and Arab, no matter where domiciled, but what is more to the point, by instances from the north of Europe. Thus the Frisians and their cognate tribes esteemed Heligoland (Holy Island) as their chief sanctuary. Yet this little island lies as far to the east as it well may be from Frisia, to which the Frisians had probably advanced from the north-east[1]. Similarly the many Germanic tribes regarded the island of Seeland in the Baltic as their chief shrine[2], and it may be that in their advance downwards from Scandinavia, this island had long been the seat of their common worship and continued still to be venerated long after they had gained a firm foothold on the mainland of what is now Germany.

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[1] Leaf and Bayfield, *Iliad*, p. ix.

It is probable that the Acheans passed across Pindus into Phthiotis from Epirus on the grounds that I have just urged, but if it can be shown that such a movement did take place in historical times, the probability is considerably strengthened.

Ernst Curtius well remarks that "a considerable number of the Greek tribes which emigrated by land into the European peninsula followed the tracks of the Italians, and taking a westward route through Paeonia and Macedonia penetrated through Illyria into the western half of the country of northern Greece, which the formation of its hill ranges and valleys rendered more easy of access from the north than Thessaly in its secluded hollow. The numerous rivers abounding in water which follow closely one another through long gorges into the Ionian Sea here facilitate an advance to the south, and the rich pasture land invited immigration, so that Epirus became the dwelling-place of a dense population which commenced its civilized career in the fertile lowlands of the country[3]."

Curtius of course wrote from the standpoint of a believer in the Oriental origin of the Aryan peoples, but his words apply *à fortiori*, if it is held that the advance was from central Europe rather than from the east. At a later stage we shall find that the commercial path from eastern Europe into Greece ran up the Danube valley to the head of the Adriatic and passed down through Illyria and Epirus.

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[1] Alcuin, *Vita Willebrordi*, c. 10.

[2] Tac. *Germ.* 40.

[3] *History of Greece*, vol. I. p. 103 (Engl. trans.).

Now Herodotus tells us that the Thessalians proper were Thesprotians, who crossed the Pindus chain into Thessaly, settled in that part of it called Aeolis[1], and finally became the overlords of the Acheans, Magnetes and Perrhaebians. This advance of the Thesprotians into Thessaly was the cause, says Thucydides[2], of the movement of the people who in his time were called Boeotians into Boeotia. For they were driven by the invading Thesprotians from their ancient home in Arne in Thessaly, and they came and dwelt in the Cadmean territory where some of their kindred were already settled.

Now as a tribe of Thesprotians called Thessali actually crossed Pindus and occupied and subdued the land still called by their name, so it is not improbable that another tribe from the same quarter had at an earlier period made a similar movement into Thessaly, settling principally in that part of it called Phthiotis, and becoming the overlords of all of it, as did the Thessali later on.

Moreover our argument in favour of the coming of the Acheans from Thesprotia, which rests on their veneration for Dodona, receives confirmation from the fact that these Thesprotian Thessali, even in their new homes under the shadow of Olympus, long retained the cult of Dodonean Zeus. For when in 196 B.C. the Thessalians issued a federal coinage, the oak-crowned head of Dodonean Zeus was the type of that issue[3].

In the Homeric poems the Thessali have not yet entered Thessaly, but the Thesproti were in full occupation of southern Epirus, which from them was named Thesprotia.

That intercourse between Thesprotia and Thessaly was quite common is proved by the dream of Penelope. Her sister Iphthime, who was wife of Eumelus and dwelt at Pherae in Thessaly, seemed to visit her. Penelope is surprised at the visit because it was so long a way for her sister to come, but at the same time the poet evidently regarded it as within the ordinary course of life[4].

The Achean Odysseus is supposed to travel to Dodona as freely as he would anywhere through the rest of the Greek world[1]. Telemachus lauds his mother as unrivalled by any woman of her time throughout the Achean land "either in sacred Pylus, or in Argos, or in Mycenae, or in Ithaca itself, or in dark Epirus[2]." The last line has been regarded as a late addition by modern philologists, but the ancients held it to be genuine, and indeed to exclude his own Ithaca from his enumeration would be little in keeping with the character of Telemachus. If the line is genuine, it is evident that the writer regarded the land of the Thesprotians as within the pale of Achaia.

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[1] VII. 176.

[2] I. 12.

[3] Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 264.

[4] *Od.* IV. 810.

In classical times the Epirote tribe called Chaones dwelt above the Thesproti, and their northern boundary extended to the Acroceraunia, held by the ancients to be the point where the Ionian Gulf ended and the Adriatic began. From this spot tribes who are always termed Illyrians occupied the coast. Though there is no evidence to show that these tribes differed in any wise from their southern neighbours, who are called Thesproti, nevertheless we shall soon see distinct proof that the population of all the region extending from Macedonia to Corcyra differed in several important respects from the people farther south. Strabo puts the southern limit of Illyria at the Gulf of Rhizon. But there is reason to believe that the people who dwelt south of that point were mainly Illyrian in race. Epidamnus, which stands considerably to the south, was planted by Corcyra for the purpose of trading with the Illyrian tribes, just as Corcyra herself had been planted by Corinth to tap the trade of the upper coast of the Ionian Gulf, and we know that it was in consequence of their being hard pressed by the neighbouring tribe of Taulantii that the Epidamnians made that appeal to Corinth, which was one of the proximate causes of the Peloponnesian war. From this it is certain that in the fifth century B.C. the country considerably south of the Rhizonic bay was occupied by tribes chiefly of the Illyrian stock, and there are no grounds for supposing that any alterations of a serious nature had taken place in that region. Any such change would probably have been the result of an advance southwards of tribes from higher up the coast, either Illyrians driven down under the pressure of the Celts, or Celts who had forced their way down south.

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[1] *Od.* XIV. 327.

[2] *Od.* XXI. 109.

The statement of Thucydides[1] is fully borne out by Strabo, who gives an invaluable account, brief though it be, of this district and its contiguous region: "The Amphilochi are Epirotes, and so also are those nations which inhabit a rugged country above them and close to the Illyrian mountains, the Molotti, the Athamanes[2], the Aethices, the Tymphaei, the Orestae, the Paroraei, and the Atintanes, some of whom approach near to Macedonia, others to the Ionian Gulf....With these people are intermixed Illyrian nations, some of which are situated on the southern part of the mountain region, and others above the Ionian Gulf. Far above Epidamnus, and Apollonia, as far as the Ceraunian mountains, live the Bulliones, the Taulantii, the Parthini, and the Brygi. Somewhere in their neighbourhood are the silver mines of Damastium.

"Here the Dyestae had established their sway, and the Enchelii and Dasarethii, who are also called Sesarethii. Then came the Lyncestae, the territory of Deuriopus, Pelagonia, Tripolitis, the Eordi, Elimia, and Eratyra; formerly each of these nations was under its own prince.

"The chiefs of the Enchelii[3] were descendants of Cadmus and Harmonia, and scenes of the legends representing these personages are shown in the land.

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[1] I. 24.

[2] The Athamanes, Aethices, and Talares were reckoned as Thessalians; the Orestae, the Pelagones, and Elimiotae as Macedonians (Strabo, 434). It is perhaps worth suggesting that in the name Ὀρέσται we have the Macedonian tribe who struck about 500 B.C. a well-known series of coins inscribed ΟΡΡΕΣΚΙΟΝ, ΟΡΡΗΣΚΙΟΝ, ΩΡΗΣΚΙΟΝ, ΩΡΗΣΚΙΩΝ. Leake (*Northern Greece*, III. p. 213) followed by Head (*Hist. Num.* p. 174) is "of opinion that these people were identical with the Satrae." It is better to identify them with the Orestae, and to regard the slight difference in form as due to a copyist's mistake of τ for κ.

[3] These are the Encheleans referred to by Herodotus in discussing an oracle, which declared that men would "come into Greece, sack the temple at Delphi, and when they have so done, perish one and all." He adds that this oracle did not refer to the Persians, "but to the Illyrians and the Enchelean host" (IX. 42—3). Scylax (*Periplus*, 19; *cf.* Steph. Byz. *ad voc.*) like Strabo speaks of them as Illyrians. They dwelt in the country north of Epidamnus about lake Lychnidia, now *Zenta Skutari* (Polyb. v. 108). The story

"This nation therefore was not governed by native princes. The Lyncestae were under Arrhabaeus, who was of the race of the Bacchiadae. Sirrha was his daughter, and his granddaughter was Eurydice, the mother of Philip, son of Amyntas.

"The Molossians were likewise Epirotes, and were subjects of Pyrrhus, son of Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, and of his descendants, who were Thessalians. The rest were governed by native princes. Some tribes were continually endeavouring to obtain the mastery over the others, but all were finally subdued by the Macedonians, except a few situated above the Ionian Gulf. They gave the name of Upper Macedonia to the country about the land of the Lyncestae, Pelagonia, Orestias, and Elimia. Later writers call it Independent Macedonia, and some extend the name of Macedonia to all the country as far as Corcyra, at the same time assigning as their reasons that in the cutting of their hair (*κουρά*), their speech (*διάλεκτος*), their cloaks (*χλαμύδες*), and other such things they resemble the Macedonians; some of them however speak two languages. On the dissolution of the Macedonian empire they fell under the power of the Romans. The Egnatian Way from Epidamnus and Apollonia passes through the territory of these peoples[1]."

In another passage to be quoted presently Strabo tells us that Illyria in his time did not include the region occupied by the Taulantii, the Brygi, and the other tribes mentioned in their company. For the southern limit of the Illyrian coast is marked by the Bay of Rhizon. Apparently there had not been much shifting of population in the borderland between the Chaones and Rhizon in the lapse of the previous four centuries as we have just seen. Thucydides tells us that the tribe of Taulantii were the neighbours of Epidamnus.

We thus find tribes of Illyrian stock long domiciled in a district which in Roman times was not included in Illyria.

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went that they had invited Cadmus to aid them against the other Illyrians, that he had done so, and after great successes led a host against Delphi, and plundered the temple, but disaster overtook him on his return (Eurip. *Bacchae*, 1336; Apollod. III. 5, 4).

[1] 326.

Strabo is evidently quite alive to the importance of the difference between the languages spoken by some of the various tribes of Epirus and Illyria. It is probable that from the head of the Adriatic down to Cape Matapan every man could converse with his neighbour, just as every one from John o' Groat's to Land's End can communicate freely with those who dwell either south or north of him, but in each case, if the man from the extreme north were brought face to face with one from the extreme southern point, an interpreter would probably be needed to enable them to communicate freely and accurately[1]. Thus if tribes really related by blood and language, but who have long dwelt far apart, are brought together, they may find their dialects so far divergent as to be unintelligible to each other, and thus for purposes of intercourse they become practically bilingual.

I have already cited a passage in which Strabo makes it clear that men could be termed 'barbarous-speaking,' who used a language which was practically so closely akin to Greek that it was little short of being a Greek dialect. The Thesprotians or Illyrians who under their tribal name of Thessali became the masters of the old population of Thessaly would all the more readily adopt the language of the conquered, if their own tongue was closely related to that of the population among whom they settled, and into which they were largely absorbed. As far as I am aware, no modern scholar doubts that such an adoption did take place.

If one tribe from Epirus could thus adopt the language of the conquered people of Thessaly, there is no reason why another tribe called Acheans, who came from the same quarter, should not have done exactly the same thing at an earlier date. But this subject we shall deal with at length in a later chapter on the Homeric dialect.

Let us now return to Strabo's account of the peoples of Illyria properly so called, and of the vast region, which bordered on it, and which in many cases was occupied by peoples wholly

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[1] So with the Berbers a Riff cannot understand "the Haratin of the Draa, who speak Drauia, though the Shloh of Dads and the intermediate oases can do so" (Harris, *Tafilet*, p. 100).

Illyrian or by mixed tribes of Celts and Illyrians. As Strabo in describing the coast of Illyria moves from north to south, the reverse of his method when treating of Epirus, it would be inconvenient for us to follow his order. We shall therefore continue to advance from south to north, giving the substance of his statement instead of his actual words.

Passing up the coast from Rhizon, we meet in Strabo's[1] time the Ardiaei, who from of old had been the next neighbours of the Autariatae, separated from the latter by a stream, the waters of which were strongly impregnated with salt. The struggle for the salt manufacture led to many wars. In the end might prevailed and the Ardiaei were overpowered by their rivals.

On the coast north of the Ardiaei lay the Liburnians, so famous in Roman times for their swift galleys and incorrigible love of piracy. North of these came the Iapodes (*Croatia*), an Illyrian tribe with an intermixture of Celts. They adopted Celtic dress and arms, but practised tattooing[2], like all the other Illyrian and Thracian tribes.

Behind the Iapodes lay the Celtic tribe of Carni, whose name still survives in the modern Karnten, Carinthia, Carniola, and Krain. On returning to the coast we meet next after the Iapodes the important people of the Istri, who have left their name in Istria. In Strabo's time they were the last of the peoples on the coast included in Illyria, for the land of the Veneti was accounted part of Italy. But political geographers cannot make the Ethiopian change his skin, neither could they make the Veneti anything else save Illyrians. The evidence for their connection with the latter stock is indubitable, and this has some importance for an argument to be used later on. The territory of the Veneti extended to the mouth of the Po, and their chief towns were Patavium (Padua), Vicetia (Vicenza), and Opitergium (Oderzo).

North of the Ardiaei lay inland the Dalmatae, whose name still abides in Dalmatia. They were a very primitive people, for Strabo notes the fact that after every seven years they had

[1] 317.

[2] 315: *κατάστικτοι δ' ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἰλλυριοῖς καὶ Θρᾳξί.*

a redistribution of their lands, nor did they use coined money, which he says was an exception to the practice of all the other peoples on that coast.

Inland lay the great tribe of the Dardanii, who bordered on the Macedonians and Paeonians and also on the Thracian Bessi, who occupied a great part of the Haemus. The latter were probably the same people, who in the time of Herodotus[1] were a clan of the great tribe of Satrae, and who delivered the oracles of the Thracian Dionysus. By the time of Strabo the name Satrae had passed away, and that of Bessi seems to have supplanted it as the general appellation for the people of the district. The Dardanii[2] were a very barbarous people, living in cavelike dwellings under dungheaps, but withal delighting much in music. North of these came the Autariatae, who at one time became the masters of all the other Illyrian tribes, as well as of the great Thracian tribe of Triballi, whose territory stretched right up to the Danube, but the Autariatae in their turn were conquered by the Celtic Scordisci, who dwelt between the Drave and the Save. The latter tribe in its turn was conquered by the all-mastering Roman.

Of the other tribes of the interior it is best to let Strabo speak for himself, for it is of great importance that the reader should realize as far as possible the ethnography of this region as it was known to the ancients.

"I shall first describe Illyria, which approaches closely to the Ister and to the Alps, which lie between Italy and Germany, taking their commencement from the lake (Constance) in the territory of the Vindelici, Rhaeti, and Helvetii. The Daci depopulated a part of this country in their wars with the Boii and Taurisci, Celtic tribes whose chief was Critasirus. The Daci claimed the country, although it was separated from them by the river Parisus (*Theiss*?), which flows from the mountains to the Danube, near the Gaulish Scordisci, a people who lived intermixed with the Illyrian and the Thracian tribes. The

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[1] vii. 111.

[2] With the name Dardanii may be compared *Dardanus* and *Dardania* in the Troad. Strabo (591) rightly points out that the Thracians and Trojans had many names in common.

Daci overthrew the former, while on many occasions they employed the latter as allies.

"The rest of the country as far as Segestica (*Sizsek*) and the Danube, towards the north and east, is occupied by Pannonians, but they extend farther in an opposite direction. The city of Segestica, which belongs to the Pannonians, is situated at the confluence of several rivers, all of which are navigable. It is conveniently placed for waging war against the Dacians, for it lies at the foot of the Alps, which extend to the Iapodes, a mixed Celtic and Illyrian tribe. Thence also flow the rivers by which is conveyed to Segestica a great quantity of merchandize, and amongst the rest commodities from Italy.

"The distance from Aquileia to Nauportus, a settlement of the Taurisci, across Mount Ocra (*Julian Alps*) is 350, or according to some writers, 500 stades. Merchandize is transported to Nauportus in waggons. Ocra is the lowest part of the Alps, which extend from Rhaetica to the Iapodes, where the mountains rise again and are called Albia. From Tergeste (*Trieste*) a village of the Carni there is a pass across and through the Ocra to a marsh called Lugeum (*Kirknitz See*).

"The river Corcoras (*Gurk*) flows near Nauportus, and conveys the merchandize from that place. This river disembogues into the Save, and the latter into the Drave, the Drave again into the Noarus at Segestica. Here the Noarus after receiving the Colapis (*Kulpa*) as it descends in its full stream from Mount Albius, through the Iapodes, enters the Danube in the territory of the Scordisci. The navigation on the river is in general towards the north. The journey from Tergeste to the Danube is about 1200 stades. Near Segestica is Siscia, a fortress, and Sirmium, both situated on the road to Italy[1]."

Such is the general view that the geographer gives us of the region comprised within the Adriatic, the Alps, the Danube, Thrace, Paeonia, and Thessaly. It is noteworthy that Strabo does not appeal to language as a test when he describes as Illyrian certain tribes, who were dwelling either contiguous to or intermingled with others whom he terms Celts. Thus when he speaks of the Iapodes as Illyrians mixed with Celts, for proof of the Illyrian basis of the population he appeals to their custom of tattooing and not to any difference of speech, and though he tells us that they had adopted the Celtic dress and arms, he says nothing about their adoption of the Celtic language, or of their being bilingual like the tribes further south just referred to.

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[1] 313—4.

There was probably at this period no well-defined difference between the languages used by those tribes of Celts and Illyrians who had long been conterminous or intermixed, nor again between those Illyrians and Thracians who had long lived contiguous. That these latter peoples had not only long dwelt as neighbours but were of the same stock there is good evidence.

Herodotus, living at Thurii in south Italy in the latter half of the fifth century B.C., had good opportunities for learning the general facts of the ethnology of northern Italy and the adjacent regions: he knew of the Ligyes through the medium of Massalia, for he speaks of the Ligyes who dwell above the territory of that town; he knew of the Veneti, whom he rightly regarded as Illyrians, and through them he, as well as all other Greeks, probably had what knowledge they possessed of the country lying to the north and north-east of the Adriatic. Thus when he speaks of the Sigynnae as the only tribe dwelling beyond the Danube of which he knew anything, he indicates the probable channel through which this information percolated by describing that people as 'dwelling above the Veneti.' The discoveries made in the regions near the mouth of the Po, in recent years, of many articles of pottery and bronze of Greek workmanship of the fifth century B.C. demonstrate that in the time of Herodotus the Greeks had an extensive trade in this quarter.

When we consider that the trade in Baltic amber was entirely in the hands of the Veneti, as we are told by Pliny, that Theophrastus writing in 315 B.C. speaks of Ligysticé (Liguria) as the district from whence the Greeks drew their supply of this substance, and that the beautiful fable describes it as the tears of the Heliades who, owing to their uncontrolled grief, were turned into trees by the banks of the Eridanus (Po), we can at once understand why the Greek traders came to the land of the Veneti, and we can therefore with some probability conjecture that the wares of the Greeks were purchased with the golden amber from the Baltic.

On an earlier page (232) we saw that there had been very early intercourse between Greece and the region round the mouths of the Po, to which was probably due not only the Mycenean influence seen in antiquities of this region, but even some of the amber that made its way into Mycenean Greece.

There are no people called Celts yet in Italy in the time of Herodotus. With him Ombrice, the land of the Umbrians, extends up to the Alps[1]: "From the upper region of the Ombrice flows the river Carpis, and another called Alpis towards the north wind, and they debouche into it (Istrus)." With him the Celts were occupying the country to the north of the Alps and round the sources of the Danube: "the Istrus flows through all Europe beginning from the Celts, who dwell furthest towards the sunsetting after the Cynetes of the peoples in Europe." All the country east of Ombrice extending up to the Alps and down the Danube as far as the land of the Thracian tribe of Triballi he regards as the land of the Illyrians. For he says "the river Angrus, flowing from the Illyrians, falls out into the Triballian plain and after watering it falls into the Brongus, which falls into the Istrus."

The literary evidence thus justifies us in thinking that for many centuries before the Christian era the whole area with which we are dealing was peopled by Illyrians, Thracians, and Celts. It is unnecessary at present to inquire whether these Celts came from Asia into Europe, making their way up the valley of the Danube to where we find them at the dawn of history, or whether they developed in North Central Europe and gradually spread down into the Balkan peninsula. In either case they almost certainly found another race occupying this region, a race which had held it from neolithic days.

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[1] IV. 49.

We have already seen that there is a considerable body of evidence to show that the people who in Amorgos, Melos, and Attica, evolved the Mycenean culture, were a dolichocephalic race, and combined with this shape of skull they almost certainly had black hair, whilst on the other hand we have the undoubted witness of Homer that the Achean chieftain families were xanthochrous.

Later on we shall find that in the area occupied in historical days by Celts and Illyrians there are some craniological data which indicate that there was an early dolichocephalic population which afterwards was conquered by and became intermixed with a brachycephalic race[1].

To sum up then the results of the preceding survey: at the dawn of history in the Balkan peninsula there was a population which had been there from the Stone Age; it was a race with dark hair and dark eyes; some of the tribes which lay on the Adriatic side were called Illyrians by the Greek writers, who applied to many tribes a name which had once belonged to one tribe only; from the power and influence of that one tribe the name became generally applied to the contiguous peoples, just as the terms Hellene, Pelasgian, Angle, Frank, and many others became ethnical instead of merely tribal names, and could thus embrace under them people widely differing in racial characteristics; on the other hand, the name Thracian was applied to the tribes who held all the land east of the Illyrians. It is probable that *Thracian*, once a tribal name like *Illyrian*, had later on grown into an ethnic. It certainly cannot be said that there was any well-defined difference between Thracians and Illyrians. Thus there was an Illyrian tribe of Brygi, and a Thracian tribe called Bryges: some of the latter had passed into Asia and settled in the land called from them Phrygia, just as a branch of the Mysians, who were regarded by Strabo as Thracians, had similarly crossed the Dardanelles and settled in what was known as Mysia. Closely connected with the Mysians are the Dardanians, who are so intimately bound up with the tale of Troy, and who had a city called Dardanus. But down to Strabo's[1] time a once powerful tribe distinguished by its love of dirt and music was still called Dardanii. They were the neighbours of the great Thracian tribe of Bessi, but he reckons them as Illyrians. But, as they had been conquered by the great Autariatae, who had subjugated not only many Illyrians, but also the powerful Triballi and other Thracians, it is highly probable that the Dardanii were just as much Thracians as they were Illyrians. The Illyrians and Thracians proper all tattooed, as did the ancient Myceneans; there is evidence to show that there was a large Illyrian element in Epirus, where, as we saw above (p. 94), there were many tribes which called themselves Pelasgian, and where also there are said to be many remains of rude Cyclopean fortresses; there is also evidence that these ancient peoples of the Balkan peninsula were dolichocephalic, as were also the Mycenean people. We have seen that there was no sharp line between the speech of Illyrians and Thesprotians or Thessalians, nor between Thesprotians and Greeks, nor again between the Illyrians and the Thracian tribes, though between these peoples and the inhabitants of the more northerly region extending from Macedonia to Corcyra there was a distinct difference in dialect as well as in dress and the fashion of the hair.

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[1] Dr Munro (*Rambles and Studies in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Dalmatia*, p. 56) points out that the skulls as yet obtained at Glasinatz, according to Dr Glück's measurement, varied in their cephalic indices from 73 to 82, and 76 per cent. were dolichocephalic or mesocephalic, 24 per cent. brachycephalic; whilst the measurements taken by Dr Weissbach from 2000 persons throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina show only 7 per cent. of dolichocephalic and 95 per cent. brachycephalic for Bosnia, and 6 per cent. only dolichocephalic in Herzegovina. Cf. Ripley, *Races of Europe*, p. 345.

Although it is not the object of this work to use as evidence the results of modern linguistic research, which has too often wrought much mischief to historical inquiries, we may nevertheless point out that Dr Kretschmer[2] in his remarkable book has given linguistic reasons for believing that Greek, Macedonian, Thracian, Phrygian, and Illyrian are all related.

We have established a strong presumption that one and the same race occupied the whole of the Balkan peninsula, from the Adriatic across to the Euxine, and we might even add, to southern Russia.

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[1] 318.

[2] Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, pp. 155—289.

If it is once realized that there was a very close kinship between the Pelasgic population of Greece and the Thraco-Illyrians, explanations can be readily found for several difficulties not yet cleared up.

It is the fashion to describe the Thracians of the Pangaeum district as 'very rude tribes,' but yet it is well known that they were expert metallurgists, and that they had from an early time worked the rich deposits of gold and silver in that region. Moreover, they had not only begun to strike coins very little later than the Greeks, but a very high degree of artistic skill is displayed on their issues, such as those of the Orrescii, which show a naked man with two spears conducting two oxen, a man holding a prancing horse by the bridle, or a centaur bearing off a woman[1]; or those of Lete, showing a naked Silenus with horse's feet, ears, and tail, seizing a woman; or those of the Odomanti, with an ox-cart and a triskel on the reverse; and those of the Bisaltae, which show a horseman equipped with two spears, a kausia and a cloak. Alexander I., on becoming master of the Bisaltine district after the Persian invasion, adopted the native coinage, merely placing upon it his own name[2].

Not only is the technical skill considerable, but the types are original, for they show a striking independence of Greek prototypes, in this respect differing essentially from the Gallic tribes, who imitated the issues of Massalia, Emporiae, and Rhoda, and the staters and tetradrachms of Philip II. and Alexander the Great.

Finally, their silver coins were struck on standards distinct from those contemporarily in use in Greece[3].

Their kinsfolk in the Troad had the same skill in the working of gold and silver, as is proved by the treasures in both gold and silver discovered at Troy. The gold to which Priam owed his wealth and his destruction was obtained from the mines of Astyra in the Troad, where the old workings were still to be seen in Strabo's time[1].

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[1] Leake identified the Orrescii with the Satrae, one of whose tribes, the Bessi, held the oracle of Dionysus on the top of Pangaeum, but they may be the same as the Orestae (p. 343 *n.*).

[2] Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 174.

[3] Ridgeway, *Metallic Currency*, p. 342.

Now the gold work of Troy is connected with that of Mycenae and that of other parts of the mainland of Hellas. But there are reasons for thinking that the gold of Mycenae and Orchomenus could not have been produced in Greece itself, and that it had not come from Asia Minor, but that it was rather the outcome of the mines of Thasos and the contiguous parts of Thrace. In the former gold-mining had been carried on for an unknown time, and it is probable that it was no less early in Thrace and Paeonia[2].

But it was not merely in metal working and the glyptic art that these Thracians excelled, for Greek tradition has much to say about their skill in music and literature. Thus the greatest of all earthly musicians was Orpheus the Thracian, and his murder at the hands of Thracian women has through the times been a chief theme of song. Thracian, too, was Thamyris, whose fame flourished green in classical times. Nor were these merely uncouth swains, who sang to the rocks and trees, for both Orpheus and Thamyris are represented as pupils of Linus, who composed in 'Pelasgic characters' (*τοῖς Πελασγικοῖς γράμμασι*) the exploits of Dionysus and other legends[3].

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[1] 613.

[2] Herod. VI. 46; IX. 75; Strabo, 331; *cf.* Ridgeway, *op. cit.*, pp. 73—4.

[3] Diod. Sic., III. 67, 15: *φησὶ τοίνυν παρ' Ἕλλησι πρῶτον εὑρετὴν γενέσθαι Λίνον ῥυθμῶν καὶ μέλους, ἔτι δὲ Κάδμου κομίσαντος ἐκ Φοινίκης τὰ καλούμενα γράμματα πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν μεταθεῖναι διάλεκτον, καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας ἑκάστῳ τάξαι καὶ τοὺς χαρακτῆρας διατυπῶσαι. κοινῇ μὲν οὖν τὰ γράμματα Φοινίκεια κληθῆναι διὰ τὸ παρὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐκ Φοινίκων μετενεχθῆναι· ἰδίᾳ δὲ τῶν Πελασγῶν πρώτων χρησαμένων τοῖς μετατεθεῖσι χαρακτῆρσι Πελασγικὰ προσαγορευθῆναι.* *Cf.* p. 211.

This passage contains a confused statement of what appear to have been the real facts. We now know that there was a system of writing in Greece before the introduction of the Phoenician alphabet. These were probably the 'Pelasgic characters' (*cf.* p. 101). The confusion would arise all the more easily as the Greeks when taking over the Phoenician symbols retained certain of their older characters and placed them at the end of the alphabet (p. 246).

From Thrace also Eumolpus had passed to Attica, where at Eleusis his posterity were the sacred 'keyholders' of Demeter. The Thracian Samos was the chief seat of the worship of the Cabeiri, whose cult was said to have been introduced into the Troad by Dardanus. Finally, it was in Thrace that the worship of Dionysus first arose, and from thence it spread into Greece.

When once we comprehend that one and the same race was indigenous not only in the Aegean basin but over the whole Balkan peninsula, the close relationship in the arts as well as in religion between those of the Thracians who lived in proximity to the Aegean and the early inhabitants of Greece becomes manifest. There was no more a hard line between the culture of the people of Thessaly the Paeonians and Thracians than there was on the other side between the culture of Corinth and Delphi and that of the Ambraciots, Acarnanians, Aetolians, and Epirotes. The tribes higher up lived under less advantageous conditions, being more exposed to constant attacks from other tribes pressing on from above, and less in contact with the civilizations of Asia Minor and Egypt.

Again, the close connection between the culture of Hissarlik, and the prehistoric antiquities of the upper Balkan and Danubian region, is completely explained by the facts respecting the race and movements of such tribes as the Phryges, Mysians, and Dardanians. Furthermore, we pointed out that the earliest prehistoric culture found in north Italy has close affinities with that of the lower strata at Hissarlik.

In northern Italy the Illyrians shaded off into the Ligyes, to whom we have ascribed the Terramare culture, which corresponds to the earlier strata at Hissarlik. But as the Illyrians and Thracians have been identified with one another and with the earliest folk of the Aegean and the mainland of Greece, we need not be surprised to find a like correspondence in the material remains of all these peoples.

On the other hand, we see that all the valley of the upper Danube was occupied by tribes whom the Greeks called Celts, but whom the later writers began to distinguish into Celts and Germans. The characteristics of this race are well known from the ancients; they were large of stature, with fair hair and blue eyes. We shall presently see strong historical and archaeological evidence to show that the Celts from the Alps ever kept pressing down upon and intermixing with the Illyrio-Thracian tribes of the upper Balkan.

In the time of Herodotus they did not yet under the name of Celts occupy any part of north Italy, but the Umbrians dwelt up to the Alps. But how far the Umbrians differed from their Celtic neighbours it is hard to say. We know at least that in speech they were very close. Thus inscriptions, now said to be Gaulish, have been published as Umbrian. That the fair-haired people of central Europe were constantly gravitating southwards over the Alps is made probable by many considerations. (1) At all ages of which we have historical record this has been the case. Through mediaeval times Italy was the constant prey of invaders from Germany and France: in the later days of the Roman empire Visigoths, Huns, Vandals, Ostrogoths, and Lombards streamed down upon the fertile plains of the Po: at the end of the second century B.C. Italy had only been saved by the valour and discipline of the legionaries and the military genius of Marius from the Teutons and the Cimbrians; in the beginning of the fourth century B.C. a great wave of Gauls had swept down from the Alps, which after crushing the Romans at the Allia, and engulfing for the moment Rome herself, spent its force in the malaria-smitten Campagna; some of these Gauls, according to Justin[1], had passed down all Italy and even crossed into Sicily. In the end of the third century B.C. the Romans had been able not only to check the spread southwards of the Gauls, but had either expelled them altogether from north Italy, or reduced them to submission. Nor is there wanting evidence to show that there had been a Celtic invasion of Italy in the fifth century B.C., but beyond this date it is impossible to find documentary evidence. Yet it is not unreasonable to suppose that the martial Umbro-Latin race which conquered the Aborigines of central Italy, were but similar waves of hardy warriors from the north. Under the guidance of a steer (*vitulus*) some of these tribes advanced into the very toe of Italy, finally crossed the Strait and conquered or drove back the Iberic population into the western parts of the island. Recent excavations in the district of Syracuse have amply confirmed the truth of this tradition, for besides the early remains of the same character as those found over the Aegean area (pp. 69—70), Dr Orsi has brought to light a series of cemeteries, which he has with great justice ascribed to the Sicels who subdued the earlier Iberic Sicani.

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[1] XXVIII. 2, 6; XXXVIII. 4, 7.

Later Italian history is a continual record of the gradual overthrow of the Greek cities of the south by the constant advances of the Lucanians, who were one of the Umbro-Latin tribes.

The hill valleys of the Apennines were a fit cradle for a hardy race, and from these periodically bands of young warriors sallied forth to carve out new possessions with their swords. All are familiar with the *ver sacrum* of the Samnites, who when the population had grown too great to be maintained in the old home sent forth all the youths born in some particular year. These bands fell upon the feeble peoples of the rich plain lands, and thus we find these Samnites established in Campania, whilst the Mamertines of Messana are a notable example of one of these bands of Samnite warriors, who, dedicated to the war-god Mamers, found their way even into Sicily.

But when once these hardy warriors settled in the plains and married the women of their new homes, they rapidly deteriorated in physique and morals, their prowess is heard of no more, and they disappear like so many of their predecessors, swallowed up in the aboriginal population of the Mediterranean basin.

What has been just said of Italy holds true *mutatis mutandis* for her sister peninsulas of Greece and Spain, as we shall presently see; nay, it is equally applicable to Hindustan and other parts of Asia south of the great central mountain chain.

Nations preserve especially those of their traditions which relate to the countries from which they themselves have originally come or with which they have had especial intercourse. Moreover, it is natural that in many cases traffic and communication, more or less broken, should continue with their old homes, and this of course would keep alive the knowledge of the cradle of their race.

How far can this test help us as regards the origin of the Acheans?

There are very early indications that the Greeks had a knowledge of regions lying far to the north. In the *Odyssey* there is a distinct reference to a land where there is no night, or at least a very brief one. This was the land of the Laestrygones, a race of huge stature. Odysseus, after he had passed from the land of the Cyclopes, which lay somewhere about Sicily and southern Italy, reached "Telepylus of the Laestrygones, where herdsman hails herdsman as he drives in his flock, and the other who drives forth answers the call. There might a sleepless man have earned a double wage, the one as neatherd, the other as shepherding white flocks; so near are the ways of the night and of the day[1]."

That the poet refers to the short nights at midsummer in the northern regions there can be little doubt. The ways of night and day are close together, for instead of the sun traversing the sky high over our heads and afterward plunging into the ocean in the west to make an equally long night journey, in the north, as Pytheas, denounced as a liar, related, his night path can be actually seen along the horizon. Just as the Mediterranean folk had a shadowy knowledge of the northern summer, so had they a faint notion of the long northern winter with its gloom and darkness. Thus Odysseus, when he voyages to the Land of the Departed, is made to go to "the limits of the world, to the deep-flowing Oceanus. There is the land and the city of the Cimmerians, shrouded in mist and cloud, and never does the shining sun look down on them with his rays, neither when he climbs up the starry heavens, nor when again he turns earthwards from the firmament, but deadly night is outspread over miserable mortals[1]."

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[1] *Od.* x. 81 *sqq.*

The mere fact that the early poet placed this country in what we call the west, need raise no difficulty, when we remember what distorted ideas respecting the geography of western and north-western Europe were held not only by Herodotus, but by Strabo, who thought that the Pyrenees ran north and south, and that Britain lay north of the mouth of the Rhine. Furthermore, when we bear in mind that a tribe called the Cimbrians actually did dwell in Jutland and by the shores of the Northern Ocean, we can readily see how the story of the Cimmerians who dwelt in eternal night points to a region where in the north of Europe people called Cimbrians or Cimmerians dwelt.

The doctrine that the early inhabitants of Greece had a knowledge of the north of Europe, with its long summer days and long winter nights, is confirmed by at least two striking pieces of evidence.

Every one now knows that the amber found in the tombs of Mycenae by Schliemann has been proved by the analysis of Dr Helm to be Baltic and not Mediterranean in origin. This variety is not found anywhere south of the Alps, and at all times the supply seems to have come from the shores of the Baltic and Northern Ocean. Beads of this amber are found in the Lake-dwellings of Switzerland and Bavaria, and in the prehistoric settlements of northern and central Italy, and Bosnia. Except the metals and blue glass (cyanus) it is the one precious substance and the only one at all in the character of a precious stone of which we hear in the Homeric age. There can be no doubt that this amber reached Greece and Italy by the well-known trade routes over the Alps, one of which, crossing the Brenner Pass, struck the Danube near Linz or Passau, passing over the Bohemian mountains and down to the mouth of the Elbe and thus to the coast of Jutland. The other, the description of which in its earlier course I have given from Strabo (p. 348), passed from Trieste to Segestica, and finally reached the coasts of Samland and Courland. Both alike came to the head of the Adriatic, and thus crossed the great ancient highway to the east along the valley of the Danube and that which under the name of the Sacred Road of Heracles ran across northern Italy through Liguria, passed between the Maritime Alps and the sea, struck the Rhone and the great trade route that passed up the Rhone valley, skirted the coast of Gaul, passed into Spain between the Pyrenees and the sea and so on to Gades[1].

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[1] *Od.* XI. 14 *sqq.*

It is remarkable that along the extensions of this ancient highway traces of Mycenean remains have already been found. Thus isolated Mycenean relics have been found in Spain, and in the discovery in Auvergne of two bronze double-head axes of Aegean form Dr Montelius has recognized evidence of an old trade connection between the Rhone valley and the eastern Mediterranean.

It was along this very way that Heracles (so said tradition) had passed when he journeyed to Gades to lift the cattle of Geryon. Doubtless too it was by the head of the Adriatic that the hero fared on the most northerly of all his wanderings, when "in quest of the Hind with the Golden Horns he likewise beheld that land behind the chilling north wind; there he stood and marvelled at the trees." "The judge at the Olympic festival placed round the locks of the victor the dark green adornment of the olive, which in days of yore Amphitryon's son had brought from the shady sources of the Ister, a most glorious memorial of the contests at Olympia, which he had won by word from the Hyperborean folk, that are the henchmen of Apollo[2]."

This was the journey made in search of the golden-horned female deer (*χρυσόκερως ἔλαφος θήλεια*) dedicated to Artemis Orthosia by the nymph Taygeta. Scholars are doubtless right in holding that when Aristotle[3] is censuring a certain poet for his ignorance of the fact that female deer do not possess horns, he is alluding to this passage of Pindar. But the poet must not bear all the burden of blame for ignorance of Natural History. Euripides in the famous chorus where the labours of Heracles are recounted, speaking of the capture of the same famous deer, calls it "the golden-horned dapple-backed hind[1]."

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[1] Ridgeway, *Metallic Currency*, pp. 105—110; *cf.* Boyd Dawkins, *Early Man in Britain*, 466; Von Sadowski, *Die Handelstrassen der Griechen und Römer*, p. 15.

[2] Pindar, *Ol.* III. 31 *sqq.*; *ibid.* 12—17.

[3] *Poetics* XXV. 5 ἔλαττον γὰρ εἰ μὴ ᾔδει ὅτι ἔλαφος θήλεια κέρατα οὐκ ἔχει.

But it was not merely the great literary artists who made this supposed blunder in zoology. Their brethren of the plastic and glyptic arts share in their crime.

Who is not familiar with the famous statue long known as Diane à la Biche, or Diana of Versailles, now one of the glories of the Louvre? Artemis is here represented accompanied by a hind which is adorned with horns like a stag.

The same theme of Artemis with a horned deer is to be seen on at least two gems in the British Museum: one of these is of undoubted antiquity, while the other, which represents Artemis much as she is seen in the Louvre statue, was held to be genuine by Winckelmann and King, but is considered modern by Brunn and Koehler[2].

Again, on a coin of Abdera Artemis is represented as accompanied by a deer, which as it bears horns, is accordingly termed a stag by Greek numismatists[3]. This coin belongs to the first half of the fourth century B.C.

Can we discover any solution for this strange perversity of poets, sculptors, and engravers? Pindar holds that in this quest Heracles reached the most northerly point of all his wayfarings in strange lands. Euripides is of the same mind, as we may infer from the rough geographical order in which he has arranged the labours of the hero. The capture of a timid hind was not a great exploit for the slayer of the hydra of Lerna and the lion of Nemea. Accordingly the glory of the achievement consisted in the fact that he had fared to a far land, and had brought back from thence a most rare creature, a *horned* doe.

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[1] *Herc. Fur.* 375: *τάν τε χρυσοκάρανον | δόρκαν ποικιλόνωτον.*

[2] British Museum, *Catalogue of Gems*, Nos. 763 and 765.

[3] Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 220; P. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, Pl. III. 31.

The story of the wanderings of Heracles into the far north of Europe was a commonplace when Tacitus wrote his *Germania*: "fuisse apud eos et Herculem memorant[1]."

Is Aristotle quite right in his universal assumption that no female deer has horns? This philosopher was, as he always is, as accurate as his opportunities made it possible. All the known species of deer conform to his generalization with one exception. This is the well-known reindeer of northern Europe and northern Asia. Was it then to capture a horned doe of this species that Heracles passed into the depths of the Hercynian forest, that shaded the sources of the Danube, where 'he stood and marvelled at the trees'? The evidence warrants us at least in saying that there was a tradition in early Greece that in the land of the remote north beyond the mountains and the great pine forest female deer had horns. Now it is remarkable that in the Lake-dwellings of Switzerland the remains of reindeer have occasionally been found among those of thousands of other deer[2].

But what is more to our purpose is that similar remains have been found in Bavaria, whilst in Würtemberg, near the source of the Schussen, "a little river flowing to the lake of Constance, some twenty kilometres from the nearest point of the Danube or Ister, the shady sources of which Heracles is said to have reached in his journey in search of the golden-horned hind, quite a surprising mass of reindeer horns have come to light[3]." But we have the evidence of Caesar for the existence in his own time of the reindeer in the Hercynian forest: "There is an ox (*bos*) shaped like a stag with a horn projecting from the middle of its forehead between its ears longer and straighter than any ordinary horn, palmated at the top, and branching into several tines. The male and female are like each other, and their horns are of the same size and shape[4]." The belief that the reindeer had a long horn projecting from the middle of its forehead probably was based on the brow antler, which is a marked feature of this deer. Geologists affirm that the reindeer still lingered in north Germany in Caesar's time, but none of the later Roman writers allude to it[1], though the elk and the Arctic hare were amongst the animals exhibited in the Colosseum in the time of Nero[2].

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[1] *Germania*, c. 2.

[2] Munro, *Lake Dwellings of Europe*, pp. 136, 312 and 316.

[3] Prof. Nestle, *Academy*, 1894 (Dec. 1), p. 449 (in reference to my paper cited on next page).

[4] *B. G.* VI. 26: eadem est feminae marisque natura, eadem *forma magnitudoque cornuum.* According to the *Orkneyinga Saga* the Norsemen in 1159 A.D. hunted reindeer (*hránas*) in the north of Scotland.

Mr Frazer has pointed out to me a remarkable fact which may be regarded as confirmatory of the view here put forward. In the province of north-east Russia, where the people were pagans down to 150 years ago, there is still an annual celebration known as the 'Feast of the Golden-reindeer-horn.' It is possible that some faint echo of such a festival had reached Greece from the land of the Hyperboreans.

According to the legends of the post-Homeric age, which told of the chequered fortunes of those who warred against Troy, Diomede the son of Tydeus, who in Homer is represented as dwelling in Argos, on his return was compelled to seek a new home, and settled at the very head of the Adriatic, just where the Timavus pours its waters into the sea. 'Here,' says Strabo, "is the *temenos* and temple consecrated to Diomede worthy of note. For it contains a harbour and a fine grove with seven springs of fresh water, which fall into the sea in a broad, deep river....That Diomede did hold sovereignty over the country around this sea is proved both by the Islands of Diomede [which lay off the Italian coast] and the traditions concerning the Daunii and Argos Hippion."

With this region were closely connected all the earliest stories relating to the amber trade, to which I have referred above (p. 359).

According to the poets amber was the indurated tears of the Heliades, who were turned into alder trees on the banks of the Eridanus. There was likewise a belief that a group of islands called Electrides (Amber isles) lay opposite the mouths of the Po. Strabo indeed discredits this story, but it has been reasonably maintained that certain islands which were known in ancient times, had by his day been united to the mainland by the immense alluvial deposits of the Po. The early traders may well have bartered for amber with the natives on these islands before they had become part of the mainland. For we know from the excavations in Terramare that the ancient inhabitants of the plains of the Po were acquainted with the Baltic amber. Theophrastus writing in 315 B.C. speaks of amber as coming to the Greeks from *Ligystiké*. By this name he probably meant not merely Liguria, but all northern Italy[1].

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[1] *Cf.* Ridgeway, "The Hind with the Golden Horns," *Academy*, 1894 (Nov. 17), p. 404; *American Journal of Archaeology* (1894), p. 571 *sq*.

[2] Calpurnius, *Eclog.* VII. 57—9:

> ordine quid referam? uidi genus omne ferarum:
> hic niueos lepores, et non sine cornibus apros,
> manticoram, siluis etiam quibus editur alcen
> uidimus, cett.

In Pliny's day[2] the women of Transpadana wore necklaces of amber, chiefly for ornament, but also as a preventive against goitre, a malady very prevalent in the Alpine regions. He avers that the amber was produced in the islands of the Northern Ocean (where the Germans named it *glaesum*, our word glass), and that it was brought by the Germans chiefly to Pannonia, whence the Veneti (called Heneti by the Greeks) were the first to make it known, as they both bordered on Pannonia and dwelt on the Adriatic. This of course refers to the route from Segestica to Trieste.

The result of the evidence just stated is that from the earliest mythical period down to the end of the fourth century B.C. the Greeks derived their supply of amber through the people who dwelt at the head of the Adriatic, either by way of Trieste and Laybach, or over the Alpine passes. If the supply had at any time before the fourth century B.C. come by any route further east, across Russia down to Olbia on the Black Sea, we should probably have heard of it from some ancient writer. But Herodotus writing in the fifth century B.C. does not know of any amber trade between Olbia and the amber regions, though he discusses the question. Moreover we have just seen that Theophrastus writes as though north Italy was the sole avenue by which this prized substance made its way to Hellas. In addition there is the incontrovertible witness of the amber beads found in Switzerland and Bavaria, northern Italy, and in the graves of the Halstatt period in Bosnia. All these considerations, taken in conjunction with the knowledge of the northern region indicated in Homer, and the report in early Greece of a land where female deer had horns, as well as the fact that Aegean figurines are found on the amber coasts, go far towards establishing firmly the proposition that the peoples of Greece from the remotest times had a knowledge of and intercourse with central and northern Europe, and that this intercourse was carried on by the great routes which converged at the head of the Adriatic and descended into Greece by way of Dodona.

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[1] *De Lap.* 16: *τὴν Λιγυστικὴν ὅπου καὶ τὸ ἤλεκτρον, κτλ.*

[2] *N. H.* XXXVII. 42.

The great routes of the world remain unchanged through the ages, and if it can be shown that in Roman times all the trade with the natives of the Tyrol and the regions beyond passed by these ancient roads from the head of the Adriatic, we may reasonably infer that such had been the case for generations unrecorded. Pliny has just told us that in his day the amber passed from Pannonia into the land of the Veneti. Strabo[1] tells us that Atria was formerly a famous city, from which the Adriatic Gulf with a slight variation obtained its name. Aquileia, which lies nearest to the recess of the gulf, not far from Trieste, was founded by the Romans (about 181 B.C.) "to keep in check the barbarians who dwell higher up. It is possible to navigate merchant ships to it up the river Natiso (*Natisone*) for more than sixty stades (7 miles). It affords a mart for the nations of Illyrians who live around the Danube. The traders bring on waggons the products of the sea, and wine in wooden casks, and olive oil, whilst the natives bring slaves, cattle and skins. Aquileia is outside the limits of the Heneti, as their territory is bounded by a river which flows from the mountains of the Alps, and which is navigable for a distance of 1200 stades (140 miles) as far as the city of Noreia, near to where Gnaeus Carbo was defeated in his attack upon the Cimbrians (113 B.C.). The place contains fine goldwashings and ironworks."

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[1] 214.

In reference to the trade between the Adriatic and the Danube we may quote a tradition preserved in the Book of Wonderful Stories. It is there stated that once on a time travellers who had voyaged up the Danube finally by a branch of that river, which flowed into the Adriatic, made their way into that sea. It is also alleged[1] that "there is a mountain called Delphium between Mentoricé and Istriana, which has a lofty peak. Whenever the Mentores who dwell on the Adriatic mount this crest, they see, as it appears, the ships which are sailing into the Pontus (Black Sea). And there is likewise a spot in the intervening region, in which, when a common mart is held, Lesbian, Chian, and Thasian wares are set out for sale by the merchants who come up from the Black Sea, and Corcyrean wine-jars by those who come up from the Adriatic. They say likewise that the Ister taking its rise in what are called the Hercynian forests, divides in twain, and disembogues by one branch into the Black Sea, and by the other into the Adriatic. And we have seen a proof of this not only in modern times, but likewise still more so in antiquity, as to how the regions there are easy of navigation[2]. For the story goes that Jason sailed in by the Cyanean Rocks, but sailed out from the Black Sea by the Ister."

The story of the meeting between the traders from the Black Sea and Adriatic has every mark of probability, whilst we are possibly justified in regarding the legend of Jason as evidence that for long ages the Greeks knew that up the valley of the Danube traders from the Pontus made their way. Doubtless too it was with a view to tapping the trade of this very route that factories such as Istropolis were founded on the Danube. The discovery of Aegean figurines in Transylvania affords a proof of a very ancient connection between this region and the Mediterranean.

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[1] [Aristotle], *De Miris Auscult.*, 104—5 (839 *a* 34 *sqq.*). It is unnecessary to point out that the view of the Euxine from Delphium is shut out by lofty mountains.

[2] Reading *εὔπλωτα*.

The branch of the Danube flowing into the Adriatic simply means either that travellers from Tergeste, by the short land route described above over Mount Ocra, could reach one of the upper branches of the Danube, or that by passing up the river to Noreia, the capital of the Taurisci, it was possible by a short land route to reach the great river. The story of the bifurcation of the Danube gets a better explanation from our latter alternative, for here there was a navigable river which would readily be supposed to be a branch of the Danube.

To the Greeks of the fifth century B.C. the extreme north was represented by the land of those happy beings, the Hyperboreans, just as the furthest south was by the sources of the Nile. Thus Pindar sings: "Countless broad paths of glorious exploits have been cut out one after another beyond Nile's fountains and through the land of the Hyperboreans[1]."

The hero Perseus like his descendant Heracles had reached that land whither no ordinary mortal could find his way. "Neither in ships nor yet on foot wouldest thou find out the marvellous ways to the assembly of the Hyperboreans, but once on a time did the chieftain Perseus enter their houses and feast, having come upon them as they were sacrificing glorious hecatombs of asses to the god. Now Apollo takes continuous and especial delight in their banquets and hymns of praise, and he laughs as he beholds the rampant lewdness of the beasts[2]."

Herodotus felt puzzled where to place the land of the Hyperboreans, but where Herodotus hesitated the priests of Apollo at Delos stepped in, with an explicit statement of that mysterious road which Pindar said that no one could find by sea or land. Accordingly to Delos Herodotus had to resort: "Much the longest account of them is given by men of Delos, who have alleged that sacred objects bound up in wheaten straw are brought from the Hyperboreans to the Scythians, and that the Scythians receive them and pass them on to their neighbours upon the west, who continue to pass them on until at last they reach the Adriatic, and from thence they are sent on southwards. First of the Greeks do the men of Dodona receive them, and from them they travel down to the Melian Gulf, and cross over to Euboea, and city sends them on to city as far as Carystus. The Carystians take them over to Tenos without stopping at Andros; and the Tenians convey them to Delos[1]."

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[1] *Isthm.* v. 22 *sqq.*

[2] *Pyth.* x. 29 *sqq.* (Myers).

Then he adds the story of the Hyperborean maidens who died at Delos and returned home no more.

The foregoing examination of the traditions which the inhabitants of Greece had respecting the lands which lay to the north, makes it clear that the only avenue between Greece and upper Europe in early days was that which starting at Dodona led up through Epirus to the head of the Adriatic. When Heracles went north to fetch the hind, he went by this road; when he went to Gades, in the west, he took the same path; and when the Hyperborean maidens came to Greece from the remote lands beyond the Scythians in the east, they had to pass along the valley of the Danube, until, at the top of the Adriatic, they reached the southern road to Dodona. Next we know that these mythical paths were in historical and prehistoric days the great highways of commerce. Furthermore, we have shown that several great routes led down from the amber coasts of the North Sea and the Baltic, and met at the top of the Adriatic the great arterial highway that extended from the land of the gold-guarding griffons in the Altai to Gades on the Atlantic shore. The discovery of Baltic amber in the tombs of Mycenae demonstrated the antiquity of the trade to and from the north of Europe, and this evidence was confirmed by the knowledge of the phenomena of the north exhibited in Homer, and by the legend of the horned hind brought from the same quarter by Heracles, which probably had its origin in the fact that the female reindeer is provided with antlers.

In the lands of the amber and of the huge Laestrygonian men and women, where there are short nights in summer and long nights in winter, and where the reindeer was hunted till far into the Christian era, the tall fair-haired races are still found in especial purity and freedom from admixture. At the dawn of history they were already there, and from that cradle of their race, where they still multiply with unabated vigour, they have continued ever since to spread over the rest of Europe.

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[1] IV. 33.

Diodorus says: "It is worth while to define accurately what many are ignorant of. For they give the name of Celts (Κελτοί) to those who dwell above Massalia in the interior and those along the Alps, and moreover, to those on this side the Pyrenean mountains, but they term Gauls (Γαλάται) those settled above this *Keltiké* into the parts looking [north] both along the Ocean and the Hercynian Mountain and all those in succession right up to Scythia: but the Romans embrace all these nations under one comprehensive appellation and call them all Gauls. The women of the Gauls are not only similar in stature to the men, but are their rivals in deeds of valour. Their children at birth are white-haired (πολιά) for the most part, but as they grow older they change to their fathers' complexion. As those who dwell near the north and border on Scythia are very fierce, it is reported that some of them are cannibals like those of the Britons who inhabit the country called Iris (Ireland).

"So noised abroad is their valour and fierceness that some say that these are they who in old days overran all Asia under the name of Cimmerians, and who, when time has slightly corrupted the name, are now called Cimbri. For from of old invading the lands of others they set their minds on plundering and on treating all others with contempt. For these are they who captured Rome, sacked the temple of Delphi, levied tribute on great part of Europe, and not a little of Asia, and settled on the land of the conquered; and who from their intermixture with the Hellenes were termed Hellenogalatae, and who totally destroyed many great Roman armies[1]." Pausanias[2] (in reference to the Gauls who marched against Delphi in 279 B.C.) speaks to the same effect. These Gauls "inhabited the farthest parts of Europe on the shore of a great sea, which at its extremity is not navigable. The sea ebbs and flows, and contains beasts quite unlike those in the rest of the sea. Through their country flows the Eridanus, on whose banks people think that the daughters of the Sun bewail the fate of their brother Phaethon. The name of Gauls (Γαλάται) came into vogue late, for of old the people were called Celts (Κελτοί) both by themselves and others."

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[1] v. 32, 1—5.

[2] I. 4, 1—4.

The 'great sea[1]' which at its extremity was not navigable is of course the Northern Ocean, as the ancients believed that the sea in the far north was of so dense a consistency that ships could make no way through it.

It is plain then that the ancients included under the name of Keltoi or Galatai (which are only dialectic forms of the same word) all the fair-haired people of upper Europe. There was therefore no distinction between true Celts and Germans, for the peoples later on called Germans lived right in the heart of the region especially assigned to the Celts or Galatae.

Much confusion has arisen from the inaccurate use of the term 'Celt' and 'Celtic.' Thus it is the practice to speak of the dark-complexioned Iberic people of France, Great Britain and Ireland as 'black Celts,' although the ancients never spoke of any dark-complexioned person as a Celt, for great stature and a xanthochrous complexion were to them the characteristics of the Celt or German. The philologists have likewise added to the confusion by classing as 'Celtic' the speeches of the dark-complexioned Breton, Welshman, Irishman and Scotchman of the western Highlands, but it is more than doubtful if the term 'Celtic' can be properly applied to Gaelic. That a certain number of true Celts, by which I mean here, as everywhere else in this book, a large fair-haired and blue-eyed people, were in Britain is certain, for the Belgic tribes of the south and east of England were undoubtedly xanthochrous, as is clear from the description of Boudicca (Boadicea) which has reached us, and also from Caesar's statement that the people of that part of Britain were the same as the Belgic tribes on the other side of the channel. We shall presently see that it is probable that in the north of England there were other tribes of the fair-haired type, who at an epoch anterior to the settlement of the Belgae in Britain had already got a foothold there. Each body had found the small melanochrous race in possession and had either driven them back or reduced them to subjection. But though the ancient writers regarded as homogeneous all the fair-haired peoples dwelling north of the Alps, nevertheless, the physical anthropologists divide them into two distinct groups[1].

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[1] It was called *Mare Concretum*, and *Morimarusa*, which is a Celtic name translated rightly by the Romans as *Mare Mortuum*, *cf.* Pliny, *N. H.* IV. 95. This notion probably had its origin in the fact that sea-water when beginning to freeze assumes a consistency which might well be likened to jelly-fish by Pytheas: τὸ μὲν οὖν τῷ πλεύμονι ἐοικός, Strabo, 104.

One of these is restricted to north-western Europe, having its chief seat in Scandinavia. It is distinguished by a long head and long face, a narrow aquiline nose, blue eyes, very light hair, and tall stature. Such are the peoples who are commonly termed Teutonic by modern writers.

The other has a round head, a broad face, a nose often rather broad and heavy, hazel-grey eyes, light chestnut hair, and they are thick set and of medium height.

This race is commonly called Celtic or Alpine from the fact of its occurrence all along the great mountain chain from south-west France, in Savoy, Switzerland, the Po valley, and the Tyrol, as well as in Auvergne, Brittany, Normandy, Burgundy, the Ardennes, and the Vosges.

It thus stands midway not only geographically but also in physical characteristics between the 'Teutonic' type of Scandinavia and the Mediterranean race with its long head, long face, its rather broad nose, dark brown or black hair, dark eyes, and a slender frame of medium height.

The northern race has ever kept pressing down on the broad-skulled, brown complexioned men of the Alps and intermixing with them, and at times has swept right over the great mountain chain into the tempting regions of the

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[1] Ripley, *Races of Europe*, pp. 120—1.

South. In its turn the Alpine race has pressed down upon the melanochrous race of the Mediterranean either driven down before the tall sons of the North, or swelling the hosts of the latter as they swept down south.

As the natives of the southern peninsulas came into contact with these mixed peoples, who though differing in cranial formation, nevertheless varied little from each other in speech and colour of the hair and eyes, the ancient writers not unnaturally termed them all Celts. But as the most dreaded of these Celtic tribes came down from the shores of the Baltic and Northern Ocean, it is plain that the ancients applied the name Celt to those peoples who are spoken of as Teutonic in modern parlance.

Caesar's statement regarding the Celtic element in France is very explicit and is in full accord with the general view given by Diodorus.

Gaul was divided into three parts; the Belgae were in the north; in the middle came those who "called themselves Celtae, but who were called Galli by the Romans"; these were divided from the Belgae by the Matrona (Marne) and the Sequana (Seine): in the south-west lay the Aquitani, who were distinctly Iberians, as we know from Strabo and other writers. Their northern boundary had once extended up to the Liger (Loire), but by the Celtic conquests those of them who remained independent were all driven south of the Garonne.

But though the Belgae and Celtae were the rulers in their respective areas, it does not follow that there was not a large remnant of the earlier population in their territories. Indeed Caesar makes it clear that such was the case. All the Gauls, he says, consisted of the nobles (*nobiles*) and the common people (*plebs*). The former held all the power, whilst the latter were treated like slaves, had no voice in the council, and were crushed by debt, heavy taxes, and the injustice of the powerful[1]. From these two respectively came two others—the Equites and the Druids. The latter were the priests, and performed all sacrifices, whether public or private; they decided (like the Irish Brehons) in all cases of dispute, and if any individual or community disobeyed their decision, they were excommunicated (*sacrificiis interdicunt*), and the persons so laid under interdict were shunned as though those who associated with them would suffer some ill from being polluted. The Druids enjoyed immunity from military service and everything else, whence numbers of youths flocked to them to join their order, just as in the Middle Ages the only hope for the peasant was to become a priest or a monk[1].

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[1] *Cf.* Arbois de Jubainville, *Premiers Habitants de l'Europe*, vol. II. p. 7.

The Equites were the military class, and were engaged in continual warfare; according as each was distinguished by birth and wealth, the more henchmen and clients gathered round him.

That this ruling class were invaders from beyond the Rhine there can be little doubt, and no less certain is it that the Druids belonged to the older race. The Germans in Caesar's time were still constantly crossing the Rhine, and those Gauls who lived near the Germans, such as the Treveri, closely resembled them in their habits. Caesar points out that the Germans differed much in certain respects from the Gauls inasmuch as they neither had Druids nor were they given to sacrifices. There was no servile class among the Germans, all were free. The absence of such a class is explained by the fact that it was their chief glory to have around their territory a wide strip of land swept bare of its conquered inhabitants. It is to be carefully noted that Caesar mentions no distinction in language between Celts and Germans.

The only true Celts in Gaul were the conquering fair-haired tribes from Germany, who under the name of Belgae or Celtae form the dominant caste, and who like all master races had a tendency to die out and get merged into the mass of their conquered subjects. In fact their case is exactly analogous to that of the Acheans.

Armies and migrating tribes invariably follow the primeval caravan routes, because experience has long since taught traders the shortest or easiest ways. Pytheas of Marseilles found the Goths (under the name of Guttones) collecting the amber on the North Sea when he made his memorable voyage to high latitudes about 350 B.C. When such tribes as the Guttones or the Cimbri set out southwards, they naturally followed the line along which they had been long accustomed to receive wares from the south in exchange for their own amber. These paths, either by the Rhine, or by the Elbe, or by the Vistula, led eventually to the upper end of the Danube valley. Thence they could turn west through Switzerland into Gaul and Spain, as did Genseric and his Vandals and Alans (429 A.D.); or sweep over the Alps into Italy, or pass down into Greece, either through Epirus or Macedonia, and even cross the Bosphorus, as did the Gauls, into Asia Minor; or they could turn east down the Danube valley, pass into southern Russia, as did the Cimbri, and thus into hither and even further Asia.

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[1] *B. G.* VI. 13 *sqq*.

The story of the Greek, Italian, and Spanish peninsulas is virtually the same. In all three there is a dolichocephalic melanochrous race, which has been there from neolithic times.

This race was and is still endowed with an exquisite sensibility for form and colour. This sense for material beauty is probably the outcome of the climatic conditions and the beautiful natural environment under which the race has developed. The sensuous character thus formed has an inevitable tendency to decline into sensuality and effeminacy.

Into these three peninsulas there have been constant gushes of a fair-haired population, developed under the more bracing conditions of northern Europe. Thus there was the great Celtic invasion and partial conquest of Spain in the fifth century B.C. Indeed we learn from a fragment of Ephorus that the Celtic domination extended nearly as far south as Gades. It is certain that Celtic tribes, such as the Turduli and the Turditani, settled in Baetica (*Andulasia*). The crest of the Celtic wave may even have dashed across the Strait into Mauritania, as did the Vandals in after days, and as Heracles, according to the legend, had done long before. In the mixed Celtiberian race we see the blending of the conquerors and conquered, but before the Roman conquest the Celtic wave had already spent its force and was now in full ebb. Later on the Goths and Vandals swept over Spain and into North Africa to be rapidly swallowed up and lost for ever in the hot plains. The

Visigoths became the master race, and from them the Spanish grandees, among whom fair hair is a common feature, derive their *sang azul*. After a glorious struggle against the Saracens, which served to keep alive their martial ardour and thus brace up the ancient vigour of the race, from the 16th century onward the Visigothic wave seems to have exhausted its initial energy, and the aboriginal stratum has more and more come to the surface and has thus left Spain sapless and supine.

The colonies of Spain in the New World admirably illustrate this principle. "Everywhere in Spanish America, except in the Argentine Confederation, Chili and Costa Rica, the Indian and mixed elements greatly predominate over the European, which is understood to be diminishing, while the Indian is increasing, and the mixed element reverting to the Indian type[1]."

Under climatic conditions hotter and more enervating than those of the Mediterranean the Spanish blood disappears, whilst in Chili, Argentina and Costa Rica, where the climate comes closer to that of Spain, the Spanish element in the population is able to hold its own.

Spain was occupied mainly by Iberic tribes down to the coming of the Celts, but in the north-east corner of that country the Ligyes had long had a foothold, for according to Thucydides it was the pressure of this people that had caused a body of Iberes from the river Sicanus to migrate to Sicily. These Ligyes occupied all Narbonese Gaul, at the time of the planting of Massalia, for the Phoceans obtained possession of that famous town by the marriage of their captain to the daughter of the native Ligurian chief. The same people extended all across northern Italy, holding all the coast as far as Etruria. They also formed at all times an important element in the population of Transpadane Gaul (the Libui and Stoeni being of their stock), and they are probably to be regarded as the aborigines of Etruria and Latium. The chief tribe was that of the Salyes, who in Strabo's time inhabited the Alps which lay above Marseilles and a portion of the sea-coast

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[1] E. J. Payne, *History of the New World called America*, vol. I. p. 246, note.

"where they intermingle with the Greeks. The ancient Hellenes gave to the Salyes the name of Ligyes," whilst "the later Greeks called them Celto-Ligyes, and assigned to them the whole of the plains as far as Avenio (Avignon) and the Rhone[1]."

The Ligurians of Roman times were a small, active, hardy, dark-complexioned race. Both men and women alike were noted for their industry and endurance.

Strabo points out in another passage that the Ligyes are to be carefully distinguished from the Celtic tribes of the Alps[2], although he also tells us that their manner of life was identical with that of their neighbours. The Ligures were divided into *Ligures capillati*, 'the long-haired,' and *Ligures tonsi*, 'the shorn.' The former occupied the mountains, the latter the plains, where they were the victims of the continual depredations of their highland brethren. It is probable that those who wore their hair long were the real Celto-Ligyes, for the practice of wearing the hair long was eminently Celtic, as is shown by the name of Gallia *Comata*[3], 'long-haired,' applied to Transalpine Gaul, where the Celts still kept up their ancient form of life, in contrast to Gallia *Togata*, Cisalpine Gaul, where they had adopted Roman habits.

There is every reason to believe that the primitive Ligurians were of the dolichocephalic melanochrous race to which belonged both the Iberians and the aboriginal people of Italy (p. 240). These Ligyes were constantly pressed on by the broad-skulled Alpine Celts, and the Celto-Ligyes or Ligures *capillati* were the blend of the two races.

As the Ligyes and Alpine Celts had been neighbours since neolithic times[4] and were greatly intermixed, there was but little difference in their habits of life.

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[1] Strabo, 203.

[2] 128.

[3] Cic. *Phil.* VIII. 9, 27; Pliny, *N. H.* IV. 17, 31; Catul. XXIX. 3.

[4] The historical arguments are confirmed by the very scanty evidence supplied by physical anthropologists. In the neolithic cave at Monte Tignoso, near Leghorn, two skulls were found: one was dolichocephalic (index 71), the other was highly brachycephalic (index 92). In a cave called the Caverna della Matta, also of the neolithic period, there was a dolichocephalic skull (index 68), and a brachycephalic skull (index 84). The skulls from Olmo and Isola del

We thus find in central Europe and the valley of the Danube a people who like the Acheans of Homer had not only fair hair, but also wore it long and unshorn.

We may therefore conclude that the Celts found these Ligurians in possession of central and southern Gaul and the contiguous portions of north-east Spain and north Italy. This is confirmed by the fact that just as there arose in Spain a population termed Celtiberians, so in southern Gaul we hear of Celto-Ligyes.

Into upper Italy the waves of the northern advance had continually flowed, as we have already seen, and thus upon the stratum of the aborigines were superimposed the various tribes of the Umbro-Italic stock. Thus Philistus of Syracuse tells us that the Ligyes had once occupied the site of Rome. That these Ligyes were the same as the aborigines, who, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, occupied the same spot, is more than probable. On the other hand we saw that Illyrian tribes such as the Veneti continued to occupy a considerable portion of north-east Italy down to Roman times. But the primitive Illyrians, like the primitive Ligurians, belonged to the melanochrous dolichocephalic (Mediterranean) race (p. 352).

By the advance of the Umbrian tribes, those earlier peoples were either driven into the mountains, or else penned up in a narrow strip along the north-east coast, or driven southwards, where some of them survived under the name of Iapyges, or Messapians, in the heel of the peninsula. The name Iapyges seems identical with that of the Iapodes, that Illyrian tribe which dwelt on the other side of the Adriatic, largely contaminated with the Celts, who had flowed down over them. That the Umbrians had a deadly hatred of a people of the same name, who survived in their coast area, is proved by the Iguvine Tables, where the *Iapuzkum numen* is heartily cursed along with the Etruscans and the men of Nar.

Liri (by some held to be of palaeolithic date) are dolichocephalic. Thus then as far as the cranial data go, they indicate that even in the Stone Age the two tides of race had already met in Italy, and we may perhaps infer that the dolichocephalic or Mediterranean race was the earlier in possession.

The Iapyges even in Iapygia itself were not aborigines, but had been driven there before the advance of Samnite tribes, such as the Hirpini, Apuli, and Lucani, who enslaved the ancestors of the Bruttii[1], in consequence of which, as we saw above (p. 260), the name Βρέττιος (Bruttian) like that of Πελασγός was equivalent to *serf* (δοῦλος). The Italic Siceli had even crossed the Strait, as did the Gauls and the Samnite Mamertines later on, and reduced to thraldom the older Iberian population called Sicani.

I have already dealt at some length with the ethnology of the Balkan region, and have shown how the Celtic people were ever spreading down into it. Thus whilst we have the Taurisci dwelling in Noricum, from which the river led down to Aquileia, on their south-east was the pure Celtic tribe of the Carni, whose name abides in Carniola and the Carnic Alps. In the latter mountains the Save has its source, and flows down through Croatia, where lived the half-Celtic, half-Illyrian Iapodes; next it forms the northern boundary of Bosnia and Servia, which were part of the great area occupied by the Illyrian and Thracian tribes, and which was in Roman times Pannonia, and it finally joins the Danube at Belgrade. In south Pannonia lay the Scordisci, a Celtic tribe, mixed with an Illyrian-Thracian older population, and who are therefore called by some Roman writers a Thracian people[2]. We shall presently find (p. 441) that the archaeological evidence confirms the historical tradition.

They had first come in contact with the Roman armies as early as 175 B.C., and again in 135 B.C. In 114 B.C. they inflicted a severe blow on the Roman arms, having defeated the consul C. Porcius Cato, and destroyed his whole forces; after this they extended their ravages over the whole of Macedonia and Thessaly, until they at last were checked by Didius, and ultimately driven across the Danube by the consul M. Livius Drusus (112 B.C.)[3].

But they soon reappear in combination with the great

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[1] Conway, *Italic Dialects*, pp. 16, 358, 407.

[2] Bunbury, *Ancient Geography*, II. p. 45.

[3] Livy, *Epit.* LX. 99; Eutropius, IV. 24.

Thracian tribe of Triballi[1], carrying on hostilities within the limits of Thrace. The wild tribes of that region continued unsubdued, and gave constant trouble to the Roman governors of Macedonia or the opportunity of distinguishing themselves by successful punitive expeditions.

The Scordisci had by Strabo's day been expelled from the valley of the Danube by the Dacians (p. 347), as had also the Boii. This once great Celtic tribe had formerly dwelt in northern Italy, from which it had been expelled by the Romans. They had settled on the Danube in the territory of the Taurisci adjoining Rhaetia and Vindelicia. This region was called from them Boiohemum (Bohemia). Here they had to bear the attacks of advancing tribes. From their homes in the Hercynian forest they had repelled at least one attack of the Cimbri, and had to wage continual war with the Dacians. Under such pressure they had moved southwards like the Scordisci, and like the latter they too became largely intermixed with the old Thracian population. Finally they were completely destroyed by their more powerful neighbours, who became masters of all the territory up to Illyricum.

The irruption of the Scordisci into Thessaly was just a repetition of the Celtic wave which had advanced as far as Delphi in 279 B.C., and of many another such in previous generations.

There can be little doubt that the Scordisci in this irruption passed down from Thrace into Thessaly by the valley of the Peneus. This river, says Strabo, "flows from Pindus through the middle of Thessaly eastwards, passing through the cities of the Lapithae and some of the cities of the Perrhaebians[2]." A well-known passage in Homer proves that from very remote days Thracian tribes here found ready access. Idomeneus and Meriones are likened to Ares and his son Phobos, "who leave Thrace and harness them for fight with the Ephyri or the great-hearted Phlegyans[3]." The Ephyri inhabited the district of Thessaly known as Crannon in later times. Strabo says that the Phlegyans were the people of

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[1] Eutrop., IV. 27.

[2] Frag. 14.

[3] *Il.* XIII. 301 *sqq.*

Gyrton, a city on the right side of the mouth of the Peneius belonging to the Perrhaebians and Magnetes, where Peirithous and Ixion were kings. That the Thracian tribes often made forays into Thessaly is highly probable, for the habitual practice ascribed to their war-god Ares is but a reflection of such occurrences in actual life.

It is evident then that the Celtic advance into the centre of the upper Balkan peninsula, Thrace and Macedonia, was along the valley of the Save. The Boii had after their expulsion from their settlements on the Po found refuge in the land of the Taurisci, and as later on they appear in Pannonia along with the Scordisci there can be little doubt that they had made their way thither from Noricum and Carniola and through the land of the Iapodes down the line of the Save. When they were in Noricum they could have passed down from Noreia by the river to Aquileia and thence followed the coast road by Tergeste down to Dodona. Again, when they had advanced through the land of the Carni and got as far as the Iapodes they might have crossed from the Save valley over Mount Ocra and thus reached the coast road at Tergeste. In other words, they might have passed down by either of the two amber routes which I have described above, the one of which passed up over the Alps through Noricum, the other from Tergeste by Mount Ocra to the Save and the junction of that river with the Danube. But it is important to note that any advance from the Alps, whether down into Epirus or down into Thrace and Macedonia, had to pass by the head of the Adriatic.

The bodies of Celts who entered the Balkan in the third and fourth centuries B.C. are always first heard of at the head of the Adriatic. Thus we shall soon see that when Alexander marched to the Danube, he received envoys from the Celts who dwelt by the Ionian Sea (Adriatic), whilst in reference to the invasion of Celts in 279 B.C. Pausanias[1] says that "a host of them mustered and advanced towards the Ionian Sea; they dispossessed the Illyrian nation, and the Macedonians, as well as all the intervening peoples, and overran Thessaly."

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[1] I. 4, 1.

It may also be noted that in the legends already quoted both roads are clearly indicated. Thus the Hyperborean maidens and their offerings came from Scythia up the Danube valley until they reached the mouth of the Save, then they passed up the valley of that river as far as the land of the Iapodes, where they crossed Mount Ocra down to Tergeste, whence they turned south to Dodona.

On the other hand, Heracles clearly passed up by the other route, through the Tauriscan country, when he wended his way over the Alps to the 'shady founts of the Ister,' in the recesses of the Hercynian forest.

The difficulty experienced by the Roman governors of Macedonia in protecting that country from continual invasions well illustrates the words put by Polybius in the mouth of Lyciscus the Acarnanian envoy, who at Sparta (211 B.C.) defended the Macedonians against the Aetolians, who talked pompously about their having resisted the invasion of Delphi by the barbarians, and alleged that for this Greece ought to have been grateful to them. "But if for this one service some gratitude is owing to the Aetolians, what high honour do the Macedonians deserve, who throughout nearly their whole lives are ceaselessly engaged in a struggle with the barbarians for the safety of the Greeks? For that Greece would have been continually involved in great dangers if we had not had the Macedonians and the ambition of their kings as a barrier who is ignorant? And there is a very striking proof of this. For no sooner had the Gauls conceived a contempt for the Macedonians, by their victory over Ptolemy Ceraunus, than thinking the rest of no account, Brennus promptly marched into the middle of Greece. And this would often have happened if the Macedonians had not been on our frontiers[1]."

When the Greeks in 197 B.C. counselled the utter destruction of Macedon, Flamininus spoke to similar effect: "Yet in truth for the Greeks themselves it is greatly to their interest that Macedonia should be humbled, but not at all so that she should be destroyed. For it might chance thereby that they would experience the barbarity of Thracians and Gauls, as has been the case more than once already[1]."

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[1] IX. 35 (Shuckburgh's trans.).

Later on Perseus seems to have employed his Gaulish neighbours against the independent Thracian tribes such as the Dardanii[2].

Nor was this the first occasion on which a king of Macedon had employed the services of Celts, for there were a thousand of these warriors in the army with which Antigonus Doson invaded Laconia in 221 B.C.[3]

Half a century earlier Pyrrhus on his return from Italy had declared war on Antigonus Gonatas, defeated him and his Gallic mercenaries and had driven them into the maritime cities, while he made himself master of Upper Macedonia and of Thessaly. He dedicated with an inscription in the temple of Itonian Athena between Pherae and Larisa the arms which he 'took from the bold Gauls.' The shields of the Macedonians he dedicated to Zeus at Dodona[4]. These Gauls were probably some of those who had not joined in or had survived the attack on Delphi and had not crossed to Asia.

When Alexander made his expedition against the Getae and took their city which lay about a parasang from the Danube, "envoys came to him from all the independent nations which dwelt on the Danube and from Syrmus the king of the Triballi and also from the Celts who dwelt on the Ionian Gulf." The latter were of tall stature, and on being asked by Alexander what they dreaded most, answered "Lest the sky should fall on them." Though the king was displeased at their want of flattery, nevertheless he entered into a treaty with them[5]. This was the first occasion on which the kings of Macedon came into contact with the Celts.

Polybius tells us that Byzantium could have destroyed the commerce of Greece with the Black Sea had she made common cause with the Gauls and Thracians of the Chersonesus[6]. Nor in this does he refer only to the employment of Gallic mercenaries, but to a permanent plantation of Celts at her very gates.

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[1] Polybius, XVIII. 37.

[2] *Id.* XXV. 6; *cf.* XXIX. 9.

[3] *Id.* II. 65.

[4] Paus. I. 13, 1—2.

[5] Arrian, *Anab.* I. 4, 6.

[6] IV. 38.

For "all the Gauls who had marched with Brennus and survived the rout at Delphi did not cross into Asia. Some of them after making their way to the Hellespont were captivated by the beauty of the district round Byzantium, and settled there. Then after conquering the Thracian tribes of the district they erected Tyle into a capital, and placed the Byzantines in extreme peril. In their earlier attacks, made under the command of Comontorius, their first king, the Byzantines always bought them off by presents, amounting to three, or five, or sometimes even ten thousand gold staters, on condition of their not devastating their territory: and at last were compelled to agree to pay them a yearly tribute of eighty talents, until the time of Cavarus, in whose reign their kingdom came to an end, and their whole tribe, being in their turn conquered by the Thracians, was entirely annihilated[1]."

The destruction of these Gauls must have taken place some time subsequent to 220 B.C., for in that year their king Cavarus negociated the peace between the Byzantines on the one hand and Prusias and the Rhodians on the other.

The Gauls just then had everywhere fallen upon evil days. In 225 B.C. the Insubres and Boii with their allies from the Alps and the valley of the Rhone had suffered a terrible defeat at the hands of the Romans assisted by the Celtic tribe of the Cenomanni, who were afraid that they themselves might fare badly and be stripped of their own lands by the hungry hordes of their brethren from beyond the mountains. As the immediate result of this crushing defeat the Celts were almost wholly driven out of the valley of the Po, and only a scanty remnant retained their hold near the Alps. The Boii, as we have seen already (p. 379), sought a new home in the land of the Taurisci. It was probably in consequence of these great tribal movements that 'the Aegosagae from Gaul' made their appearance on the Hellespont.

They were brought into Asia by Attalus to aid him against Achaeus[2], but in the end they proved dangerous allies. For after he had with their aid reduced to submission many cities he at last encamped near the river Megistus. "While he was here an eclipse of the moon occurred: and the Gauls, who had all along been much disconcerted at the hardship of the march—which was rendered the more painful for them by the fact of their being accompanied by their wives and children, who followed the host in waggons—now regarded the eclipse as an evil augury, and refused to go on. But king Attalus, who got no effective service out of them, and saw that they straggled during the march and encamped by themselves, and wholly declined to obey orders and despised all authority, was in great doubt as to what to do. He was anxious lest they should desert to Achaeus, and join in an attack upon himself: and was at the same time uneasy at the scandal to which he would give rise if he caused his soldiers to surround and kill all these men, who were believed to have crossed into Asia in reliance upon his honour." He therefore brought them back to the Hellespont[1], where they began plundering the cities in that quarter with gross licentiousness and violence, and finally went so far as actually to besiege Ilium.

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[1] Polybius, IV. 46 (Shuckburgh).

[2] v. 77.

The people of Alexandria Troas however sent Themistes with 4000 men and thus forced the Gauls to raise the siege of Ilium and drove them entirely out of the Troad. The Gauls thereupon seized Arisba, in the territory of Abydos, and made it their base for attacking the cities in that district. Against them Prusias led out an army, and in a pitched battle put the men to the sword on the field, and slew nearly all their women and children in the camp, leaving the baggage to be plundered by his soldiers. This achievement of Prusias delivered the cities on the Hellespont from great fear and danger, and was a signal warning for future generations against barbarians from Europe being over-ready to cross into Asia[2].

In the story of this tribe we have but a repetition of that of Brennus and his host. After the defeat at Delphi (279 B.C.) the remnant had joined a considerable body, which had refused to take part in the inroad into Phocis. The combined forces under the command of the chiefs Lonorius and Lutarius had forced their way through Thrace to the shores of the Hellespont. They quickly crossed into Asia, where they had a rich promise of booty. They may have been invited over by some prince who wished to use their long swords against some rival, just as Attalus later on imported the Aegosagae. It was thus that the Acheans made their way into the communities of early Greece, even invaded the Troad and besieged Ilium with better success than the Aegosagae in later days (p. 384).

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[1] Polybius, v. 78.

[2] v. 111.

And as in the Achean host there were native Danaans from Argolis, and autochthonous Arcadians, so in the wake of the Celtic avalanche followed tribes of alien race, such as the Autariatae who marched with the Gallic hordes to Delphi[1].

Straightway the Gauls overran the greater part of Asia Minor, and laid under tribute the whole of that region to the west of Taurus, and it is said that even the Seleucid kings were compelled to accept these terms[2]. They were in turn the allies and the scourge of the potentates of Asia according as they followed the dictates of their passions or interests, and they gave full rein to their thirst for plunder. The day of reckoning came at last. A series of disasters befell them, culminating in their total defeat. Their overthrow was due to the remarkable abilities of Attalus, the king of Pergamum. His victories over the barbarians were commemorated in the famous Pergamene sculptures, on which combats with Gauls were the most favourite subject.

The most famous of these statues still extant is the Dying Gaul in the Capitol at Rome, whose nationality is readily recognized from his torque, his rough hair combed straight back from the forehead, his moustache, his shield and his war-horn (*κάρνυξ*)[3] that lie on the ground.

Henceforth they were confined to that strip of land in the interior of Asia Minor which became the Galatia of history. This was parcelled out between their three tribes; Tavium became the capital of the Trocmi, Pessinus of the Tolistobogians, and Ancyra that of the Tectosages. This last town was regarded as the metropolis of the whole of Galatia.

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[1] Appian, *De bello Illyr.*, 4.

[2] Livy, XXXVIII. 16.

[3] This is the form used by Diod. Sic. v. 30: Hesychius gives the form *κάρνον*.

They continued to play no inconsiderable part in the quarrels and rivalries of the Asiatic kings. They aided Antiochus the Great with a contingent at the battle of Magnesia, and thus drew on themselves the vengeance of Rome. The consul Manlius defeated the Tolistobogians at Mount Olympus, and the Tectosages not far from Ancyra (189 B.C.)[1]. The result was that the Gauls gave in their submission at Ephesus, and were compelled to promise to leave off predatory excursions, and to keep themselves within their own frontiers[2].

The conqueror dealt leniently with them, and they retained their autonomy until, on the death of their king Amyntas, Augustus erected Galatia into a Roman province[3].

Though the substratum of the population was Phrygian, nevertheless down to the time of St Jerome[4] these Galatians still retained their Celtic speech, which, according to that writer, stood in the same relation to the language of the Treviri as did that of the Tyrian colonies of Africa to the Phoenician of the mother country.

But just as the fair-haired settlers from Germany had taken over the elaborate religion and Druidical priesthood of their conquered subjects in Gaul, so the Gauls of Asia Minor embraced the religious tenets of their Phrygian subjects, and in time the priests of Cybele came to be called Galli[5].

We shall soon see that these Gauls of Asia Minor, as well as those who had sacked Rome in 390 B.C., were described as Cimbri by Diodorus and Appian.

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[1] Livy, XXXVIII. 19—23.

[2] Livy, XXXVIII. 24—27.

[3] It is commonly held that their descendants were the "foolish Galatians" to whom St Paul wrote his epistle, but Prof. W. M. Ramsay thinks that St Paul meant by Galatians the inhabitants of Phrygia Galatica and Lycaonia Galatica. (*Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 79 *sqq.*)

[4] Hieron. *in Epist. ad Galat.* II. praef.; Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 12.

[5] It was not until after the Roman conquest that this had taken place, for Manlius at the outset of his campaign was met by a troop of Phrygian priests of Cybele, who declared to him that the goddess approved of the war and would vouchsafe him victory. (Polyb. XXII. 20; Livy XXXVIII. 18.)

Nor was it only towards the south and the Hellespont that the Celtic tide always set. They passed right eastward to the mouth of the Danube and into southern Russia as far as the Palus Maeotis (Sea of Azov)[1]. There is even reason for believing that they at one time threatened Olbia, the chief Greek emporium on the north side of the Euxine[2]. That they had here intermixed with the Scythians just as they had blended with the Thracians, Illyrians, Ligyes, and Iberians, is proved by the existence of the Celto-Scyths (Κελτοσκύθαι)[3].

It is almost certain that it was with the Gauls in this quarter that Mithradates entered into negociations for the purpose of gaining their cooperation in his meditated invasion of Italy[4]. Certain it is that Bitoetus, a Gaulish captain of mercenaries, was with the monarch at the time of his death[5], and it is probable that these Celts had come from east Europe where they were conterminous with Mithradates, who had pushed his kingdom at least nominally to the river Tyras. Thus the fair-haired race could make its way to the east end of the Black Sea and either advance into central Asia or turn south into Asia Minor.

Such a movement round the eastern end of the Euxine certainly took place some time in the seventh century B.C., when the Cimmerians, who at that time occupied southern Russia including the Tauric Chersonese, marched into Asia. That a people called Cimmerii had attained to considerable power in eastern Europe and western Asia before 650 B.C. or even earlier can scarcely be doubted. In the time of Herodotus there was a solid body of historical evidence, both traditional and monumental, which attested the former greatness of the race, such as the existence of *Cimmerian* forts, a *Cimmerian* ferry, the *Cimmerian* Bosphorus, and a tract called *Cimmeria*, the ancient name of which is still preserved in *Crim* Tartary or *Crimea*.

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[1] Strabo, 309.

[2] See the long Protogenes inscr. from Olbia (*Corp. Inscrr. Graec.* II. no. 2058).

[3] Strabo, 507.

[4] Appian, *Mith.* 119.

[5] *Ibid.* 111: Βίτοιτον οὖν τινὰ ἰδὼν ἡγεμόνα Κελτῶν κτλ.

According to the tradition adopted by Herodotus this people had once occupied the region lying between the mouths of the Danube and the Tanais (*Don*). Through dread of a great attack of the Scythians they had thence migrated and poured down in vast hordes on Asia Minor, where they carried devastation up to the very walls of the Greek cities of Ionia[1]. In the time of Aristaeus of Proconnesus (*circa* 550 B.C.) there were still a few Cimmerians dwelling on the north of the Euxine; a century later when Herodotus travelled in that country they had apparently completely disappeared although many evidences of their former existence still remained[2].

It was in the reign of Ardys king of Lydia that these "Cimmerians, driven from their homes by the nomads of Scythia, entered Asia and captured Sardis, all but the citadel." Ardys was succeeded by his son Sadyattes, who after reigning twelve years was succeeded by his son Alyattes, who drove the Cimmerians out of Asia[3].

The Cimmerians made a settlement in the peninsula where the Greek city of Sinope was afterwards built. It is probable, as has long ago been suggested, that a remnant may have taken refuge here after their expulsion from Lydia by Alyattes, just as in later days the remains of the Cimbric tribes retired into that part of Phrygia which from them was named Galatia.

But there is a large body of evidence which leads us to conclude that the invasion of the Cimmerians recounted by Herodotus was not the first irruption of that people into Asia Minor. Strabo is explicit in his statement that a people known as the Cimmerians had made frequent and distinct incursions: "The Cimmerians, who are likewise named Treres, or one of their nations, frequently overran the regions on the right side of the Pontus and the adjacent districts, sometimes having fallen upon Paphlagonia, at others upon Phrygia."

Again, he says that "the Cimmerians in the time of Homer, or a little before his date, had overrun all the land from the Bosphorus up to Ionia[4]"; and in another passage he says that "in the time of Homer or a little before him had taken place the inroad of the Cimmerians as far as the Aeolid and Ionia[1]." Eusebius places the first Cimmerian invasion of Asia three hundred years before the first Olympiad (1076 B.C.)[2].

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[1] Herod. I. 6.

[2] *Id.* IV. 12.

[3] *Id.* I. 15—6.

[4] 61, 149, 494.

One of the chief tribes of the Cimmerians who took part in these raids was that of the Treres (or Trerones) who sacked Magnesia[3].

It thus appears that the Cimbric movements through Thrace into Asia, and their ravages there as well as their settlements in the region between the Danube and the Tyras, were but a repetition of those of the Cimmerians some centuries earlier, just as the Celts themselves were to be followed later on by the Goths.

Who were these Cimmerians and whence came they? Are we to suppose with Rawlinson[4] that bands of those settled in southern Russia had habitually passed down through Thrace and in concert with Thracian tribes had crossed the Bosphorus into Asia? This is in itself not probable, and if we can give an explanation which has a better base in history, it may be rejected without regret.

We have seen the Celts coming down from the head of Italy and passing either down into Greece, or crossing the Bosphorus or Hellespont into Asia, or others of them advancing down the Danube to its mouth and thus into the very part of southern Russia, where the Cimmerians had dwelt in the seventh century B.C.

It may not therefore be irrational to suggest that the Cimmerians of South Russia were but an advanced body of that stream of migration from central and northern Europe which we have traced down into the three southern peninsulas. Certain it is that in the last half of the second century B.C. a large body of Celts called Cimbri moved down to attack Italy in concert with the Teutones. These Cimbri seem without doubt to have come from the shores of the Northern Ocean. It is not unlikely that they set out in search of new lands owing to the great inroads made by the sea on their ancient home. We have already adverted to the people termed Cimmerians in the *Odyssey*, and we tried to show that by placing them on the Ocean stream and in a region of perpetual night, in juxtaposition to the Laestrygones (the land of the midnight sun), the poet meant the northern parts of Europe. As he makes Odysseus sail to the west he certainly did not mean the east, and he therefore cannot have referred to the Cimmerians of the Black Sea. It is then not too rash to suppose that these latter Cimmerians were but an early swarm from the motherland of the Cimbrians beside the North Sea. The ancients identified the Cimmerians with the Cimbri, and some modern scholars hold these statements to be trustworthy. According to Diodorus[1], some ancient authorities held that the Cimmerians, who had wrought havoc in Asia in early times, were the same race as the Cimbri, who had in later days after the plundering of Delphi crossed into Asia, and who had ultimately settled in Galatia.

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[1] 647.

[2] *Chron. Canon. Pars Post.*, p. 303 (ed. Mai).

[3] Though Herodotus does not refer to any such earlier inroads, it by no means follows that we are to regard as untrue his statement that the Cimmerians to whom he refers made their way into Asia round the east end of the Pontus, because Strabo and other writers testify to invasions of Cimmerians into Asia from Thrace and across the Thracian Bosphorus. This was the attitude of Niebuhr, but its fallacy has been pointed out by Prof. Rawlinson. (*History of Herodotus*, vol. I. p. 136.) It may have been that the Cimmerians knew that it was hopeless to attempt a movement into Europe owing to the presence in that direction of powerful and warlike tribes, such as the other Celts, who were certainly a powerful factor in this direction.

[4] Rawlinson, *Hist. of Herodotus*, vol. I. p. 370.

Posidonius[2], the Stoic, who travelled in central and western Europe about 90 B.C., and who had thus full opportunity of knowing much about its ethnology, tells us that "the Hellenes had called the Cimbri Cimmerians." This statement is repeated by Plutarch[3] in reference to that great horde, which threatened Italy towards the close of the second century B.C.

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[1] v. 32, 4: *φασί τινες ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς χρόνοις τοὺς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἅπασαν καταδραμόντας, ὀνομαζομένους δὲ Κιμμερίους, τούτους εἶναι, βραχὺ τοῦ χρόνου τὴν λέξιν φθείραντος ἐν τῇ τῶν καλουμένων Κίμβρων προσηγορίᾳ· ζηλοῦσι γὰρ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ληστείειν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀλλοτρίας χώρας ἐπερχόμενοι καὶ καταφρονεῖν ἁπάντων.*

[2] Frag. *ap.* Strabon. 293: Κιμμερίους τοὺς Κίμβρους ὀνομασάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

[3] *Marius*, 2: τῶν βαρβάρων, Κιμμερίων μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, τότε δὲ Κίμβρων προσαγορευομένων.

The philological side of the question presents no difficulty, since Κιμμέριος : Κίμβρος = μεσημέριος : μεσήμβριος.

The evidence both historical and philological makes it as certain as the nature of the case will allow that the Cimmerii and the Cimbri are identical.

The Cimbri referred to by Plutarch first came into contact with the Romans in 113 B.C. On the advance of the northmen through Noricum Cn. Papirius Carbo[1] fell upon them near Noreia, and suffered a complete defeat.

Instead of descending at once into Italy they turned abruptly towards Gaul. In 111 B.C. the consul Silanus[2] was routed by them, and they again threatened northern Italy.

During the years that followed Rome was so absorbed in the struggle with Jugurtha that all the important region lying between the Alps and the Rhone had been left to the mercy of the barbarians. Rome had lost five armies in fruitless attempts to combat them, and the helpless inhabitants had for the most part been driven to seek refuge in the walled cities. It was at this juncture 104 B.C. that Marius returned with Jugurtha in chains. The Cimbri were still wandering westward and plundering the Celtiberian villages, but they threatened a speedy return to the Province and to cross the barrier of the Alps. Marius established a camp at the mouth of the Rhone and there kept drilling his raw levies, who were terrified by the huge stature of the barbarians. At last the northmen determined to advance on Italy. The Cimbri and Helvetii were to make the *détour* of the Alps and to swoop down on Italy through the Tyrol, while the Ambrones and the Teutones after crushing Marius were to pass by the road between the Maritime Alps and the sea. The tribes were to meet on the Po. The Teutones and Ambrones were crushed by Marius in a great battle not far from Aquae Sextiae (*Aix*) in 102 B.C. Meantime the Helvetii and Cimbri had crossed the Brenner Pass, and advanced against Lutatius Catulus. On the Campi Raudii near Vercellae the Cimbri were annihilated (101 B.C.).

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[1] Strabo. 214.

[2] Diod. Sic., XXXIV. 37.

But they had left many of their nation behind them in their old home, for Caesar speaks of the Cimbri as occupying the peninsula lying between the Suevic and Germanic seas (called from them the Cimbric Chersonese, now *Jutland*), and as settled between the Mosa (*Meuse*) and the Scaldis (*Scheldt*), from whom the Aduatuci were sprung, and as attempting an invasion of Gallia Belgica[1].

Indeed it is probable that the Belgae (like the Aduatuci) were Cimbric in race, and accordingly we may refer to the same stock the Belgic tribes, who settled in south-eastern Britain. This is rendered all the more certain by the fact that in the cemeteries of the region lying between the Seine, the Marne and the Rhine, we find a culture similar to that disclosed by the Gaulish graves at Bologna and other places in upper Italy (p. 239). We even might suggest that the Kymry of Britain were a branch of the same race, or that at least the name Kymry was adopted from a body of Cimbric conquerors, whose name is still to be recognized in Cumberland, were it not for a phonetic difficulty. These Kymry were perhaps termed Cimmerii under the Roman occupation of Britain, as has been inferred from the Greek inscription found at Brough-under-Stanmore (*Verterae*) in Westmoreland[2], which cannot be later than 400 A.D.

Strabo[3] also mentions the Cimbri amongst the tribes living in Germany, and a century later Tacitus[4] speaks of the same people as still occupying a large territory to the east of the Rhine.

Whether the Cimbri were Celts or Germans is a question which presents no difficulty. In a passage already quoted

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[1] *B. G.* I. 33, 4; II. 4, 2; 29, 4.

[2] See *Academy*, 1884, June 14th (Sayce), June 21st (Ridgeway), July 5th (Bradley); *Graec. Inscrr. Siciliae, Italiae, Hispaniae, Galliae, Britanniae, Germaniae* (Berlin, 1890), p. 671.

Prof. Rhys (*Celtic Britain*, p. 137) derives the name Kymry, "that is to say, *Cym-bro* (Combrox) or the compatriot, the native of the country, the rightful owner of the soil, which he thought it his duty to hold against the *All-fro* (Allobrox) as he called the invader who came from another land."

But the historical evidence in favour of invasions of Cimbri is so strong, that we must refer the use of that name in Britain to a time long before the seventh century A.D., the date at which Prof. Rhys supposes it to have been adopted by the 'Brythons.'

[3] 291.

[4] *Germania*, 37.

(p. 390) Diodorus[1] says that the Celts, who sacked Rome, as well as those who later plundered Delphi, and settled in Asia Minor, were Cimbri. Appian[2] makes the same statement concerning those who attacked Delphi.

On the other hand we have just seen that Jutland and Holstein were the original cradle of the race, a fact which at first sight would foster the belief that they were Germans. The solution of this apparent contradiction is given us by the divine Julius himself, who clearly indicates that there was no difference between the Germans and the Celts, who formed the master race in Gaul, where they had found an ancient dark-haired race, who became the henchmen of the conquerors. The conquering German or Celtic tribes tolerated and treated with respect the priestly caste of Druids, and even embraced the religion of their vassals[3].

The Cimbri had wandered far and wide in historical times[4], and their name seems to have become a term for a ruthless marauder, as did that of the Vandals in later days.

There is therefore no reason why in still earlier days bands from the land of the Cimmerians should not have passed down the Rhine, entered the Danube valley, passed down it into southern Russia, where we meet them in the seventh century B.C., or why others of them should not have entered Noricum, as did the Cimbri in 113 B.C., and thence descend, as so often did the Cimbri in later days, by the valley of the Save into Thrace and thence cross into Asia, and harass the cities of the Aeolid and Ionia.

Again, they might have passed into southern Gaul, as did the Cimbri and the Teutons who perished at Aquae Sextiae. Once there it was possible for them to become the lords of central Gaul, even to the very shore of the Ocean; for they could pass into Spain, as did the Cimbri just mentioned, and there set up a dominion, which once stretched as far as Gades. Certain it is that by the time of Herodotus[1] the Celts had reached the Ocean, for he says that the Celts "live beyond the Pillars of Heracles and border on the Cynesians, who dwell in the extreme west of Europe." The existence of the Celtiberians is a proof of such a conquest.

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[1] v. 32, 4.

[2] *De Bell. Illyr.* 4: Μολιστόμῳ γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ Κελτοῖς τοῖς Κίμβροις λεγομένοις ἐπὶ Δελφοὺς συστρατεῦσαι.

[3] *B. G.* VI. 13.

[4] Festus explains that the name Cimbri means *robbers*: Cimbri lingua Gallica latrones dicuntur (*De uerb. signif.* III. 77). Plutarch (*Marius*, 11) gives a similar explanation: Κίμβρους ἐπονομάζουσι Γερμανοὶ τοὺς λῃστάς.

The Cimbri and Teutons had formed a design for invading Italy both by the Tyrol and by the coast road from Gaul. Earlier invaders might well have done the same. A story of a Celtic invasion of Italy, rejected in whole or in chief part by most modern writers[2], is in complete agreement with the action of the later Cimbri. According to Livy[3] about 600 B.C. the Bituriges were already powerful in central Gaul and their king Ambigatus was the paramount chief of many tribes. But from this latter circumstance we should be no more justified in assuming that there was a long established and firmly consolidated Celtic empire in central France, than that there was such an empire in Achean Greece because Agamemnon was leader of the host against Troy. The country had a flourishing population, and accordingly his two nephews Bellovesus and Segovesus set out in search of new lands, the former crossing the Alps into Italy, the latter marching towards the Hercynian forest.

Although there may have been no extensive Celtic settlement in upper Italy, such as that which took place two centuries later, it is not in itself improbable that Livy has preserved a record of some formidable Celtic incursion. There is no reason why a body of Cimbri from the north might not have passed down into the upper Danube valley, and thence reinforced by the Alpine peoples, ever ready to follow any chief who would lead them to pillage, have passed westwards into Gaul, and settled in central France. The Alpine tribes, such as the Helvetii, who joined the Cimbri 113—102 B.C., largely consisted of Cimbric tribes previously settled amongst and intermixed with the Alpine folk. Nor is there any reason why there might not have been a reflux movement of this people or their descendants back through Switzerland at a later time. Most of the objections taken to Livy's statement are based upon the assumption that the Celts had come into Europe up the Danube, and that as those who invaded Italy in the beginning of the fourth century had all come from the Danube, so all such invaders must have come from that side also. But the undisputed facts of the Cimbrian and Teuton invasion of 113 B.C. show the feasibility of the alternative embodied in Livy's recital.

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[1] II. 33.

[2] Bertrand and Reinach, *Les Celtes*, etc., p. 21 *sqq.*

[3] v. 34.

It has also been urged that there were never enough Celts in the west to swarm back over the western Alps into Italy or Germany. But the advocates of this view forget that though the genuine Celts would be few, they would be the chiefs of great masses of native population over whom they ruled in Gaul, as did their brethren in later days over the Illyrians and Thracians of the Balkan, and as did the fair-haired Achean families over the aborigines of Thessaly, Argolis and Laconia. Indeed it might just as well be urged that there never were Frankish crusades because the number of genuine Franks was never sufficiently great to supply the vast hordes which set out for the Holy Land.

It is also urged that if Livy's narrative is true, we ought to find the names of the Bituriges and their allies, such as the Arverni, in north Italy. But between 600 B.C. and 225 B.C. these early settlements of Bituriges and Arverni might have easily been engulfed in the maelstrom of intertribal strife, and have been merged into fresh settlers from beyond the Alps, such as the Insubres and Boii, whose names are preserved because they happened to be the most prominent at the time of the Roman conquest.

Such a movement would well account for the facts that in Caesar's time there was a clear distinction in "language, institutions, and laws" between the Belgae and Celtae (Galli). We have shown that the Belgic tribes were Cimbri, who had moved directly across the Rhine into north-eastern Gaul, and who were therefore more homogeneous, as they were less mixed with subject races. On the other hand, it is probable that if early bodies of Cimbri had passed down to the Alpine regions, gathering fresh followers as they passed on their course of rapine, and had then settled in central France, their ranks would have contained a very large proportion of Alpine tribes, who differed in dialect, institutions, and physical characteristics from the pure Cimbri from the north. Such a population would accordingly differ in all those features from the Belgic (Cimbric) tribes of the north-east, who came direct from Scandinavia.

If it were certain that, as the best Assyriologists hold, the Cimmerians are the same people as the Gimiri, who according to the cuneiform inscriptions were in Armenia in the eighth century B.C., we should have evidence that the wanderers from Jutland had penetrated at that early date into the heart of Asia.

That tribes who had once dwelt in Europe had reached this region is proved by the case of the Armenians themselves, who were an offshoot from the Phrygians, who had crossed from Thrace into Asia[1].

Posidonius was of opinion that the "emigration of the Cimbri and other kindred peoples from their native land was gradual and occasioned by the inundation of the sea, and by no means a sudden movement." Yet Strabo[2] refused to credit the "reason assigned for their wandering and robber life—that dwelling on a peninsula they were driven out of their homes by a very high tide." He adds as the reason for his incredulity that "they still to this day occupy the country which they had held in former times." Yet his reason will hardly convince us, who know that vast tracts of land have from time to time been swallowed up by the inroads of the Northern Ocean. Any one who has stood on the great sea-wall at the Helder can realize how large a part of Holland might easily be swept away were it not for that masterpiece of engineering. It is remarkable that the Ambrones, who were the allies of the Cimbri in their meditated descent on Italy, are said to have left their country for the same cause.

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[1] Herod. VII. 73. This is supported by the most modern linguistic results, which show that Armenian comes closer to Greek than to the Iranian group of languages.

[2] 291.

It is quite possible that the encroachment of the sea on their land may in addition to a superabundant population have been a real cause of the emigration of part of the nation from time to time.

In the story of the Celtic tribes, their impetuous burst through Macedonia into Greece as far as Delphi, their crossing of the Hellespont, their service as mercenaries in the wars of the kings of Asia, their reduction of a large part of Asia Minor into the position of tributaries, their gradual decline and ultimate disappearance in the older population of the land, we probably have repeated the history of many an earlier invasion of the same fair-haired peoples. And yet these Cimbri had settled under conditions apparently very favourable for the continuance of their race, inasmuch as they were not mere bands of warriors, who came without women of their own nationality, and who on settling down had to find wives among the daughters of the vanquished, but on the contrary, as we have just seen, they came with waggons, wives and children. How these people of a cooler clime deteriorated in the southern lands, and finally merged into the native races, is admirably illustrated by the story of the Cimbri who settled near Byzantium, for a while held their own and were ultimately destroyed as a nationality and absorbed into their Thracian neighbours.

This pathetic story has been continually repeated since, and has in all probability taken place with endless iteration through long preceding generations, which are to us as though they had never been. Where are the hosts of fair-haired warriors who streamed into the Balkan and the Mediterranean basin under the Roman empire? Where are the Goths of Moesia, for whom Ulfilas translated the Bible? Where are the posterity of the stalwart Norsemen, who formed the Varangian guard of the Emperors of the East? Where are the Normans who once carved out kingdoms, marquisates, and counties in Sicily, Italy, and the Levant? These children of the North have all melted away beneath the southern sun as inevitably as does the glacier when it descends into the heat of the valley; and as the gross underlying earth reappears when the beautiful ice wastes away, so surely does the older stratum of population once more rise to view[1].

If any one doubts the truth of this doctrine, let him consider how our British troops waste away in warm climates. If the British soldiers engaged in the late Egyptian campaigns in the Soudan had not been at once wisely hurried back to a less baneful clime, but had been planted as military colonists at Wady Halfa, and mated with native wives, how long would it have been before every trace of English blood would have disappeared, and the native element would have completely reasserted itself?

The literary evidence for the constant spreading down into the Balkan of fair-haired tribes is beyond cavil[2], but it can be still further strengthened by various considerations. If the tradition is true, the physical characteristics and institutions of the tribes of the Balkan ought to show us traces of intermixture of Celts with Illyrians and Thracians. The Scordisci are a good example of a Celtic tribe blended with Thracians and even reckoned as a Thracian tribe in Roman times, while the Iapodes are an equally good instance of the blending of Celts and Illyrians. Strabo's criterion for a genuine Celtic or Illyrio-Thracian tribe was the absence or presence of tattooing.

If there were already in the fifth century B.C. tribes termed Thracian, but who nevertheless differed essentially in certain respects including the non-practice of tattooing from all the other Thracian tribes especially those nearest the Aegean, we shall be confirmed in our doctrine that Celtic tribes had for long ages already dwelt in Thrace. Such evidence is not far to seek. Herodotus[3] declares that all the Thracian tribes had the same customs except the Getae, the Trausi, and those who dwelt above Creston. "The Thracians who do not belong to these tribes have the customs which follow. They sell their children to traders. On their maidens they keep no watch, but leave them altogether free, while on the conduct of their wives they keep a most strict watch. Brides are purchased of their parents for large sums of money. Tattooing among them marks noble birth, and the want of it low birth." The gods which they worship are but three, Ares, Dionysus, and Artemis. Their kings however unlike the rest of the citizens worship Hermes more than other gods, always swearing by his name, and declaring that they themselves are sprung from him.

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[1] It must be borne in mind that physical anthropology can give no aid respecting the dolichocephalic peoples from the North, who settled in the Mediterranean basin. For being dolichocephalic they would not introduce any distinctive element into the dolichocephalic Mediterranean peoples, any more than the Greek and Lydian settlers did into the aboriginal stock of central Italy (p. 248 *n.*).

[2] We recognized in the giant Laestrygones the tall races of the north. It is probable that it was the presence of bands of the same race in Thrace that led to the story (Paus. I. 25, 2) that giants once dwelt about Thrace.

[3] v. 3—8.

He then adds that their wealthy classes wake their dead for three days with lamentations and feasting; then they either burn the body or else bury it in the ground and raise a mound over the grave.

Tattooing thus marks off the pure Thracians from the Getae (whom Herodotus describes as the noblest of the Thracians), just as in Strabo's time it distinguished the Celts from Thracians and Illyrians.

The Getae believed in the immortality of the soul and its departure after death to an abode of bliss. The Trausi apparently held a similar doctrine, for whilst they raised a lament on the birth of a child, they said that he who had died was free from a host of sufferings and enjoyed the completest happiness[1].

We shall presently see that the belief in the immortality of the soul was held by the Celts of Gaul in Caesar's time. It is then probable that the Getae and the Trausi were two Celtic tribes who had gradually become mixed with the Thracians. It is significant that the Treres, neighbours of the Getae, were reckoned as Thracians. Yet we saw above that they were an important tribe of the Cimmerians.

As the kings of the other Thracian tribes traced their descent from and worshipped Hermes instead of the national Thracian deities, it seems most probable that the royal families were of a different race from their subjects. This is a complete parallel to the Achean dynasties of Mycenae, Sparta and Thessaly.

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[1] v. 4.

Again, the wealthy Thracians practised both cremation and inhumation. Different funeral rites indicate two different races. We have already seen that cremation was as distinctive of the Umbrians of upper Italy, as it was of the Homeric Acheans. In a later chapter we shall show that cremation is a characteristic of central Europe, and is only adventitious in the Mediterranean area.

This mixture of race explains the fact that there were both melanochrous and xanthochrous Thracians. For whilst the ordinary Thracians on painted vases are dark-haired, Xenophanes spoke of the Thracians as red-haired (*πυρρός*) and Thracian slaves at Athens were often called Pyrrhias ('Red-head').

In Italy the xanthochrous race in ancient times as to-day had its maximum along the Alps and gradually dwindled towards the south until the melanochrous race stood practically alone in the lower part of the peninsula. So too in the Balkan, whilst the fair-haired element was at its maximum along the Alps and the Danube, southwards the melanochrous becomes more and more completely dominant, as it practically is to-day, in the lower part of the peninsula.

Southern Russia was the meeting-place of the advancing waves of populations which, reared under the bracing influences of a higher latitude or a higher altitude in either Europe or Asia, were ever descending upon the feeble inhabitants of the fertile plains of Asia Minor.

It was here that the tribes from Europe and Asia blended. The Cimmerians, as we know, had not been wholly eradicated by the Scythians. Indeed it is not improbable that some of that stock survived in the tribe of Budini, who in the fifth century B.C. were dwelling in the forest region between the upper waters of the Don and Volga. 'These Budini,' says Herodotus[1], "are a large and powerful nation: they have all deep blue eyes and bright red hair[2]." In their territory dwelt a

[1] IV. 108.

[2] *γλαυκόν τε πᾶν ἰσχυρῶς καὶ πυῤῥόν.*

tribe called Geloni, whose city was called Gelonus. The walls, temples, and houses were all of wood, and there were altars of the Greek gods. "The Geloni were originally Greeks, who being driven out of the factories along the coast fled to the Budini, and took up their abode with them. They still speak a language half Greek half Scythian." Again he says that "the Budini do not speak the same language as the Geloni, nor is their mode of life the same; they are the aborigines, and are nomads. The Geloni on the other hand tilled the soil, ate bread, and had gardens, and both in shape and complexion are quite different from the Budini[1]." The Greeks through a mistake called the latter (Budini) Geloni. From this it is probable that the ordinary Scythians were not red-haired, although there were xanthochrous tribes in Scythia.

But it may be said that these Budini were really Finns, and not Celts. This however is rendered unlikely by the existence in the same region of another tribe, called the Androphagi, who alone among all the tribes in this part of the world practised cannibalism.

Herodotus tells us that their manners were most barbarous, and that they spoke a language distinct from the Scythian. Neumann and Bunbury seem right in regarding them as Finns, several of the tribes of that family being known to have retained the habit of cannibalism even in the middle ages.

There was also another tribe, called the Melanchlaeni, who lived east of the Androphagi. These resembled the Scythians in their manners with the exception of wearing black cloaks, but Herodotus explicitly tells us that they were quite distinct from the Scythians.

Since the Budini are described as exceptions to the ordinary Scythian physique, it is highly probable that the genuine Scythians were melanochrous, and are therefore on this as well as other grounds to be regarded as Tartaric.

The presence in the region called Scythia of such xanthochrous tribes as the Budini, and the remnants of the Cimmerians, explains why we occasionally hear of 'red-haired' (πυῤῥός[1]) Scythians, just as we sometimes meet the same epithet applied to Thracians. In the latter case it has been abundantly proved that Celtic tribes had constantly spread into Thrace, and that even such tribes were included in the term Thracian, used geographically and not ethnographically; so in Scythia non-Scythian tribes, such as the Budini, are comprised under the general name of Scythian.

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[1] IV. 109.

The Scythians are distinguished by their trousers (Fig. 68), and it was probably from them that the Celts of the Danube valley learned to use this garment. Thus in the time of Herodotus the Sigynnae, the only tribe of all those north of the Danube of which he knew the name, wore dresses like the Medes. By this the Scythian costume is probably meant. The scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius calls them a Scythian tribe (ἔθνος Σκυθικόν). Strabo places a people called Sigynni (or Siginni) in Asia near the Caspian, and tells the same story about the ponies of the latter as Herodotus does concerning those of the Danube tribe. It is not improbable that just as Celtic tribes made their way down the Danube and into Scythia, so Scythian tribes worked westward into the Danube valley. It was the blending of such tribes that produced the Celto-Scyths.

Thus Aristaeus of Proconnesus held that the cause of the movement, which led to the emigration of the Cimmerians, was due to the fact that the Arimaspians were continually encroaching upon their neighbours and thus drove the Issedones from their country, while the Issedones dispossessed the Scyths, who in their turn pressed upon the Cimmerians, who dwelt on the shore of the sea, and were thus forced to leave their land[2].

Another account says that the Massagetae, who dwelt in historical times in the district east of the Caspian, had driven out the Scythians thence. Both accounts agree in giving us a clear indication of the quarter from which the Scythians had advanced into southern Russia. For the Arimaspians were the next neighbours of the gold-guarding griffons, or in other words, they bordered on the rich auriferous region of the Altai. Thus as in Europe tribe kept pushing on tribe always with a steady southward trend, so too was it in Asia.

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[1] Plato (*Tim.* 68 c) says πυῤῥὸς is a mixture of ξανθός and φαιός. Πυῤῥός is applied to the Scythians by Hippocrates (292, 44).

[2] Herod. IV. 13.

The Scythians once in the land of the Cimmerians lost no time in pursuing exactly the same career as their predecessors. Some of them at once followed the Cimmerians into Asia Minor.

The Scythians who thus pursued the Cimmerians passed into Media, defeated the Medes and swept like a tornado over all Lesser Asia, being resolved to advance into Egypt; but when they reached Palestine Psammitichus the Egyptian king met them with gifts and prayers, and prevailed on them to advance no further[1]. "The dominion of the Scythians over Asia lasted eight-and-twenty years, during which time their insolence and oppression spread ruin on every side." For besides the regular tribute, they exacted from the several nations additional imposts, which they fixed at pleasure; and further, they scoured the country and plundered every one of whatever they could. At length Cyaxares and the Medes invited the greater part of them to a banquet, and made them drunk with wine, after which they were all massacred[2].

The Scythians thus perished as did the Cimmerians, and later the Gauls.

Strabo[3] adds some other very important information, for he says the Sacae, a tribe of Scythians, "had made incursions similar to those of the Cimmerians and Treres, sometimes near home, sometimes at a greater distance." They occupied Bactriana, and got possession of the most fertile tract in Armenia, which was called Sacasene after them. They advanced even as far as the Cappadocians, particularly those situated near the Euxine; who are now called Pontici.

The same writer tells us that "down the valley of the Oxus the merchandise of India passed into Hyrcania[4]." Along this

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[1] Herod. I. 105.

[2] Herod. I. 106.

[3] 511.

[4] 73: ὥστε τὸν Ἰνδικὸν φόρτον ὑπερκομισθέντα εἰς αὐτὸν (Oxus) ῥᾳδίως εἰς τὴν Ὑρκανίαν κατάγεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἐφεξῆς τόπους μέχρι τοῦ Πόντου διὰ τῶν ποταμῶν.

SOUTHWARK CENTRAL

ancient highway in the second century B.C. the Scythians had forced their way into Bactria, and ultimately overthrew the Greeks who had ruled that region from the time of Alexander. The coins (Fig. 68) of these Scythian kings form a well-known series. The Scythians had then carried their arms across the Hindu Kush (Paropamisus), and subdued all the territories previously subject to Greek dominion extending down the valley of the Indus to the sea. Though these Scythians had been expelled before the time of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, and the country was then subject to the Parthian king, the name had survived, and it is accordingly called Scythia in that treatise, as indeed it was long after in the days of Ptolemy (120 A.D.), who more distinctly terms it Indo-Scythia. This comprised the whole region adjoining the lower course of the Indus, now known as Scinde, together with Cutch and Gujerat.

If the Scythians could thus pass from the Black Sea up the valley of the Oxus, over the Hindu Kush and down the Indus, there can be no reason why fair-haired tribes from central Europe, some of whom had long dwelt in the lands later held by Scythians, should not have followed the same route long before. It is therefore quite possible that the Aryans of the *Rig-Veda*, who dwelt on the upper Indus when we first meet them, and who later spread down into Hindustan, and became the masters of the aboriginal Dravidian peoples, may have journeyed thither from the Cimbric Chersonese. Certain it is that in the Mahabharata the Aryans from the mountains are always engaged in wars of conquest with the kings of the older race, whose daughters they take in marriage as the Acheans wedded the daughters of the old Pelasgian kings of Greece. In colour too they are contrasted with those against whom they war and into whose houses they marry. Thus the great Aryan hero Pandu, 'the Pale,' had married the daughter of a native king, and his five sons, the Pandava princes, won at a great *swayam-vara* Draupadi, the daughter of the king of the Panchalas, a maiden described as dark though beautiful. But to this famous episode we shall have to return.

The same law is seen at work at this present moment in the case of the Turks, who came as a hardy warrior race from the steppes of Asia and settled among the islands of the Aegean, where according to the unanimous testimony of modern travellers they are steadily dwindling in numbers.

But the disappearance of these conquering peoples in the southern lands is not due solely to unhealthy climatic conditions.

It is a known fact that the upper classes in all countries have an inevitable tendency to die out. As has long ago been pointed out by Sir Henry Maine, an admirable example of this sociological law is to be found in the peerage of England. How few families are there whose patent of nobility dates before 1700! What a small number are there who have had a title before 1600! whilst those whose nobility dates from before the Wars of the Roses are a mere handful. The House of Lords is therefore only kept going by the constant creation of new peers. We may therefore conclude that the dwindling of the master races in the Mediterranean, whether they were Acheans, Celts, Goths, Norsemen, or Turks, must be in part accounted for by the mere fact that they formed in each case the upper and ruling class, and could therefore afford to lead a life of luxury, which was the very bane of their race.

The same doctrine is equally true of Asia. There as in Europe the sons of the steppe and the mountain have kept pouring down upon the fertile plains of Hindustan, enslaved the less vigorous natives of the land, and after ruling for a few generations have lost all their vital energy, and in their turn fallen before the unimpaired physique and morale of a fresh swarm from the north.

The tribes who live in the more temperate portions of their new home continue long to maintain their old martial vigour, and serve as a bulwark for a time against the succeeding waves.

Thus the Macedonians themselves, consisting largely of the descendants of the brave tribes who had passed into the Balkan from the Danube valley, formed the best barrier for Greece against the fresh tribes of barbarians, as Polybius points out, and it was only when the military power of Macedon declined, that tribes such as the Scordisci were able to rush down like an avalanche upon the Greeks.

The Panjabis may be regarded as occupying much the same kind of position in India as the Macedonians and Aetolians did in the Balkan peninsula.

The history of Italy is probably much the same. The Romans, themselves one of these tribes from the Alps, were able to keep in check the barbarians from beyond the mountains so long as the sturdy yeomen population of Italy remained unexhausted (sometimes even being aided by Celtic tribes, such as the Cenomanni, who were already settled in Italy and were afraid of being robbed of their lands by their Transalpine brethren); but when at last it had disappeared Rome could only protect the empire by hiring the swords of the barbarians on her frontiers.

The probability therefore is high that it was from the head of the Adriatic and from the great fair-haired communities of central Europe that the Homeric Acheans made their way.

This will be powerfully corroborated, if I can next show that at Dodona itself, in Bosnia, and in all central Europe, and practically wherever the fair-haired peoples of that quarter are known to have settled, there are abundant traces of a culture identical with that exhibited in the Homeric poems.

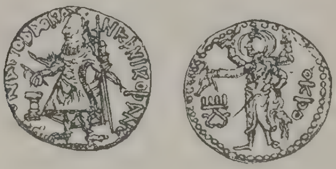

Fig. 68. Coin of Kaneshkes (A.D. 87—106); rev. with goddess Oksho[1].

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[1] Drawn from my specimen by the Rev. J. G. Clark.

CHAPTER V.

THE EARLY IRON AGE IN EUROPE.

> Ense pectus Norico recludere.
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> Horace, *Epod.* XVII. 71.

In the last chapter we saw how wave after wave of the fair-haired peoples of northern Europe had from time to time burst from the heart of Germany over the great mountain barriers into the southern lands. It is in Noricum that tribe after tribe usually comes into our ken. It was there that the Cimbri and their allies first came into touch with the forces of Rome: there too the Boii took refuge after their expulsion from the plains of the Po, and from thence they later on advanced down the Save into Thrace.

Not only did these warriors from the north differ in stature and complexion from the southern peoples, but their arms were of a perfectly distinct type. Their chief weapon was a long iron sword; with trenchant strokes delivered by these long swords the Celts had dealt destruction to their foes on many a field. They used not the thrust, as did the Greeks and Romans of the classical period. This is put beyond doubt by Polybius, who in his account of the great defeat suffered by the combined tribes of Transalpine Gaesatae, Insubres, Boii, and Taurisci, when they invaded Italy in 225 B.C., tells us that the Romans had the advantage in arms, "for the Gallic sword can only deliver a cut but cannot thrust[1]."

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[1] II. 30. Polybius makes the name Gaesatae = 'mercenaries'; others derive it from *gaesum*, a javelin almost entirely of iron (γαῖσος, ἐμβόλιον ὁλοσίδηρον Hesych.). The Roman *pilum* was simply the *gaesum*, which Athenaeus (VI. 273) says the Romans had borrowed from the Iberians, who probably got it from the Celts.

Again, in his account of the great victory gained over the Insubres by the Romans in 223 B.C., the same historian tells us that the defeat of the Celts was due to the fact that their long iron swords easily bent, and could only give one downward cut with any effect, but that after this the edges got so turned and the blades so bent, that unless they had time to straighten them with the foot against the ground, they could not deliver a second blow. "When the Celts had rendered their swords useless by the first blows delivered on the spears, the Romans closed with them, and rendered them quite helpless, by preventing them from raising their hands to strike with their swords, which is their peculiar and only stroke, because their blade has no point. The Romans, on the contrary, having excellent points to their swords, used them not to cut but to thrust; and by thus repeatedly smiting the breasts and faces of the enemy, they eventually killed the greater number of them[1]."

At Cannae too the Gauls in the army of Hannibal were armed with these same long pointless swords, and Polybius contrasts the weapons of the Romans, the Iberians, and the Celts. "The shield (*θυρεός*) of the Iberians and Celts was similar, but their swords were quite different. For that of the former can thrust with as deadly effects as it can cut, while the Gallic sword can only cut, and that requires some room. And the companies coming alternately, the naked Celts and the Iberians with their short linen tunics bordered with purple stripes, the whole appearance of the line was strange and terrible[2]."

In weapons, defensive armour, dress, and ornaments the Celts differed completely from the Romans. In other words, the fair-haired peoples of central Europe had a culture of their own, which had developed quite independently of that of the Mediterranean.

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[1] II. 33.

[2] III. 114: *τῶν δ' Ἰβήρων καὶ Κελτῶν ὁ μὲν θυρεὸς ἦν παραπλήσιος, τὰ δὲ ξίφη τὴν ἐναντίαν εἶχε διάθεσιν· τῆς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔλαττον τὸ κέντημα τῆς καταφορᾶς ἴσχυε πρὸς τὸ βλάπτειν, ἡ δὲ Γαλατικὴ μάχαιρα μίαν εἶχε χρείαν τὴν ἐκ καταφορᾶς, καὶ ταύτην ἐξ ἀποστάσεως.* *Cf.* Livy XXII. 46: Gallis Hispanisque scuta eiusdem formae fere erant, dispares ac dissimiles gladii, Gallis praelongi ac sine mucronibus, Hispano punctim magis quam caesim assueto petere hostem breuitate habiles et cum mucronibus.

The literary evidence is clear on this question. If in addition it can be shown that the material remains, which have come to light in central Europe, coincide with the statements of the historians, the evidence of the latter will be placed beyond all questioning.

In discriminating between the remains of the Celtic tribes and those of the Romans, who later on became the masters of the Celtic lands, the nature of the arms and ornaments found with the dead affords a ready and sure criterion. Thus the presence in a grave of a long iron sword and a gold torque, such as those found in Ireland, where no Roman legionary ever set his foot, is a sufficient *prima facie* indication that the interment is that of a Celtic warrior. If other objects, plainly not of Roman origin, are found associated with the typical weapons and ornaments, the *prima facie* evidence is confirmed, and the presence of glass beads manufactured in Egypt or Phoenicia need excite no suspicion. For to argue from the presence of such beads that all the remains were Roman, would be just as foolish as if a modern traveller on finding in the grave of a negro beads or trinkets made in Birmingham, were to infer that the interment was that of a European.

Modern discoveries in many places where, according to the most reliable documentary evidence, Celtic tribes once dwelt, have brought to light iron swords of great length of blade, and furnished with grips of a size which contrasts strongly with the small hilts of the swords of the Bronze Age, such as are found at Mycenae and in many other parts of Europe. The grip of the iron swords is generally about 3½ inches, whilst that of the bronze swords is commonly about 2½ inches. From this we naturally infer—on the principle of *ex pede Herculem*—that the men who wielded the iron swords found in localities once occupied by the fair-haired peoples had much larger hands and were therefore of much larger stature than the men of the Bronze period at Mycenae. As the Celts are uniformly described by the classical writers as huge of limb, there is a presumption that these swords with large grips were once wielded by these Celtic warriors.

But this presumption can be amply strengthened, by a survey of the places where these swords have been found, and by the nature of the objects by which in many cases they were accompanied.

At La Tène on Lake Neuchâtel were found more than 100 iron swords all of one characteristic type, though ranging from 30 to 38 inches in length, of which the handles occupy 4 to 7½ inches[1]. The blade is always double-edged, generally with a defined midrib, and scarcely tapers in the whole length until within a short distance from the extremity, when it gradually forms a round blunt tip. The handle is separated from the blade by a prominent curved ridge attached to the heel of the blade; into the concave side of this ridge the end of the scabbard neatly fits (Fig. 69). The central tang of the handle was fitted with a grip of horn or wood.

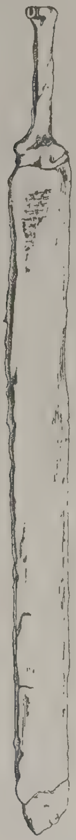

Fig. 69. Sword of La Tène type in its sheath; Connantre, Marne.

Swords and other antiquities corresponding to those of La Tène have been found in other places in Switzerland, in France at Alise-Sainte-Reine (*Alesia*) and Mont Beuvray (*Bibracte*), where Caesar overthrew the Helvetii and Boii; they occur also in the graves of Gaulish warriors in the valleys of the Marne[2] and Aube, and at Lisnacroghera[3], Co. Antrim, Ireland.

The evidence puts it beyond doubt that La Tène was an *oppidum* of the Helvetii who, as we saw, at the battle of Telamon, like their allies the Taurisci and Boii, carried long pointless swords. Bohemia, the land of the Boii, has yielded antiquities corresponding to those of La Tène.

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[1] Munro, *The Lake-dwellings of Europe*, p. 282.

[2] Morel, *Champagne Souterraine*, p. 142, Pl. xxxii. 9 (here reproduced).

[3] Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 383, Fig. 124.

But it can be demonstrated that long iron swords were a characteristic of the Celts of Noricum many centuries before the battle of Telamon or the great Gallic invasion of Italy in the beginning of the fourth century B.C.

We have just seen that Noricum was one of the chief highways of these advancing tribes, and also that in the Roman period it was held by the Celtic Taurisci, who have left their name in the *Tauren* Pass. They were one of the Celtic tribes, whom Polybius has just shown us wielding their great swords in a vain struggle against Roman discipline.

In the heart of the Austrian Alps, in the ancient land of the Taurisci. lies the little lake of Hallstatt, near to which a series of cemeteries have been excavated. The culture here laid bare is of so remarkable a character that the name 'Hallstatt' is now used to distinguish this particular type, wherever else it has been brought to light.

Hallstatt is distant less than forty miles from Noreia, the town which gave its name to Noricum.

If, then, the contents of the graves at Hallstatt agree with the description left us by the ancient historians of the weapons and ornaments of the Celts, we may safely conclude that these were the burial-places of a Tauriscan community.

Excavations were carried on at Hallstatt during 1847—1864[1]. Upwards of 993 graves were opened, and 6084 objects were obtained. These interments extend through the end of the Bronze Age into the early Iron Age, and thus enable us to see the process of transition.

With the dead had been buried the weapons and ornaments which they wore in life. There were swords of great length with large grips, short swords, daggers, and knives, spears, javelins, arrowheads, axes, helmets, and bosses of shields; the ornaments comprised bronze girdles, a massive ring to which smaller ones were attached, pendants, and fibulae of different kinds, simple safety-pins, of at least two types (Figs. 109, 110), in use in Italy in the earliest period of the Iron Age (the culture which we have ascribed to the Umbrians, the close kinsmen of the Celts), others formed of spirals (Figs. 126—7), others ornamented with beads (*cf.* p. 564), others in the shape of animals (Fig. 73), some also with chains attached; pins, rings, armlets, spirals, chains, and beads of gold, bronze, amber, and glass and various other objects in gold and other materials.

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[1] Von Sacken, *Das Grabfeld von Hallstatt*, Vienna, 1868.

In the older graves the dead were interred. Sometimes beside the skeleton were the burnt remains of what was clearly some animal.

The number of graves containing skeletons inhumed was 525.

Almost as frequently as inhumation occurs the cremation of the dead, which was in use contemporaneously with inhumation.

There were altogether opened 455 graves in which the dead had been burnt.

The corpse was not burnt in the grave, but rather at some particular place; the remains were carefully sorted out, and then placed in a regular grave along with the customary gifts. The dead seem to have been burnt arrayed in all their ornaments. Armlets are found showing all the marks of having been subjected to the action of fire. In one case the articles of bronze were completely melted. Glass beads are often found to have been reduced to a shapeless mass[1].

Occasionally in graves where inhumation had taken place, it was noticed that a part of the body was missing, sometimes the head, sometimes a bone, and beside the corpse lay a small heap of ashes. The number of such cases and the care shown makes it clear that now and then actually a part of the corpse was burnt, the rest of it inhumed without cremation. There are thirteen instances of such partial cremation.

The commonest direction in which the dead were laid was from east to west[2]. The body was usually laid on its back: the hands are often crossed on the breast or belly, sometimes one hand, either right or left, on the breast, the other on the

[1] *Id.* p. 10.

[2] "So dass das Antlitz gegen Sonnenaufgang gewendet war" (*op. cit.*, p. 7).

belly. In one case a man lies with his arms stretched out from the body and holding in his left hand six fish-hooks. Sometimes those buried in the normal posture have their hands stretched alongside the body.

The poor seem occasionally to have put several dead in the same grave. A man, his wife and a ten-year-old child, all with mean accompaniments, were found in one grave. In another were a man and his wife, between them earthen vessels and two iron knives. One foot and a half higher in the earth were the remains of a child 10 to 12 years old.

The graves show that the cremationists were the wealthier, the inhumationists the poorer class. The difference of burial customs indicates a difference of race, and as both the Ligurians and Illyrians inhumed their dead, whilst the Celto-Umbrians cremated them, there is a strong presumption that the poorer class at Hallstatt were composed of Ligurians or Illyrians or a mixture of both.

The contents of the graves offer many features of the highest importance. We shall commence with the weapons.

The warrior's full equipment consisted of a sword, a dagger, three or four javelins, and a larger spear, one or two axes, either palstaves or celts, bronze plates as defensive armour, in rare cases a helmet.

The javelin and spear are the universal equipment, the sword is rare. So with the Germans of later days the *framea* was used by all, swords by the few[1].

Swords. Twenty-eight swords with blades from two to three feet long were found, and there were some shorter specimens ranging in length from 1 to 1½ ft., which may be classed as daggers. According to their material, these weapons may be divided into three groups: (1) six of bronze, (2) three with blades of iron, but hilts of bronze, and (3) the remaining nineteen consisting entirely of iron. The blades are all of the same leaf shape seen in the swords of the Bronze Age, and have a broadening in the middle or a little lower down towards the point. It is characteristic of them that they do not gradually taper like spears to a point, but like the later northern iron swords are brought abruptly to a point by two straight lines (Fig. 70, nos. 1, 2). They are not adapted for the thrust, but rather for the stroke. All the blades are two-edged and have fine midribs, which are best seen in the bronze,

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[1] Tac. *Germ.* 6.

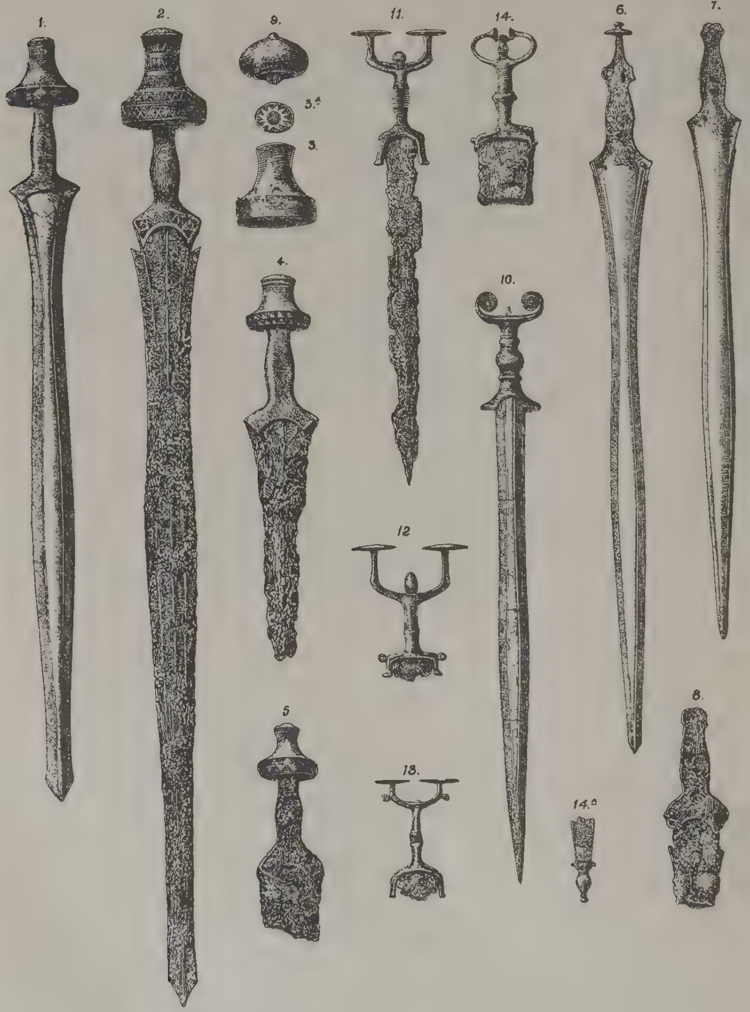

Fig. 70. Bronze and Iron Swords from Hallstatt.

but owing to rust are not so well preserved in the iron. The shape of the hilt is very remarkable, as it differs essentially from that of the usual swords of the Bronze Age. It takes the form of a half-moon where it grips the blade. The space available for the hand-grasp is 3—3½ in., and it terminates in a large pommel either round or oval. There were nine swords and daggers (of which five were perfect) with blades of iron, but with bronze hilts ending in *antennae* (Fig. 70, nos. 10—14). This type is now known in Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, Switzerland, the Pyrenees, Spain, and in Italy at Sesto Calende, Belluno and Bologna (*Arnoaldi*). It thus extends from Hallstatt to the Pyrenees and Spain, though it is not found further north than Bamberg and Carlsruhe[1]. The grip of the Bronze Age swords from Mycenae and elsewhere is usually 2¼—2½ in.

One bronze sword (Fig. 70, no. 1) was found in a cremation-grave, accompanied by a celt, ornaments and a bronze dish. Its blade measures 2 ft. 3 in. in length. It has a long flat grip 4 in. long, which ends in a pommel 2½ in. long. The hand-grasp is 3¼ in. in length. The top of the pommel measures 2¾ in. It is ornamented with circles of dots and other geometrical patterns. From the remains found with it the sword apparently had a wooden scabbard. There were several iron swords of the same type with grips of ivory or bronze. One of these was found in a cremation-grave along with another iron sword, bronze vessels, and ornaments of gold and bronze. Its blade is about 3 ft. long, its pommel is 4 in. high, the hand-grasp measures 3½ in. The pommel was adorned with ivory and amber. There are four rows of zig-zag ornament on the neck of the pommel formed by triangular pieces of amber. Another iron sword from a cremation-grave has its hilt decked with ivory, and with double-hatching, which is peculiarly common on Hallstatt objects. Another from the same grave is 33 in. long. From another cremation-grave came a similar sword 30 in. long. There are three iron swords with similar pommels made of cast bronze: in two of them the grip is of the same metal; the hand-space is 3¼ inches. Another iron sword had the remains of a hilt of wood which had been fastened on by iron rivets. One of the bronze swords had a horn-mounted grip. There were several swords all of iron. The pommels are usually decorated with dotted circles, triangles, spirals, zig-zags, and double-hatching.

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[1] Bertrand and S. Reinach, *Les Celtes dans les vallées du Pô et du Danube*, pp. 86—9.

The large size of the hand-grasp, in the case of bronze and iron swords alike, as compared with that of the ordinary Bronze Age swords, indicates that the men who wielded them had large hands, and therefore—on the principle of *ex pede Herculem*—we may conclude that they were men of large stature[1]. Furthermore, from the fact that the grips of both the bronze and iron swords are large, it may be inferred that iron had not been introduced by a large-limbed people who had conquered the smaller race of the Bronze Age, but that the larger race had themselves lived on the spot from the Bronze Age onwards, and had there gradually begun to reproduce in iron the types of their old bronze swords. Nor was this settlement in Noricum a mere isolated community of the large-limbed race, for the measurements of the grips of the Bronze Age swords from Hungary show that the whole valley of the Danube was occupied at that epoch by a race with hands of about the same size as those of the braves, whose ashes lay at Hallstatt.

Spears. Spears were by far the most common weapon employed by the Hallstatt warriors[2], for there was hardly a man's grave which did not contain one or more. Only two were of bronze[3]; all the rest were of iron. Both those of bronze were in graves with burnt bodies. One (4 inches long) was of the socketed leaf-shaped kind common in the Bronze Age of upper Europe; it had two holes for the rivet which secured the shaft. It was the only offering in the grave, and there were traces of iron rust upon it.

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[1] Late Celtic swords and daggers in the British Museum show grips of the following sizes: Horne Fen, 3 in.; Grimthorpe, 3½ in.; Thames (Hallstatt type), 3¼ in.; Hallstatt sword of iron (model), 3⅝ in.; Hallstatt sword of bronze (model), 3⅝ in.; Hallstatt iron dagger (model), 3⅝ in.; Hallstatt iron dagger (model), 3¼ in.; iron dagger from Solmona, prov. of Aquila, Central Italy, 2⅞ in.

The Hungarian bronze swords show grips ranging from 3 to 3½ in.

[2] Von Sacken, pp. 35—7.

[3] *Id.* Pl. VII. 1; Pl. VII. 3.

The other, 7½ inches long, has a high midrib which makes its point almost four-edged. It was found along with earthenware and bronze vessels, pins and other objects.

An iron spear exactly like it was found in another grave. It was beautifully preserved, showing a kind of damascening, and was as hard as steel. There were numerous other examples of the same four-edged type, which is also found at La Tène in Switzerland. There were various other kinds of spearheads; and certain long heads, of which several were often found in a single grave, were probably javelins[1]. All kinds were fastened to the shaft by rivets, there being no case of loops on the socket. They ranged from small heads, recalling the *framea*, which according to Tacitus was the chief weapon of the Germans, to those two feet long. The latter are clearly *gaesa* or *pila* (p. 407 *n.*). One spearhead had five iron rings on its rounded socket. The workmanship shows that the makers were skilled in smithcraft.

Arrows. Arrowheads[2] were very rare: there were none of iron, and only six of bronze. The latter were of three types: one was barbed and socketed; four were tanged and socketed; one of which was more elongated than the others, whilst one was three-edged and socketed like those found in Greece (Fig. 56 *A*).

Axes. Though the primitive flat bronze axe (Fig. 42, no. 1) is not met at Hallstatt, both flanged and socketed celts are found; the former preponderate in number, a proof that the palstave was employed in the later as well as in the early period when it succeeded and replaced the stone axe on which its earliest form was modelled (p. 607). This is put beyond question by the fact that of those found at Hallstatt, far more are of iron than of bronze. This shows that the material does not necessarily condition the shape, but that from deep-rooted habit people continue to employ the same form long after they can work iron. The bronze axes amounted to twenty, but on the other hand those of iron numbered more than one hundred; the latter were often completely destroyed by rust or turned into mere lumps of ochre, though others on the contrary are very well preserved. The bronze axes were always found in cremation-graves with the exception of one found beside a skeleton. Those of iron were found in graves of both classes, but more frequently with buried than with cremated remains.

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[1] Von Sacken, Pl. vii. 2, 4, etc.

[2] *Id.* p. 37, Pl. vi. 7—10.

Socketed celts were rare: there were only two of bronze, but about fifteen of iron. In some axes may be seen the transition from palstave to celt. These are certain palstaves in which the flanges are so broad that they bend completely round the shaft and thus form a double socket with a central partition.

The bronze palstaves vary greatly in size, but the majority are from 5 to 7 in. long, some being as much as 9 in., others only 2½ in. Two specimens are ornamented, the rest being plain. One of the former was found in the grave of a wealthy person, who had been cremated; in the grave were also gold ornaments, bronze vessels and a cow figure. On its flanges are five rows of circles with central dots, and four similar are on the blade. The other specimen was found outside the cemetery. It is adorned with double circles and irregular linear ornament.

The plain palstaves have for the most part broad flanges the whole length of the shaft-bed.

It is noteworthy that along with the beautiful bronze sword (Fig. 70, no. 1) was found a bronze palstave 7½ in. long, flanged and looped, of very good workmanship. Traces of rust on it show that it had lain in contact with an iron object, probably a spearhead. In one case a palstave buried with a cremated body was broken in two pieces, as was noticed in the case of two bronze swords. There were no other weapons found in the grave with the broken celt. The practice of breaking intentionally axes buried along with the dead is well known in the great cemeteries of the Umbrian period at Bologna[1].

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[1] Montelius, *Civilisation Primitive en Italie*, 383 (Benacci, 2nd period).

Most remarkable is a palstave with the cutting edge of iron, whilst the shaft-bed and flanges are of bronze. It was found with an iron dagger that had a bronze handle, along with a burnt body, and traces on both indicated that they had been laid on a fine woven garment[1]. A similar phenomenon is known at Bologna in the transition from bronze to iron for cutting weapons. Thus at Benacci (period 2), where iron is common, swords and axes of bronze are still numerous, and a celt was found of the regular bronze type of the same place, which had its blade only of iron, and its socket of bronze[2].

Three bronze palstaves too small for actual use were found in what were probably children's cremation-graves; one was associated with a child's top.

Of the numerous iron palstaves there are two distinct forms: (1) the usual type which we have observed in the bronze, with broad strong flanges bent together at the end of the shaft-bed; (2) the flat blade without flanges, but with stops projecting on each side (Fig. 71). This type is also known in Styria[3], and we shall meet it at Glasinatz in Bosnia, and in miniature at Dodona (p. 443). The first class are from 8 to 7 in. long, and are found with other iron weapons, and also commonly with bronze gear.

One of them is looped, which is unusual in the palstaves. The flat axes without flanges have their handle-end rounded; the stops served for securing the axe to the shaft by a tie placed crosswise. The handles were partly of wood, partly of bone.

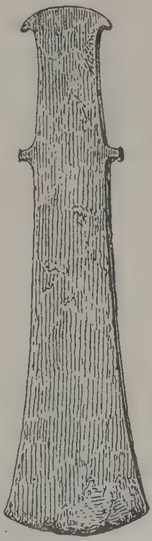

FIG. 71. Iron Axe; Hallstatt.

Only two socketed iron celts were found, both with marks of use on the blade. One of them is from the cremation-grave with the two broken swords. In its socket still remained a portion of the charred handle. It is of a type not rare in Austria and Hungary. The other was a long narrow celt and exhibits a somewhat divergent form with a long socket. The handle was made of staghorn and part of it survives.

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[1] Von Sacken, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

[2] Montelius, *Civilisation Primitive en Italie*, Pl. LXXIII. 13.

[3] Much, *Kunsth. Atlas*, XLIII., 102, No. 6; *cf.* LXXVI., No. 13 (Mähren).

With the celts were found some similar socketed implements (probably chisels) such as commonly occur in Hungary, Bohemia, Germany, and the North, as well as in the Umbrian cemeteries at Bologna.

The type of axe with blade at one end and point at the other and with a shaft-socket, such as are common in Hungary, Bohemia, Germany, and the North, do not occur at Hallstatt, but only miniature representations of them, which could not have been used as weapons. These are a special feature of the Hallstatt finds[1]. There were seven of them found, all of bronze, and all in cremation-graves. Five of them are decorated with figures and geometrical ornament. One shows a horse (Fig. 72) and circles with dots in the middle. It was found in a cremation-grave with a fibula, and some iron destroyed by rust. In a cremation-grave another was found with iron weapons, pins, etc. In a poor cremation-grave another was found with only a single nail and bits of bronze that had been fused. All were in a bronze dish.

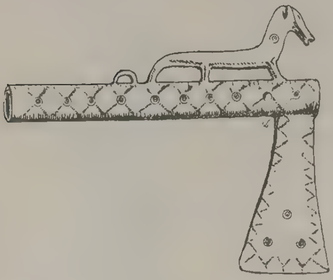

FIG. 72. Miniature Axe; Hallstatt.

Weapons of offence with the exception of spears are relatively rare, and more rare still are articles of defensive armour.

Helmet. Only two helmets were found. The first lay beside the skeleton of a man, which was only 1½ feet deep in the ground. The grave contained a long iron spear and other objects of the same metal. The helmet is of bronze, of a peculiar form and of large size, evidently from its shape meant for a large dolichocephalic head. From front to back it is surmounted by a high and strong ridge (φάλος). The other is of a different shape, being nearly circular[1], with a projecting rim (like that of a hat) running all round it, but no ridge or crest. Helmets with similar rims, sometimes without any ridge as in this case, but sometimes furnished with a ridge or crest, or even two, have been found in Carniola[2], the land of the Carni, and one with a like rim without a ridge was found not far from Lodi in Italy[3]. The helmet is quite different from the Roman type, and also from the Etruscan. The fact that one helmet was made for a large dolichocephalic head, such as those of the Scandinavians, whilst the other was shaped for a broad skull, confirms the historical evidence (p. 394) that in the Alps the people from the North were intermixed with the Alpine race.

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[1] Von Sacken, p. 41.

Breastplate. Many plates of bronze, which seem almost certainly to have formed part of body armour, were discovered. One piece of bronze of large size, and highly decorated with animals and geometrical ornament, appears to have been fastened on leather and worn as a breastplate. This could well be termed πολυδαίδαλος, the epithet of the Homeric *thorax.* It was accompanied by a sword with an ivory hilt.

In 18 graves were found round bosses with a point in the middle. There were two kinds of these: (1) plates from 3 to 10 inches in diameter, which rise up, and the middle forms a knob in which bone or paste was sometimes set. These hollow plates or bosses were furnished with loops inside to attach them to a foundation of leather or some other material. (2) convex plates of very thinly beaten bronze from 4 to 7 inches in diameter, and $\frac{1}{4}$—$2\frac{1}{2}$ in. high with a sharp point. Both classes agree in having no holes in their rims for rivets. The first kind are found exclusively in cremation-graves, which from their contents seemed those of warriors. They were therefore part of a warrior's gear, and may well have been plates fastened on a leather coat; they resemble the plates of the armour of the 16th and 17th centuries. There were usually three or four of them in a grave, and they were of different sizes. They are not unlike the umbones of shields found in Germanic graves, but the latter always have rivets or rivet-holes in the rim. The hauberk of the Hallstatt warriors must have closely resembled that of the 'bronze-shirted Achean,' whose corselet was of leather or some other material strengthened by hollow plates (γύαλα) of bronze (p. 309).

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[1] Von Sacken, *op. cit.*, p. 42—3, Taf. VIII. figs. 5, 6; the first helmet measures 9 inches long by $6\frac{3}{4}$ broad; the other was in length $8\frac{1}{4}$, in breadth 8 inches.

[2] Much, *Kunsthistorischer Atlas*, Taff. LI., LII.

[3] Montelius, *Civilisation Prim. en Italie*, p. 323—4; Pl. LXIV.

On the same plate is another Gallic helmet from north Italy without either a rim or crest, but only a small knob on its apex. A helmet without either rim or crest found in Ireland is in the Belfast Museum.

Shields. Another class are probably shield bosses, for they show long rivets. They are usually in cremation-graves, but they also appear in at least one interment-grave. Five curved plates which lay on the left breast of the skeleton of a young man were almost certainly those of a shield. They had nails of more than half an inch long in the middle of the inside, which proves that these were fastened upon some substrate of that thickness. Four of them are similar, but the fifth is larger, and ended in a point which had a loop, to which perhaps some ornament was attached. This must have been the central point of the shield. It is probable that this shield was circular, which we shall find to be the shape employed by the folk of the Hallstatt period, who lived at Glasinatz. It will also be shown that the round shield with a central boss is a characteristic of the early Iron Age of Styria and north Italy. A round bronze shield in the Copenhagen museum has three smaller bosses in addition to the central one (p. 456).

Greaves. No greaves were found at Hallstatt, but these articles are included in the gear of the warriors of Glasinatz, and likewise formed part of the equipment of a warrior of the Hallstatt period found in a tumulus at Sesto Calende on the southern extremity of Lake Maggiore (p. 449).

Belts. There were bronze belts decorated in *repoussé* with animals, zig-zags, circles and dots, which are analogous to a class of broad bronze belts found in Hungary, at Bologna (Predio Benacci cemetery), at Este, and at Corneto[1] (Fig. 58).

Brooches. These were found in hundreds, each grave as a rule containing several.

They fall into two main classes. (1) The various modifications of the simple safety-pin type, the origin and spread of which we shall soon discuss at some length (p. 552). At Hallstatt the simplest kind is formed out of a thick wire bent into a semicircle, which at one end is beaten thinner, and passes into one or two spiral twists, then into a pin, whilst the other end of the wire forms a spiral, and is then beaten into a broad lap, which is bent up to hold the pin. At Hallstatt these brooches sometimes have the bow quite plain, sometimes ribbed in whole or in part or engraved with zig-zags; sometimes again the bow is adorned with beads of amber or bone.

The commonest variety is that with a long projecting catch into which the pin falls (Fig. 109). The bow is often ornamented with cross-bands. This type we shall find very widespread in upper Italy and elsewhere.

Montelius[2] refers to the late Bronze Age and first part of the Iron Age similar high arched fibulae found in north Italy, whilst he assigns those with elongated nozzles to hold the pin to the second period of the Iron Age.

There are brooches formed of convex plates of metal fitted with a pin underneath. These take the form of a round shield with a boss. They are formed of one or more thin discs, or have a rim or raised circles of dots[3]. This class is rare.

We saw that Odysseus fastened his cloak with a brooch which was adorned with the representation of a dog seizing a fawn. Among the hundreds of fibulae found at Hallstatt

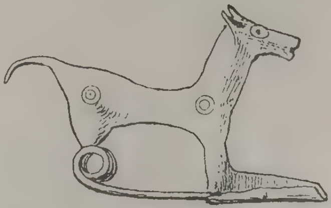

FIG. 73. Hound-shaped brooch; Hallstatt.

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[1] Bertrand and Reinach, p. 122.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 245; *cf.* Pl. IV. and V.

[3] Von Sacken, Pl. XIV. 11.

there were five which took the forms of animals; all were found in cremation-graves. One of these is actually in the form of a dog. Though the fawn is absent this brooch at once reminds us of that described in Homer (Fig. 73). Another had the form of a horse, a third that of a boar. Another with an unidentified animal was found with a fine bronze sword.

Another class of fibulae was formed by beating the bow into a flat half-moon (*cf.* Fig. 118). This was adorned with circles and other linear ornament. From it hung a number of little chains varying in number from 15 to 30, furnished with flat pendants also ornamented. This class with a single exception was found in cremation-graves.

(2) There was another numerous class of brooches quite distinct from those hitherto described. They are formed by bending a single cylindrical wire into discs at each end. The discs are often of considerable size. These brooches from their appearance are commonly termed 'spectacle' fibulae (Fig. 126). About 400 examples were found. Sometimes they had a pin of iron instead of bronze. One such brooch was made altogether of iron: it was found in a cremation-grave. Besides the spectacle brooch there was the kindred class formed of four spiral discs (Fig. 127). These spirals are arranged in cruciform fashion. In some specimens of the spectacle brooch the second pair of discs may be seen in their embryonic stage.

Spiral fibulae were found in several cases at the head of the dead: these probably fastened the hair or some kind of head-dress[1].

As the brooches are found on the shoulders and breasts of the dead there can be no doubt as regards their use. It is certain that both men and women used them for fastening their garments, as did the Homeric Acheans of both sexes.

Usually there were two on the breast, one under the other (as in Anglo-Saxon graves); on each shoulder there were larger ones.

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[1] Von Sacken, pp. 58—59.

Dress. The arrangement of the brooches shows that two garments were worn, one above the other, the under one probably of linen, which was fastened by the smaller brooches, while a cloak of wool was secured on each shoulder by those of larger size.

Three were sufficient for practical purposes, but four or six were often worn for display. With one cremated body were two large, four middle-sized, and two small ones. Eight all alike were found in a child's grave. Spiral fibulae were found at the head, in one case as many as five. They were worn alike by men and women, and they are found in both kinds of graves.

We shall soon consider in detail the chief characteristics of these fibulae.

There were more than three hundred ornamental pins. Some were for the hair, some fasten the garments either along with the brooches or instead of them. The first class have a round knob. They appear to have been worn by women only. As many as twenty have been found in a single grave. They occur in both cremation-graves and with skeletons. In the latter case they are found irregularly round the head.

The cloak-pins were found in the graves of both kinds and of both sexes. They have a head formed of several knobs and vary from 4 to 13 inches in length.

They were often furnished with a cap for the point. These caps were of bronze or bone, and served the twofold object of protecting the wearer from being scratched, and of keeping the pin from falling out.

Armlets and Rings. There were armlets, finger-rings (on the hands of the skeletons of women), earrings, beads of amber and glass. The skeletons of women and children showed the use of anklets made of bronze plate bent round, but not joined.

Vases. There were numerous bronze urns made of thin pieces of metal riveted together[1], and for the most part showing the same decoration as the urns of Villanova, of Bologna (Predio Arnoldi cemetery), and of the lower strata of Este, but in addition to the geometrical ornament of Cisalpine Gaul appear signs and symbols some of which are found later on the Celtic coins of Gaul[1].

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[1] *Cf.* Soph. *Antig.* 430: *ἔκ τ' εὐκροτήτου χαλκέας ἄρδην πρόχου κτλ.*

The Hallstatt people were thus rich in copper and bronze, which they probably obtained in exchange for the salt and iron of their own district. The scoriae and other remains show that smelting and working of metals was carried on vigorously on the spot. They could thus purchase the amber of the Baltic and the glass beads, ivory, and gold embroideries, from the peoples of the South. The bronze of Hallstatt has close analogues in upper Italy, in the Danubian area, at Haguenau in the Rhine valley.

The complete absence of silver both coined and uncoined is a very important fact, for it serves to fix an inferior limit of age for the cemeteries, as Fournet and Morlot[2] have pointed out. The silver coins of Philip II. are found abundantly in the Danubian area, but the Thracians themselves had worked and coined silver extensively almost as soon as the Greeks, so that silver must have been well known in the Balkan by the sixth century B.C. We may then without rashness set the inferior date of the Hallstatt cemeteries at about 500 B.C., whilst the earliest graves may range back to 1200 B.C.

The graves at Hallstatt have yielded bronze helmets, bronze concave plates for breastplates, girdles, arrowheads, iron swords, iron spears and lances. There are also the bosses of shields, and from the position in which five plates were found in one grave, it would appear that the shield was circular. This inference will be completely confirmed from graves of a similar character in Bosnia. The equipment of the warriors coincides in every way with that of the Acheans of Homer, with the single exception that greaves are not recorded among the finds of Hallstatt, but we shall find these articles included in the gear of the warriors of the Hallstatt period buried in the cemeteries of Glasinatz and Jezerine. With the Halstatt warrior as with the Homeric Achean the large spear and the javelin are the universal weapons. The Hallstatt graves indicate that the warriors of Noricum despised the bow and arrows as much as the Achean, who, as we saw (p. 301), is thus in strong contrast to the Bronze Age Myceneans, who loved the bow, and made but scant use of the spear.

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[1] Bertrand and Reinach, *Les Celtes*, etc., pp. 128—9.

[2] *Id.* p. 130.

The evidence likewise demonstrates that both men and women fastened their garments with fibulae, as did the Acheans, and one of these fibulae strikingly agrees with the description of the fibula of Odysseus: it is likewise almost certain that the Hallstatt people wore an under garment corresponding to the Homeric *chiton*, and an over garment similar to the *chlaina* or *pharos* of the Acheans. The ornaments likewise consist largely of beads of amber and blue glass, which, as has been shown (p. 329), are the only objects at all approaching precious stones, which were worn by the Homeric Acheans.

Furthermore, the characteristic objects of the Hallstatt culture were almost always found in graves containing the cremated remains of the dead. But cremation was one of the distinctive characteristics of the Acheans of Homer.

Again, the Acheans were regarded as men of large stature. But the evidence afforded by the great size of the sword-grips and of the helmet found at Hallstatt, demonstrates that the race who dwelt there at the end of the Bronze and the beginning of the Iron Ages were of large physique.

The Acheans were fair-haired, and so also were the Celts who dwelt in Noricum. In our last chapter we saw that the fair-haired peoples, as far back as recorded history goes, had occupied the Danube valley and the upper portions of the Balkan peninsula, intermingling with the indigenous Illyrian and Thracian tribes, who became their subjects. If then we can show that remains similar to those found at Hallstatt in the land of the Celtic Taurisci have been discovered in Styria, in Carniola, in Bosnia, and in Epirus even at Dodona itself, which Herodotus held to be the threshold of Greece (p. 368), then the material remains will have so confirmed the literary tradition that no doubt of its substantial accuracy can be felt by anyone capable of weighing evidence.

At Strettweg, near Judenburg in Styria, a grave of the early Iron Age—formed of large rough stones—contained a remarkable series of objects. Beside the remains of a cremated body were found a bronze celt, iron lance-heads, a bronze helmet, a bronze girdle, a spiral of gold wire adapted for a finger-ring, rings, spirals, plates with dotted representations of animals, a bronze vessel with fragments of a second, many pieces of pottery, and a fragment of a wheel tire. By far the most interesting object was a small bronze waggon. The vehicle is a simple platform on four wheels each of which has eight spokes. At each end are the heads of two animals. On the middle of the car stands a woman nude save for a girdle round her waist; there are four figures of men on horseback, who carry each a round shield with a central boss and wear conical caps on their heads.

There are altogether thirteen figures on the waggon[1].

This is plainly not an object imported from Greece, but is of undoubtedly native origin. In this waggon we have probably a model of those on which the Celtic tribes conveyed their women and children as they wandered into the southern lands.

We saw that the Celtic tribes, such as the Scordisci, Boii and Taurisci, had advanced from Noricum down the valley of the Save, and that in Strabo's time the Carni held the district still called after them, through which ran the trade road from Tergeste (Trieste) over the Ocra to the lake Lugeum (*Kirknitz See*). Lower down the Save came the Iapodes, a mixed tribe of Celts and Illyrians.

Deschmann and Hochstetter[2] have discovered many settlements of the early Iron Age in Carniola. The valleys of the Save and Moratz show the remains of many holds round which are numerous tumuli, on some of which the St John's fire is still kindled. Eighteen localities yielded antiquities of the Iron Age, but no remains of the Neolithic or Bronze Periods came to light.

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[1] M. Much, *Kunsthistorischer Atlas* (Vienna, 1889), p. 98, Pl. XLI.; Weinhold, "Heidn. Todtenbestattung in Deutschland," *S.-B. ph. h. Cl. Akad.* of Vienna, Vol. XXX., p. 212.

[2] *Prähistorische Ansiedlungen und Begräbnisstatten in Krain* (Vienna, 1879); Bertrand and S. Reinach, *Les Celtes*, etc., pp. 134 *sqq.*

The cemeteries show both cremation and inhumation; sometimes the one, sometimes the other predominating, sometimes there is a confused mixture of both; at one place the cremation graves are the richer, at another the inhumation.

On the slope of the hill near the Kirknitz See (p. 348) was found a series of badly baked cinerary urns containing, as well as ashes, bracelets and fibulae of the type of Golasecca and Villanova (p. 238), some of the brooches having only the simple bow; there were also knives and rings of iron, as well as glass, amber, and agate beads.

At Grad near St Michael, the plough revealed another *oppidum* by turning up pieces of fibulae, iron spearheads, coloured beads and portions of earthenware cinerary urns, whilst the discovery of skeletons close by showed that inhumation had been practised at the same time.

At Klenik, on a height where the St John's fire is kindled on June 24th, was found an exclusively cremation cemetery, for only one skeleton, and that very poorly furnished, was found.

The urns were of a large size and were decorated with bosses. One urn was filled for a third of its depth with human ashes and charcoal. Above them came a piece of sheet bronze, probably the remains of a caldron, with which were a small iron knife and a perforated leaden bullet. The grave gear in all cases was poor, the only exceptions being a decorated bronze girdle plate (to which the fragment of some material still adhered), and a large iron fibula with its bow ornamented with round knobs. Later on inhumation graves were discovered. The skeletons lay on their backs. One had on the neck an amber necklace from the middle of which hung a small bronze pannier-shaped bell; on the left arm was a bracelet formed of five rows of amber beads; there was also an iron knife and a large iron fibula. With another skeleton were two little rude figures of stag-horn, and a little horseman of the same material.

Some of the cremation burials had fibulae of the Golasecca and Villanova type. In the cavity of the nose of a skull was a ring of bronze wire. In all 235 graves were opened, of which 123 were those of poor people whose ashes had not been inurned, but only laid between slabs; 92 had been inurned. The inhumations were in a great minority. The urns were packed in loose pebbles as at Golasecca and Villanova, and the graves had been carefully lined with clay as at Hallstatt. The urns were of an elegant shape and bore geometrical ornament. The only weapon found was an iron spearhead, with which were a large amber bead, the fragment of a girdle, and a whetstone.

Some years previously only 400 m. from Klenik a fine bronze helmet had been found and several iron lanceheads at the same time, one of the latter having a ferule of bronze (*cf.* p. 306 *n.*). The helmet was similar to those found at Nigau in Lower Styria, two of which bore Euganean inscriptions[1].

At Marithal south of Laybach five skeletons with glass and amber beads and bronze bracelets were discovered. A number of tumuli were excavated at Sanct-Margarethen, which had already yielded many objects of bronze and even of gold, and then another mass of tumuli were explored at Watsch. Both groups alike showed both kinds of burial, though the majority showed inhumation, and these were the richest and contained weapons. A bronze helmet was found, and with a skeleton were two bronze bracelets, seven fibulae, a bronze necklace, and fragments of an earring covered with gold leaf wrought with maeanders. Several skeletons had with them numbers of arrowheads and lanceheads of iron, but swords were entirely absent, nor were there any girdle plates or decorated buckets.

Though the swords and other characteristics of Hallstatt are wanting in the graves of Carniola, yet the resemblance between the latter and those of the early Iron Age of north Italy is of great importance.

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[1] The two inscribed bronze helmets from Nigau are described and figured by Th. Mommsen (*Nord-etruskischen Alphabete*, p. 208, Taf. I. figs. 12—13).

The existence of both cremation and inhumation is in complete accord with the historical evidence, that in all this region there was an Illyrian population overlaid by and intermixed with another race from the Alps and beyond. Later on we shall produce strong evidence to show that cremation was not indigenous but rather adventitious in the Balkan peninsula (Chap. VII.). Hence we may assume by anticipation that the inhumation graves of Carniola are those of the Illyrians, whilst the cinerary urns contain the relics of the Celts.

The preponderance of inhumation in one place indicates that the Illyrian element was here strongest, whilst the contrary shows that the Celtic element was in the majority, although it is not improbable that the Illyrians adopted cremation to a considerable degree. Graveyards which present a mixture of both practices may show us this process taking place, and both races freely blending.

The fact that one of the great amber routes passed by the Kirknitz See to Trieste explains the abundance of amber beads in graves otherwise poorly furnished.

In 1880, when the highway from Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia, to Visegrad was being constructed, convenient material for road-making was found in some large tumuli situated a few miles to the east of the *Kaserne* of Podromanja in the district of Glasinatz. The elevated upland region to which the name of Glasinatz is given, extends over a superficial area of about 30 square Austrian miles, and has an average elevation of about 900 metres above sea level. It is surrounded almost on all sides by mountainous ridges.

The surface of this confined plateau rises here and there into hills and stony uplands, sometimes wooded, but always affording good pasture for cattle and sheep. Its present inhabitants depend mainly for their subsistence on their herds and flocks, as only small portions of the lower lands are tilled.

On the slopes of the rounded hills lie the tumuli, distributed in some twenty or thirty groups or cemeteries, each group numbering several hundreds. Their total number seems to exceed 20,000.

In one of these tumuli, the discovery by the road-makers of a number of relics including a small bronze chariot in the shape of a bird, a beautiful oenochoe, a stout armlet, and a couple of fibulae, etc., soon attracted the notice of archaeologists, and since 1888 each year systematic excavations have been carried on by Dr Truhelka, the Director of the Landes Museum at Sarajevo, Dr Fiala, and others. More than 1000 tumuli have now been examined.

The builders of the barrows of the Iron Age at Glasinatz seem to have practised both inhumation and cremation at the same time, burials in the case of the former being in the proportion of 60 per cent., of the latter 30 per cent., while the remaining 10 per cent. were of a mixed character and contained both kinds of interments.

Inhumation was probably the earlier practice, as was indicated by the fact that the few burials with objects of the pre-Hallstatt period all exhibited that method of disposing of the dead.

The body was usually deposited on the natural surface of the earth surrounded by a circle of stones.

The vast majority of the barrows belonged to the Hallstatt period, although a very small percentage contained objects of the later Iron Age, and a few others Roman remains.

The graves exhibit a series of objects closely resembling those found at Hallstatt.

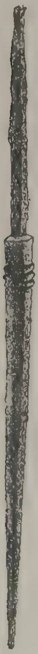

Fig. 74. Iron Butt-piece of a spear; Glasinatz.

As at Hallstatt spears and javelins were by far the commonest weapons, so too at Glasinatz. They are almost always of iron. Some of the large iron lances show a well-defined midrib, and a fragment of a bronze spearhead also has a raised midrib.

Among the objects which may be naturally associated with spearheads are some conical butt-ends of iron (like those from La Tène in Switzerland); others are greatly elongated[1] (Fig. 74). These correspond to the butt-piece (οὐρίαχος, σαυρωτήρ) of the Homeric spear (p. 307).

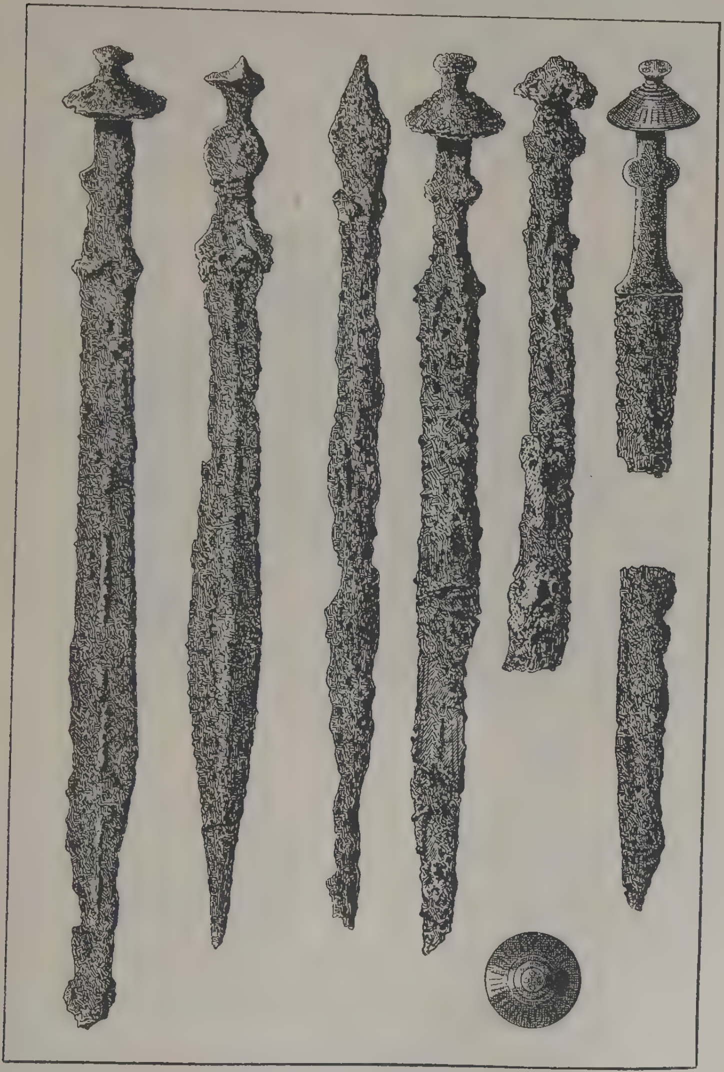

Fig. 75. Iron swords, Glasinatz.

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[1] *Mitth. aus Bosnien*, vol. III. p. 17, Fig. 46. Bronze butt-pieces for spears were found in a tomb at Corneto (Etruria), and there is a specimen of the

Iron swords of two kinds very like those of Hallstatt are not rare (Fig. 75)[1].

Iron socketed celts and iron palstaves of the Hallstatt type with projecting stops on either side (Fig. 71) are also found[2].

There are large iron double axes[3], others like the copper implements of Hungary and the perforated stone-axe[4].

Short flat dagger blades with rivet holes at the end for attachment to the haft are found both in bronze and iron.

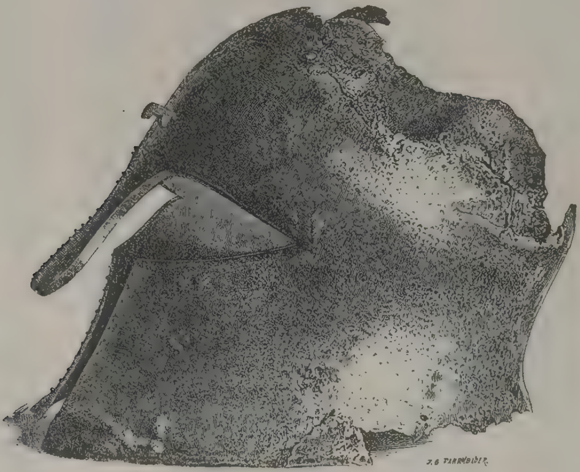

Fig. 76. Bronze Helmet, Glasinatz.

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pointed shape also from Italy in the Cambridge Archaeological Museum (Foster collection). Such butt-pieces were commonly employed in the Bronze Age of northern Europe, and are often found in our own islands (Evans, *Br. Impl.* p. 338—9, Figs. 423—5). There is one, found along with a bronze spear and numerous other objects at Carbury (Co. Kildare), in the Murray Collection, Cambridge.

[1] Franz Fiala, *Mittheilungen aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina*, vol. III. p. 9. The set of swords here figured is taken from Dr Fiala's admirable paper. See also the paper of Georg Stratimirović, Ritter v. Kulpin, *op. cit.*, vol. I. p. 123, Fig. 25.

[2] Fiala, *loc. cit.*, p. 12. Dr Rob. Munro, the eminent Scottish archaeologist, has admirably summarized the results of the earlier excavations at Glasinatz in his *Rambles and Studies in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Dalmatia*, chap. v.

[3] *Mitth. aus Bosnien*, Vol. III. p. 135, Figs. 14—16.

[4] *Id.* Vol. I. p. 129, Fig. 4.

Triangular arrowheads of bronze, furnished with a socket similar to Fig. 56 *A*, are also found.

Two helmets of bronze were found at Hallstatt, and Glasinatz has already yielded a remarkable example of the same class (Fig. 76). It closely resembles a well-known form of Greek helmet[1], and this has led Dr Truhelka to suggest that it was either imported from, or carried off as a trophy from, some Greek land. But there does not seem to be any need for this supposition. The helmet is furnished with an *aulos* from which no doubt a crest (λόφος) once depended. In fact it corresponds in this respect to the *τρυφάλεια αὐλῶπις* of the *Iliad*[2].

The margin is set with a row of bronze studs, and shows traces of having been once decorated with bands of silver or tin.

In a tumulus near Philippopolis the remains of a bronze helmet and greaves have been discovered. This tumulus lies in the Thracian area[3].

It is probable that the Glasinatz warriors wore shirts of mail, for some seventy bronze studs found in a tumulus at Koracev are supposed to have been sewn on leather (Fig. 77). Similar finds have been made in other tumuli. Fifty such were found in a tumulus at Ilijak[4]. Such a hauberk would well

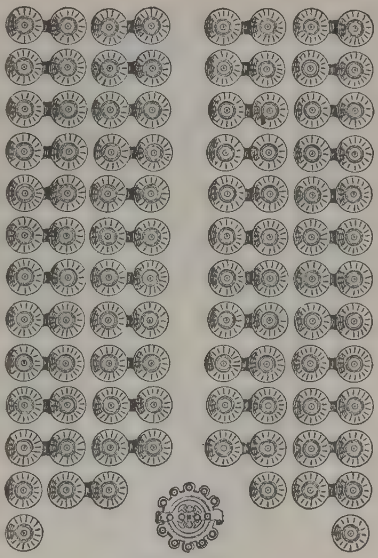

Fig. 77. Probable arrangement of the scales of a hauberk found at Glasinatz.

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[1] *Mitth. aus Bosnien*, vol. I. pp. 77—8, from which I have reproduced the figure.

[2] *Il.* v. 162, XI. 353, etc.

[3] Truhelka, *Mitth. aus Bosnien*, vol. I. p. 78.

[4] *Mitth. aus Bosnien*, vol. III. p. 7, Fig. 12.

correspond to that worn by the 'bronze-shirted Acheans' (p. 310).

Greaves were not found at Hallstatt, but already Glasinatz has furnished several examples of this kind of armour. Dr Fiala found a pair on the leg bones of a skeleton in a tumulus at Citluci[1]. They were made of beaten bronze, and Fiala took them for Greek work. Three pairs of greaves curiously constructed of bronze plates, and with various kinds of ornamentation, were discovered in a group of tumuli near the *Burgwall* of Ilijak[2]. One pair is here figured (no. 78).

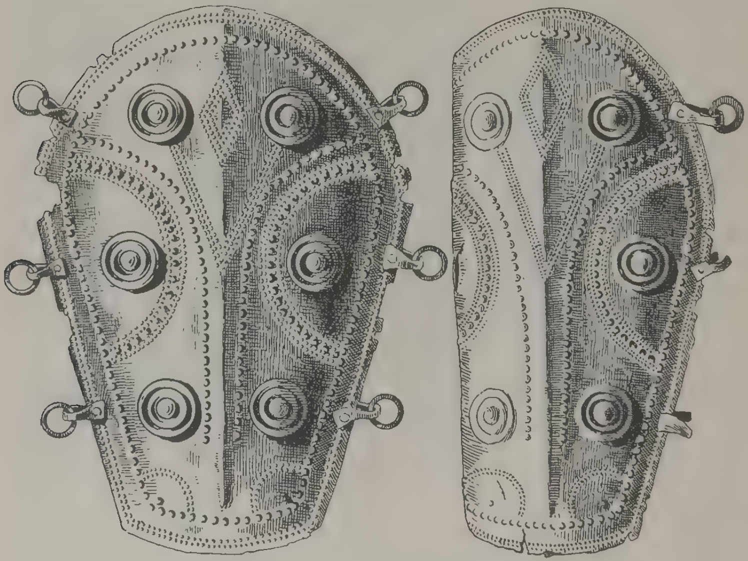

Fig. 78. Bronze Greaves, Glasinatz.

One pair of these had three small rings on each side for straps. The decoration consists of beaten-out bosses, circles, and rows of dots. On one is engraved in very primitive fashion the figure of a stag.

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[1] *Mitth. aus Bosnien*, vol. I. p. 135.

[2] Fiala, *op. cit.*, vol. III. p. 7, and p. 11, Figs. 23 and 24; p. 15, Fig. 39.

There is no reason for considering these to be of other than native work, and we may therefore hesitate to ascribe a Greek origin to those first found.

The bosses of shields have been found as at Hallstatt. That the Glasinatz shield was not only furnished with a boss, but was also circular, is beyond question. Dr Truhelka has had the kindness to inform me that from the appearance left in the grave by the decayed material of the shield and from the arrangement of the boss and other mountings there can be no doubt that it was round.

Brooches have been found in large numbers at Glasinatz. There are more varieties than at Hallstatt, though all the Hallstatt types are represented.

The simple safety-pin, commonly called the Peschiera fibula (Fig. 106), is met with, as well as all the bow-shaped forms developed out of it. Those with a stem double-twisted and thus forming a bilateral spring are by far the most numerous, amounting to not less than 44 per cent. of the whole. This type was formerly considered to be confined to the regions north of the Alps, but the discoveries at Glasinatz have completely disproved this opinion.

Some of the fibulae with a single twist are allied to certain Greek types[1]. Snake-formed fibulae similar to those found in the Lake-dwellings of north Italy are also numerous, and the type known as the Certosa brooch, to which we shall refer presently, is also met with.

Spectacle fibulae and the variety with four spiral discs are also not uncommon. Besides these there is a type as yet only known at Glasinatz. It consists of an ornamental plate of bronze, generally formed by uniting two or four discs, under which the pin is concealed. It seems to have been developed from the class last mentioned by merely converting the spiral disc into circular plates. The concentric circles, which are its prevailing ornament, as has been pointed out, may well be a survival of the spirals in the earlier form[2].

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[1] Dr Rob. Munro, *op. cit.*, pp. 148—50.

[2] *op. cit.*, pp. 147—8.

There were many kinds of bronze pins, including some with thimble-like caps for their points, a type also known at Hallstatt. There were pendants of varied forms, such as birds, small jugs, and miniature celts and spears[1]. Silver was unknown at Halstatt, but it is occasionally met with at Glasinatz.

The Hallstatt remains from these tumuli probably, as has been pointed out by Dr Montelius[2], represent a long period of time, as they contained examples of the successive stages in the development of the fibula from an early age down to that known as the Certosa brooch, which can be dated with tolerable accuracy to a period about four centuries B.C.

We cannot therefore go far wrong if we follow the generally received view that the interments of Glasinatz range from at least 1100 B.C. to 400 B.C.

It has been pointed out by Dr Verneau "that there is a strong likeness between the skulls from the tumuli of Glasinatz and those found in the graves at Hallstatt, the majority being in both cases dolichocephalic, a craniological phenomenon which is reversed in the case of the Swiss Lake-dwellers[3]."

According to Prof. Hampel[4] several localities in the Danubian valley have already yielded fibulae, armlets, etc., similar both in form and ornamentation to those of Glasinatz. We therefore may reasonably hold that, as at a later time the La Tène civilization, which we know to have been that of the Celtic tribes, such as the Helvetii and Boii, in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era, made its way into Bosnia from the north-west down by the valley of the Danube (the route by which the Scordisci and the Boii had come from Noricum, p. 379), so too in the earlier days had the Celtic civilization made its way down from Hallstatt to the plateau of Glasinatz.

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[1] The pendants of some of the large half-moon brooches from Hallstatt may represent miniature shields (Sacken, Taf. xv. 1) and miniature axes, Taf. xiv. 15 (L. M. K. R.). Necklaces of miniature arrowheads are still used as charms in Bosnia.

[2] Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

[3] Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

[4] Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

In 1890 some workmen discovered nine graves at Jezerine in Pritoka near Bihać in Bosnia. Systematic excavations were carried out in 1892–3 under M. Radimsky. The cemetery stands on a slight elevation which gradually merges into the plain of the Una. Altogether 553 graves were opened, of which 328 were burnt, and 225 unburnt interments[1].

Both kinds of burial were completely intermixed both "as regards extension and superposition." The burnt remains were usually contained in urns, but sometimes they were placed on the earth and protected by stones (as at Klenik). Partial cremation, of which there were traces at Hallstatt (p. 412), was indicated by two instances, when an unburnt skull was discovered along with the cremated remains. The skeleton normally lay on the back with a stone under the head. The head lay to the north in 75 per cent., to the east in 12, and in 7 per cent. to the south.

The contents of the Jezerine graves belonged to a distinctly later period than those of Glasinatz. There were several short one-edged swords of iron. The longest was only sixteen inches in length. They had apparently had handles of wood or horn attached by rivets. They differ completely in type from the long Hallstatt swords and from the later long iron swords of the La Tène Celtic period[2].

Similar short weapons have been found at Hallstatt and also at St Michael in Carniola[3]. The only difference between certain knife-swords, which are also found at Jezerine, and the so-called swords, is that the knives are only about half the length of the latter[4].

Only eight skulls were sufficiently well preserved to supply cranial measurements. Dr Glück states that they resemble those from the tumuli of Glasinatz in being large and capacious, but differ from them in having a smaller breadth towards the frontal region. Three are mesocephalic, and the remaining five brachycephalic[1].

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[1] W. Radimsky, "Die Nekropole von Jezerine in Pritoka bei Bihać.' *Mitth. aus Bosnien*, vol. III. pp. 60—218. Dr Munro has summarized concisely the results in his *Rambles*, pp. 160—172.

[2] Radimsky, *loc. cit.*, p. 69, Fig. 151; p. 116, Fig. 274; p. 156, Fig. 468.

[3] Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

[4] Radimsky, *loc. cit.*, p. 156, Fig. 468.

The absence of spears and javelins marks a further distinction between the people of Jezerine and those of Hallstatt and Glasinatz, but connects them with those of Klenik in Carniola. Furthermore there are no helmets, shield-bosses, or greaves.

The general armature, therefore, varies in its essentials from that of Hallstatt, Glasinatz, and the Homeric Achean.

Again, in the matter of the disposal of the dead we are struck by the fact that urns made of stone are frequently employed to enclose the cremated remains.

On the other hand the fibulae showed many examples of the earliest, middle, and latest La Tène type. This particular form of brooch (Fig. 112) derives its name from the fact that it is a marked characteristic of the famous late Celtic settlement on Lake Neuchâtel, where it is found in company with long iron swords, gold coins, such as were struck by the Helvetii and other Celtic tribes, and with various other objects corresponding in form and ornament to similar relics found on the battlefield of Alesia, where Caesar overthrew the Helvetii and the Boii. The graves of Gaulish warriors discovered in the valleys of the Marne yield the same sort of weapons and brooches (Fig. 129). From this it is certain that the La Tène brooch was essentially a Celtic development, and accordingly when we meet it in Bosnia, we must not argue that it has come thither from Greece, where it is never found, but that from the fourth to the first century B.C. it had passed from the Celts who were living north of the Alps.

This type of brooch seems to be developed from the Certosa fibula, which, as we shall see (p. 560), can be dated to the fifth century B.C The La Tène type then, roughly speaking, may be said to appear about the time of the great Gallic invasion of Italy at the beginning of the fourth century B.C.

Now neither at Hallstatt nor Glasinatz did the La Tène brooch appear, though it is found in Jezerine with fibulae of the Roman provincial types. From this it is fairly certain that the Jezerine cemetery is considerably later than that of Glasinatz.

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[1] Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 170—1.

But not only does it differ in age from Glasinatz, but also in the character of the remains. For though certain brooches of the well-defined Celtic type are found, nevertheless the weapons are essentially different from those of the Celts of the La Tène period.

This difficulty can be readily explained.

In the preceding chapter (p. 346) we saw that Strabo distinguished very clearly the Celtic tribes, who extended from Noricum, through Carniola, Croatia, the valley of the Danube, and the upper Balkan peninsula, from the Illyrian and Thracian tribes, whom the Celts in many cases had made their vassals.

Strabo says that the Iapodes were a mixed Illyrian and Celtic tribe, and that they employed the Celtic military equipment, though they tattooed themselves like all the Illyrians and Thracians.

The Scordisci and Boii likewise dwelt intermixed with their Illyrian and Thracian subjects in the region called Pannonia by the Romans, part of which is now the modern Bosnia.

There is thus complete evidence that in what is now Bosnia and the contiguous regions there were two distinct populations living intermixed, but differing entirely in race, equipments, and customs. In this fact is to be found the solution of the problem raised by the difference in antiquities between Jezerine and Glasinatz, which is not merely one of period, but of culture. At Jezerine we have the cemetery of Illyrians, who retained their own form of armature, though they had adopted the La Tène brooch and to some extent the practice of cremation from their neighbours and masters. Glasinatz, on the other hand, was the site of a Celtic community, who may have had a fair proportion of Illyrian blood in their veins, and whose Illyrian dependents had adopted the weapons, dress, and perhaps even to some degree the burial customs of their masters.

It has been previously proved that from the earliest time of which we have any record the fair-haired people were ever overflowing the barrier of the Alps, and overrunning and conquering the Illyrian and Thracian tribes of the upper Balkan peninsula. As there is no doubt that the people of Hallstatt were Celts, we may infer reasonably that the people of Glasinatz belonged to the same stock. Certain it is that Celtic tribes such as the Scordisci and Boii were dwelling in Pannonia in classical times, and it is probable, as we saw (pp. 389—90), that many swarms of the same stock, under the name of Cimmerians, had for long ages occupied the valley of the Danube.

The historical tradition is confirmed by the discovery of relics of the Hallstatt type in various parts of the Danubian valley, and by the fact already pointed out (p. 416 *n.*) that the grips of the Hungarian swords of the Bronze Age were made for men of the same physique as those who once grasped the large hilts of the swords of Hallstatt.

We have also indicated that the culture laid bare for us in the tumuli of Glasinatz as well as at Hallstatt coincides to a remarkable degree with that of the Acheans of Homer.

All we now require is to find traces of the same culture on the soil of Greece itself. We were able to trace the Acheans from Epirus into Thessaly and down into the heart of Peloponnesus. Zeus, who ruled over wintry Dodona, was their chief deity, and it was in Epirus that Neoptolemus, surnamed 'Redhead,' the son of Achilles, founded a kingdom after his return from Troy.

Dodona was held by Herodotus to mark the frontier of Greece on the north-west, for it was here that the gifts from the Hyperboreans on their way down from the head of the Adriatic first reached Greek hands (p. 368).

Now at both Hallstatt and Glasinatz iron palstaves with a projecting stop on each side were a noticeable feature (Fig. 71). They differ wholly from any axe as yet found in any Mycenean grave. Among the many objects of interest brought to light by Dr Carapanos at Dodona were some axes which from their size, like the miniature axes of Hallstatt, were made for monetary or votive purposes and not for actual use[1] (Fig. 79). Sir John Evans' experienced eye saw that these axes were of the same pattern as the Hallstatt palstaves with the lateral stops, and he inferred rightly that this type was probably in use on Greek soil[1].

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[1] Carapanos, *Dodone et ses ruines*, Pl. LIV. Mr D. G. Hogarth has just announced the discovery in the cave of Dictaean Zeus of "twenty small Carian axes" along with many other dedications. These little axes are miniature representations of the common *bipennis* of the Aegean.

It is reasonable to infer from the existence of such miniature axes that real celts of the same type were in actual use. For we have just seen that the little axes found at Hallstatt are either exact copies of local forms, or of a type which though not actually met with on the spot is well known over a wide adjacent area. Modern parallels are not wanting. Thus the little copper axe (here shown full size, Fig. 80[2]) from Mitla in Mexico imitates exactly even to its side flanges the regular copper Aztec axes found at the same place and all over Mexico. These little axes are said by the Indians to have been used for money, a statement which is probably quite true, as they represented the real axes which, all over the world, have been one of the commonest forms of barbaric currency. Thus in part of West Africa small axes, which are exact copies of the large real axes there used, circulate in bundles of ten[3], recalling the ten axes and ten half-axes, which formed one of the prizes at the funeral games of Patroclus[4].

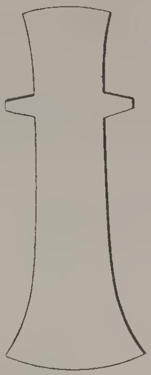

Fig. 79. Bronze Axe; Dodona.

It is possible that such little axes were first made as children's toys, but later were found convenient for monetary and votive purposes.

It is therefore highly probable that the little axes from Dodona and Hallstatt were monetary tokens. Such

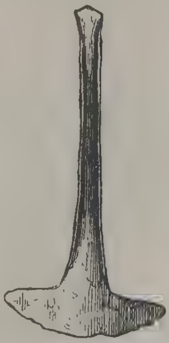

Fig. 80. Miniature Copper Axe; Mexico.

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[1] Evans, *Bronze Implements*, p. 69.

[2] That here figured (from a drawing by my friend Mr Herbert James) is in my own possession.

[3] Ridgeway, *Origin of Metallic Currency*, p. 40 (where two specimens are figured).

[4] *Il.* XXIII. 850—1.

pieces would naturally be buried with the dead or dedicated at shrines[1], and it is quite possible that the bipennes (πελεκεῖς) offered by the people of Tenedos to Apollo at Delphi were not real, but only miniature axes like those from the Dictaean cave[2].

Thus axes of a type characteristic of the civilization of the fair-haired people of central Europe are found at Dodona, the very spot where we meet the Acheans at the dawn of history.

But there are already stray indications from Peloponnesus itself, of an influence from central Europe. At Glasinatz there were not only the stopped celts just referred to, but also the double-edged axes of the Danubian type. There is in the Ashmolean Museum an axe-and-adze (Fig. 81) of the Danubian type "bought at Phigalia, and so strange to classical archaeology as to be reckoned as mediaeval by its discoverer. Such implements occur rarely at Hissarlik, but have not been traced further south on the Asiatic side[3]."

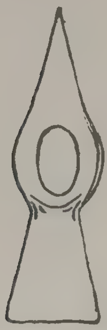

Fig. 81. Bronze Axe; Phigaleia.

As the Troad was the landing-place in Asia of not only Thracian tribes, but also of Cimmerians, the occurrence at Hissarlik of Danubian axes is at once explained. We shall presently find 'Thracian swords' in use amongst the Trojans and their allies (p. 623).

The bridge between the land of the Celts and Greece itself is now complete, and we need no longer make frantic attempts to fit the Homeric culture on to the monuments of the Bronze ('Mycenean') Age of Greece. For in central Europe there was a culture for the most part independent of the Aegean people, with striking characteristics of its own.

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[1] Miniature bronze axes of native types are also found in Italy, and in the Murray Irish Collection at Cambridge there is a socketed and looped celt (from Drumcooley, King's Co.), too small for practical use. Little bronze axes are also found in Egyptian tombs.

[2] Ridgeway, *op. cit.*, p. 318. The bipennis as the type of the coins of Tenedos is probably a survival of the time when the axe was there the regular unit of barter.

[3] J. L. Myres, "Copper and Bronze in Cyprus and South-east Europe." *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.*, 1897, p. 176.

Let us now shortly summarise the results of our examination of the Hallstatt civilization and compare it with that set before us in Homer.

The warrior of Glasinatz when fully equipped wore a helmet exactly corresponding to that of the Homeric Achean, he carried a round shield with a large central boss, he wore a hauberk, sometimes as at Hallstatt, formed by hollow plates of bronze, sometimes as at Glasinatz, of a number of small bronze studs, stitched on to a leathern tunic; he protected his legs by greaves of sheet bronze. His weapons consisted chiefly of a large spear with a long shaft, which corresponds to the *δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος* of Homer, and like the latter the Glasinatz spear was shod with a butt-piece. The Paeonians are described by Homer as armed with 'long spears,' and it is not improbable that in them we have the prototype of the Macedonian *sarissa*, which Grote compared to the great pike (*κοντός*) used by Ajax to defend the ships. Besides the large spear the warrior carried several javelins: occasionally he wore a sword, sometimes of great size. Those of Glasinatz were all of iron, whilst at Hallstatt iron was seen gradually superseding bronze. The long iron swords remind us of the *τανύηκες ἄορ* and *τανύηκες ξίφος* of Homer. This coincidence is singularly confirmed by the fact that the Homeric poems themselves testify to the large size of the swords employed in the countries lying north of Greece. Thus Helenus smote Deipyrus with "a large Thracian sword" (*ξίφει...Θρηικίῳ μεγάλῳ*)[1], and it was probably such a sword that Achilles, when giving it as a prize, describes as "the handsome Thracian sword," which he took from Asteropaeus, the leader of the Paeonians[2].

This is all the more remarkable since the (Asiatic) Thracians in Xerxes' host were armed with javelins, peltae, and small daggers[3]. This coincides with what we have learned above of the weapons of the Illyrians buried at Jezerine. The apparent discrepancy between Homer and Herodotus respecting the Thracian swords can be easily explained by what we have learned in the last chapter. For we saw that in later times tribes which were in reality Celtic were termed Thracian because they dwelt in Thrace. The cemeteries of Glasinatz have shown us Celtic communities living amongst the native Illyrians as early as 1100 B.C. It is therefore highly probable that the famous Thracian sword, such as that used by the Trojan Helenus and Asteropaeus the leader of the men of Paeonia (the later Pannonia), was the great sword of the invading Celts.

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[1] *Il.* XIII. 576.

[2] *Il.* XXIII. 808: *φάσγανον ἀργυρόηλον καλὸν Θρηίκιον*. *Cf.* *μόνοι γὰρ ἐν βαρβάροις οἱ Θρᾷκες μεγίστοις ξίφεσι χρῶνται*, Schol. A.

[3] Herod. VII. 75: *ἀκόντιά τε καὶ πέλτας καὶ ἐγχειρίδια σμικρά*.

The Glasinatz warriors employed palstaves and socketed celts and also double-edged axes of iron. The Homeric hero had both 'half-axes' (*ἡμιπέλεκκα*) and 'double-axes' (*πελεκεῖς*), while the graves at Mycenae show the latter only. The Hallstatt people of both sexes fastened on their garments with fibulae, as did also the Homeric Acheans. Brooches in the shape of animals such as dogs and horses are known at Hallstatt, and Odysseus is described as fastening his cloak with a brooch in the form of a dog seizing a fawn. The Hallstatt folk wore an under garment probably of linen, and an upper garment probably of wool, just as the Achean wore a *chiton* and a *chlaina*. The Hallstatt warrior of rank often wore a girdle wholly or partly of bronze or some material such as leather, thus recalling the bronze girdle *παναίολος ζωστήρ* of Menelaus (p. 310). No such bronze belts were found in the Acropolis graves of Mycenae, although fragments of a bronze band overlaid with gold, which may have been a girdle, were found in 1893 in a chambered tomb in the Lower Town[1]. We have already (p. 311) shown that the *mitra* which Menelaus wore in addition to his *zoster*, finds its parallel in certain bronze belts, deep in front and fastened behind, used in the early Iron Age of upper Italy. The ornaments of the Hallstatt people, other than those of gold and bronze, consisted of beads of amber and blue glass. Engraved gems were unknown to them. Here again there is complete agreement with the Acheans.

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[1] Tsountas and Manatt, *op. cit.* p. 174.

Cremation is the regular form of burial for the wealthy in the full Iron period at Hallstatt, and such too was the normal practice of the Homeric Acheans. There is proof that the people of the Hallstatt area, like the Acheans, used the two-horse chariot, yet as all the peoples round the Aegean employed similar war chariots, no argument can be drawn from its use by the Hallstatt people, but on the other hand, if no such evidence was at hand, it might have been urged that the absence of the chariot indicated that the Hallstatt culture was not identical with that of the Acheans.

But there is evidence to show that whilst the vehicles of the Acheans differ in one respect at least from those of the Myceneans, they agree in the same with those of the Hallstatt area.

We saw that whilst the chariots on the tombstones of Mycenae have wheels with four spokes only, the Homeric chariot wheel had eight spokes. Now not only is the little waggon from Glasinatz furnished with eight-spoked wheels, but so too is the waggon from Styria. The little terra-cotta bird-shaped waggon from Este[1] appears to have nine spokes, but a bronze wheel-shaped pendant from the same place has eight spokes[2]. In Lake Garda near Peschiera was found an iron dagger in a wooden scabbard mounted with iron, on one side highly decorated in relief, and showing a wheel[3] with eight spokes. Again though the wheels of the chariots on which the remains of Gaulish chieftains have been found in graves in Champagne are generally too much decayed to enable us to fix the number of spokes, nevertheless a small bronze wheel from Champagne exhibits eight spokes[4]. We may therefore conclude that the wheels of the fair-haired people of central Europe like those of Homer were eight-spoked.

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[1] Montelius, *Civ. Prim. en Italie*, Pl. L., 8 *a*.

[2] On a slab of Euganean stone (at Padua) is sculptured a man in a *biga* with eight-spoked wheels (Th. Mommsen, *Nordetrusk. Alphabete*, p. 211, Taf. II. 21).

[3] Montelius, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXIV., 13 *a*.

[4] Morel, *Champagne Souterraine*, p. 205.

But, as our historical evidence has led us to the conclusion that the fair-haired people of upper Europe were continually pressing down over the Alps into Italy, as well as into the Balkan, we ought to be able to point to material remains in Italy corresponding to those which we have just shown extending from the Tyrol down into Greece.

We can find plenty of material evidence to demonstrate the truth of the historical statements concerning the movements of the Celts into Italy and the Danube valley in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era. Thus at Bologna, Marzabotto, Este, and various places in the provinces of Forli, Modena and Reggio antiquities of indubitable Gallic origin have been met in considerable quantities. The weapons, accoutrements, and ornaments are similar to those found at the late Celtic settlement of La Tène on Lake Neuchâtel, on Caesar's battlefields in Gaul, in the graves of the Gaulish warriors in the valley of the Marne, and in the Alpine passes.

The same class of objects is found in Bohemia, the land of the Boii, and in Bosnia at Glasinatz we have just seen all kinds of the distinctive Gallic fibulae known as the La Tène.

Similarly the tradition of an Etruscan domination in upper Italy is fully substantiated by the discovery of large numbers of tombs and other antiquities of a type thoroughly distinct from the Roman and Gallic which succeeded them. Again, at Bologna and in many other places there are the remains of a culture which preceded the Etruscans, and which accordingly we have attributed to the Umbrians, who according to the historians, before the Etruscan conquests once held a large part of north Italy up to the Alps. The antiquities of this class (termed Villanov) belong to the first part of the Iron Age.

We saw that at Bologna these remains must be dated at least 1100 B.C. In date therefore they correspond closely to the tumuli of Glasinatz of the early Iron Age, and therefore practically belong to the same period as the cemeteries of the early Iron Age of Hallstatt.

But we also saw (pp. 137, 238—9, 265—6) that the bronze work of the Villanova period is closely parallel to a class of bronzes found at Olympia—oxen, horses, and men—decorated in *repoussé* with circles, and which in their designs show a close affinity to the style of ornament on the Dipylon vases. But, as almost all the Olympian bronzes of this type were found at the same level and at one part of the Altis near the Pelopium and Heraeum, we inferred that the Dipylon style of decoration had come in with the Acheans.

All we now need is some proof that the culture of the early Iron Age of northern and central Italy is part of the Hallstatt civilization. But of this there is no lack of evidence.

At Sesto Calende near the point where the Ticino issues from the southern extremity of Lake Maggiore was found a tomb dating from the first part of the early Iron Age, corresponding to the Hallstatt period. In a deep pit surmounted by a tumulus were found a helmet made of plates of bronze riveted together, two bronze greaves, a very short sword, a lance-head, arrowheads, two horse-bits, two iron circles (the tires of the chariot-wheels), two large hollow objects, and other pieces in iron belonging to the chariot. Most of the things showed traces of the funeral pyre. There was a bronze bucket ornamented with horsemen, footmen, stags, birds, dotted circles and dotted lines. The bronze helmet had two projections for the crest, and a narrow rim like that from Hallstatt. The short iron sword had a hilt of iron with antennae, and a bronze scabbard. The iron arrowheads were heavily barbed like that from Glasinatz. There was a socketed iron spearhead, and an iron butt-piece. The horse-bits are bronze mounted in iron (one broken). The pottery was painted in black and red bands[1].

Though the contents of the Sesto Calende tomb, like those of the Hallstatt graves, differ in several marked features from the antiquities of the ordinary early Iron Age (Villanov) of upper Italy, nevertheless there is no breach of continuity between the Sesto Calende-Hallstatt and Villanova groups, for the types of Vadena, Golasecca, Este, and Villanov are found in the Hallstatt culture. The connection between the north and south of the Alps is never interrupted[2]. The chief difference lies in the fact that the Celts of the Danubian region made greater advances in the development of armour and weapons than their brethren in upper Italy. The Celts, as we have just seen, had in the same respect outstripped the Illyrians of Carniola and Bosnia. The bucket from Sesto Calende decorated with men, animals, and geometrical ornament resembles closely the Dipylon style, which is seen on the bronzes and terra-cottas found near the Pelopium at Olympia. But the bucket of Sesto Calende is but one example of a class of bronze objects wrought in *repoussé*, such as buckets, cists, girdles, shields, and the like, which are characteristic of the culture of the early Iron Age of the Po and Danube region.

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[1] Montelius, *La Civilisation prim. en Italie*, Pl. LXII., pp. 317—8, Bertrand and Reinach, *op. cit.* (pp. 49—63).

[2] Bertrand and S. Reinach, *Les Celtes*, etc., p. 124.

We also recognized as works of the Achean period the Warrior Vase and Painted Stele from the upper layer at Mycenae, and fragments of pottery from the upper stratum of Tiryns. These exhibit processions of men and animals, sometimes arranged in parallel bands corresponding to the decoration of the buckets and cists of central Europe. In the Warrior Vase and its fellow monuments we thought that we could see the Mycenean craftsman working under the influence of his Achean masters.

We shall presently see (p. 473) that in the Shield of Achilles Homer has described for us a masterpiece of bronze *repoussé* work, closely analogous, not only to the buckets, cists, and girdles, but even to circular bronze shields found in the Danubian area and upper Italy.

We may then conclude that the period of decadence known as the Dipylon, which succeeded the Mycenean grand style, was due not only to the decay of art after the break-up of the great Pelasgian dynasties, but also to the fact that the new rulers had retained a distinct predilection for the style of ornament which they had themselves developed in their old home in central Europe.

Again, fibulae resembling some of those at Hallstatt were found at Golasecca[1], and at Castelletto[2] (Ticino) one was found similar to a Hallstatt type; and fibulae like those from

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[1] Montelius, *op. cit.*, Pl. XLIV.

[2] *Id.* Pl. XLV.

Castelietto were found at Castello Val Travaglia[1] (Como). At Villa Nessi[2] (near Como) was found a fibula like the short high arched Hallstatt type. Grandate[3] has also supplied a fibula resembling a Hallstatt type. At Verona[4] a cremation grave contained a sword with two long-nosed fibulae, the bow of one having beads of bronze and bone; there was a sword with an iron blade, a bronze hilt and pommel; and at Rivoli[5] (Verona) a grave contained a sword with an iron blade, but a bronze hilt and a round pommel resembling a type found at Glasinatz (Fig. 75); there was also an iron socketed lance-head. Cividale (province of Udine) has given socketed and looped iron celts.

At Morlungo (Este), the cemetery of the first period of the Iron Age has yielded short high arched fibulae similar to some of those at Hallstatt. In Este also in the first Iron period was the bird-shaped waggon, which so closely resembles the bronze one from Glasinatz. There was also found at Este (second period) a fibula in the shape of a horse. There were likewise there fibulae of four spiral discs. There was a sword with iron blade and hilt of bronze dating from the end of the first or the beginning of the second period. There was another sword about 52 cm. (which like two at Hallstatt had been intentionally broken), a broken knife, and a bronze horse-bit.

At Villa Beuti near Este in a tomb of the second period were found buckets with figures of men in *repoussé*; the men have round shields, one seems to show a boss: there were fibulae round arched, long-nosed, and some with chains ending in spirals, and another in the form of a dog or a horse. A long flanged iron celt was found in the third period (Certosa) at Este. The La Tène fibula does not appear at Este till the fourth period. At Bologna a bronze bit of a Hungarian type has been found with transverse perforated cylinders. There was likewise the upper part of a sword, the hilt having antennae ending in spirals.

As certain antiquities of the Bronze Age found in Italy show that in that epoch peoples from the Alps and beyond were ever pressing south, so the presence at Sesto Calende, at Bologna, and at Salmone, of antenna-hilted swords indicates that the same process was at work in the early Iron Age also. Just as we could point to a Danubian axe-and-adze (Fig. 81), which had wandered into Peloponnesus, so at Trezzo (Milan) a tomb contained an iron axe of the same type.

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[1] Montelius, *op. cit.*, Pl. XLVII. [2] *Id.* Pl. XLVII. [3] *Id.* Pl. XLVII. [4] *Id.* Pl. XLVIII. [5] *Id.* Pl. XLVIII.

The instances here given suffice to show a culture in upper Italy contemporary with and corresponding to that of Hallstatt, Glasinatz and the Homeric Acheans. The historical tradition is therefore confirmed, and we can conclude that the Umbrians were but an earlier wave of the fair-haired peoples, or in other words Celts, who kept advancing downwards as in after times did their brethren designated Galli by the Romans.

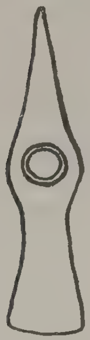
FIG. 82. Copper Axe; Hungary.

As the Gauls entered both Italy and the Balkan from the same region, so in the early Iron Age had there been a similar bifurcation in the stream of invaders, one part passing into upper Italy, the other into Greece; the former are known to us as Umbrians, the latter as the immortal Acheans of Homer.

But it may be said that these distinctive features of the Hallstatt area have travelled upwards from Greece instead of descending into that country in the way which I have indicated, and it may be maintained that the use of iron, round shields with bosses, fibulae, hauberks, greaves, and the practice of cremating the dead were in reality borrowed from the south by the peoples of central Europe.

The best method of testing the truth or falsity of this contention will be to examine in turn the various characteristics of the Hallstatt and Homeric cultures, such as the fashion of the shield, the fibulae, the practice of cremation, and the use of iron. If it should prove that in each case the evidence is in favour of the priority of Hallstatt over the Aegean area, our contention will have been sustained, and the hypothesis that the civilization of Hallstatt is wholly dependent on the south may be safely rejected.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ROUND SHIELD[1].

Δήουν ἀλλήλων ἀμφὶ στήθεσσι βοείας
ἀσπίδας εὐκύκλους λαισήϊά τε πτερόεντα.
Il. v. 452—3.

THE round shield with a central boss is the characteristic both of the Acheans and the Hallstatt folk.

Our next step will be to inquire from what region came the circular shield with a boss, such as is seen on the warrior vase, the stele, the fragment from Tiryns, and the warrior from Olympia (pp. 313—6), which replaced in most parts of Greece, though not in Arcadia (p. 321), the old oblong Mycenean shields. The round shield could not have been imported from Libya, for the Libyans, as we know from the Egyptian monuments, had an oblong shield. Again, it did not come from Egypt, for at all times the Egyptians had large oblong shields, such as those carried by the Egyptian contingent in the army of Xerxes[2].

The Egyptian shield was oblong, round at the summit and square at the base, and had a small circular depression instead of a boss.

This shape of shield is still in use among the people of Bornou[3].

According to Xenophon the Egyptians in the army of Croesus carried huge shields larger than the Persian *gerrhon*[4].

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[1] The substance of this chapter formed part of a lecture before the Hellenic Society, Feb. 24th, 1898.

[2] Herod. VII. 89. See Rawlinson's note and illustrations.

[3] Denham and Clapperton, p. 166 (quoted by Rawlinson).

[4] Xenoph. *Cyrop.* VII. 1, 33.

They were of wood[1] and reached to the feet, and were supported by a thong over the shoulder (like the Mycenean shield). The Persians on the contrary held their *gerrha* at arm's length.

Nor was it again from the Phoenicians that the Greeks got their shield, for the Phoenicians and Syrians in the host of Xerxes had shields of a kind distinct from the Greeks. These shields had no rims[2]. Neither can the Assyrians be regarded as the parents of the round shield, for they carried large oblong shields similar to the Egyptian[3].

The Persians used the *gerrhon* (γέῤῥον), a large oblong wicker shield covered with ox-hide[4]. This as well as trousers (ἀναξυρίδες) and the rest of their equipment they had in common with the Medes. Indeed Herodotus says that it was really Median and not Persian[5]. The Hyrcanians[6] had the same equipment as the Persians, and thus had the *gerrhon* and breeches. Both formed part of the dress of the Scythians[7] (p. 402) and Sacae (Fig. 68), who later on conquered Bactria (p. 403).

Though the Hellenes according to Herodotus at a later time borrowed the badge on the shield from the Carians, and also the *ochanon*, there is not the slightest evidence that the circular shape was borrowed from that people, whilst it is almost certain that the boss was not a loan from them, for the characteristic of the Carian shield was its blazon.

Now since in the Greek shield, imitated from the Carian, the blazon occupied the central place once held by the boss (Fig. 96) it is absolutely certain that the Carian shield had no boss. In fact it is probable that the Carians had originally an oblong shield like all the rest of their kinsfolk of the Aegean, and that they had borrowed the circular shield from the Ionian settlers, at the same time replacing its boss by the blazon which had adorned the old Aegean shields, as we saw in the case of certain shields depicted on Mycenean objects.

In the *ancilia* preserved by the Salii, and which were carried in solemn procession twice each year, we have the most ancient form of shield known in Latium. The original *ancile* had fallen from heaven, according to the legend, and Numa had eleven others made exactly like it by Mamurius, the smith, in order that so valuable a safeguard might never be stolen and thus lost to the state. The shape of the *ancile* is well known to us from the representations (Fig. 83[1]) of the Salii bearing them. It was an oval shield with indented sides, and thus is identical with the Mycenean shield, which survived until so late an epoch in the oblong shields of the Arcadians (p. 324). This was probably the shield of the Pelasgians or Aborigines, as was also the oblong rectangular *scutum* which eventually succeeded in replacing the round shield of leather with a central boss which was the proper shield of the Umbro-Latins.

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[1] *Id. Anab.* I. 2.

[2] Herod. VII. 89.

[3] *Id.* VII. 63. *Cf.* Layard, *Nineveh*, II. p. 348.

[4] *Id.* VII. 61.

[5] *Id.* I. 135; VII. 62.

[6] *Id.* VII. 62.

[7] *Id.* VII. 64; for Scyth. shield see gold vase (Rawlinson's *Herod.*, vol. III. p. 52, Fig. 1).

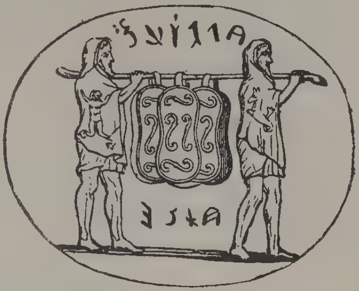

FIG. 83. Salii bearing *ancilia.*

Neither from east, south, nor west did the circular shield with the boss find its way into Greece. It must therefore have come down from the north, or have been of native growth. But the evidence is altogether against the latter alternative, for the Mycenean people had types of their own, and the Arcadians, who were the purest survivors of the ancient race, continued to employ their old shield until the days of Philopoemen (p. 324). The circular shield with the boss must therefore have come from upper Europe. We have just seen it at Glasinatz in Bosnia in the graves of people of the Hallstatt culture. We have seen its boss at Hallstatt itself. If it should be said that this type had moved upwards from Greece, the answer is that it only got into Greece in the Iron Age, and that it did not long continue, for by the historical period the boss had disappeared. If any shield had made its way upwards into Europe from the

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[1] Dion. Hal. II. 70: *τῇ δ' εὐωνύμῳ κατέχει* (each of the Salii) *πέλτην Θρᾳκίαν· ἡ δ' ἐστὶ ῥομβοειδεῖ θυρεῷ στενωτέρας ἔχοντι τὰς λαγόνας ἐμφερής, οἵας λέγονται φέρειν οἱ τὰ Κουρήτων παρ' Ἕλλησιν ἐπιτελοῦντες ἱερά.*

Mycenean folk, it must have been oblong, and if any shield had been borrowed by upper Europe from classical Greece, it would not have had a boss. We are now going to show that the oblong shape is unknown in upper Europe until Gaulish and Roman times.

Various shields of the pre-historic period are to be seen in the museums of Europe.

A circular bronze shield (Fig. 84) found near Bingen on the Rhine has a boss, concentric ribs, and rivets to fasten the handle, a form of construction which we shall find in the British examples[1].

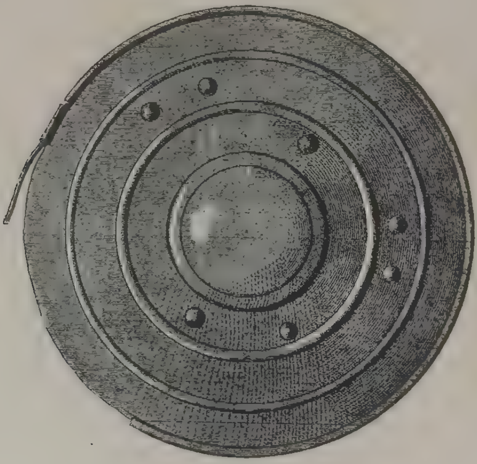

Fig. 84. Bronze Shield, Bingen.

Again, the bronze shields found in Denmark and Scandinavia are of a circular shape and furnished with the boss.

There are three shields of this kind in the Copenhagen museum[2]. Two of them bear some resemblance to the larger specimens found in England. Another has three bosses in addition to the central one, and is adorned with snakes. The three additional bosses recall the central boss and four smaller ones found at Hallstatt (p. 422).

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[1] Lidenschmidt, *Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, Vol. I. Heft XI. Taf. 1.

[2] Kemble and Franks, *Horae Ferales*, p. 166; Worsaae, *Prim. Antiq. of Denmark* (English ed.), p. 31; *Nordiske Oldsager*, pp. 42—3, Figs. 203, 204, 206.

Another bronze shield now in the Stockholm Museum was found in 1865 in a bog at Nackhalle near Varberg in Halland[1] (Fig. 85).

If we pass into our own islands the same type meets us universally. These shields vary in size from 2 feet 2 inches to 9 inches in diameter. The usual form is that of a thin bronze plate, with many concentric circles (varying from 12 to 30) in *repoussé*, round a conical boss, which is about 4 or 5 inches in height. As a general rule the spaces between the raised circles are filled with beautifully raised diminutive knobs or bosses also in *repoussé*, which rarely exceed a quarter of an inch in diameter[2].

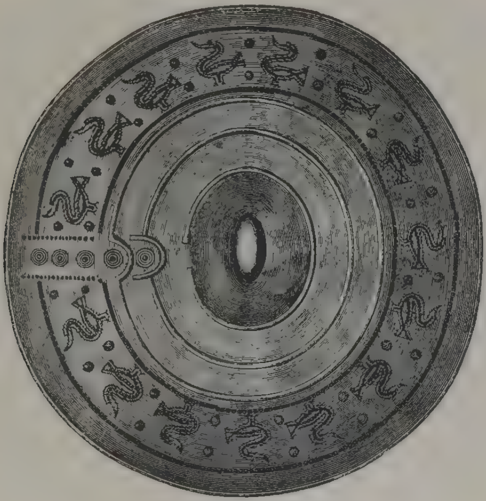

Fig. 85. Bronze Shield, Sweden.

This type recalls the shield of Agamemnon with its ten concentric circles, its central boss, and its twenty small bosses (p. 322).

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[1] Montelius, *Die Kultur Schwedens*, p. 65, Fig. 73.

[2] Kemble and Franks, *Horae Ferales*, p. 166.

A bronze shield of this class now in the Royal Irish Museum was found in 1848 on Burringham Common, Lincolnshire[1]. It is 26 inches in diameter with a boss measuring 4½ inches. It has nineteen concentric circles with intermediate rings of knobs. Its boss is conical rather than hemispherical (Fig. 86).

Besides the shield from Lincolnshire here figured England has furnished other relics of the same kind. There is a small bronze shield in the British Museum, dredged up from what appears to have been the ancient bed of the Isis, near Little Wittenham, Berks. It is about 13½ inches in diameter, not quite circular in form though probably intended to be so. It has a central boss surrounded by two rows of small bosses wrought in the metal with the exception of four[2]; "two form

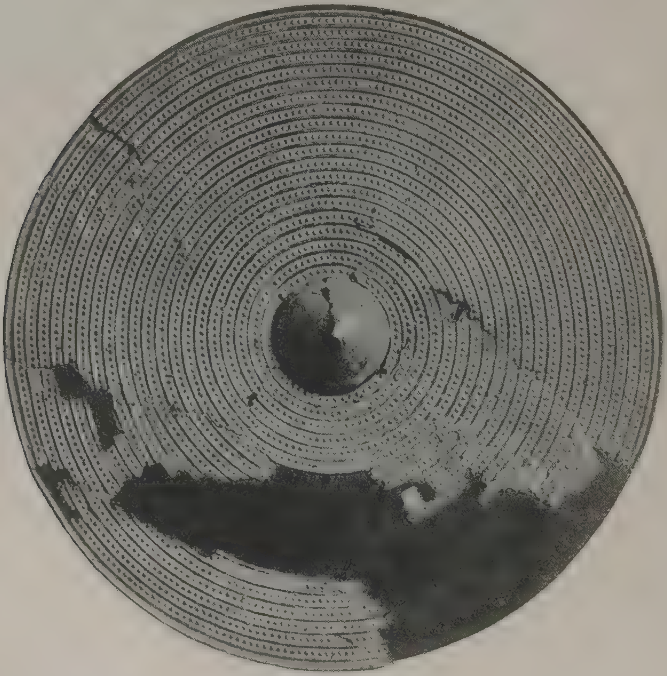

FIG. 86. Bronze Shield, Lincolnshire.

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[1] Evans, *Bronze Implements*, p. 352.

[2] Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 344, Fig. 428.

the rivets for the handle across the umbo, whilst the two others serve as the rivets or pivots for two small straps (*cf.* p. 323) or buttons of bronze on the inner side of the buckler."

There is another such shield in the British Museum, which was found in the Thames. It measures 24¼ inches in diameter.

Another circular shield was dredged up together with a leaf-shaped bronze sword from the bed of the Thames off Woolwich in 1830[1].

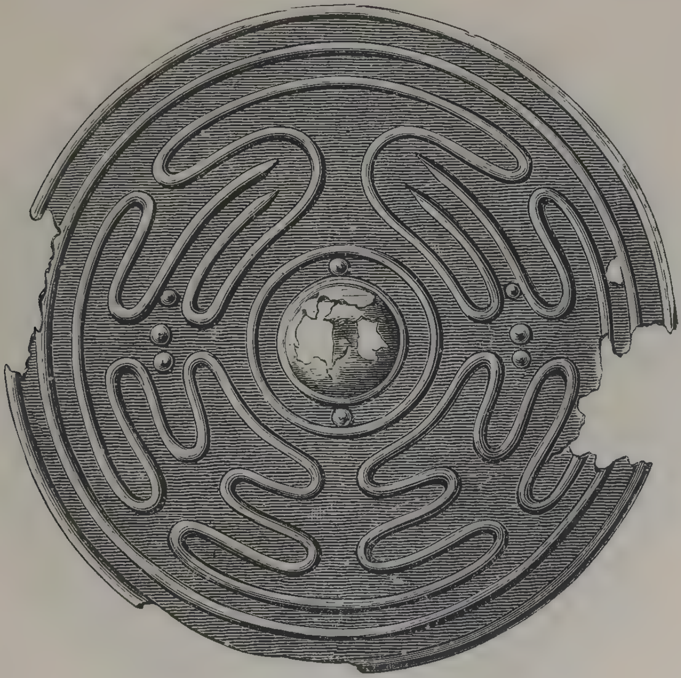

Fig. 87. Bronze Shield, Coveney Fen, Cambridgeshire.

Another such shield measuring 26 inches was also found in the Thames in 1864.

Another was found at Bagley in Shropshire[2].

There are two circular bronze shields in the museum of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, which were found in Coveney

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[1] Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

[2] Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 352.

Fen near Ely. One of them is decorated with the usual rings and knobs, but the other is adorned in a very unusual fashion with two snakes, one long and the other short, twisted into a symmetrical pattern. These snakes are *amphisbaenae*, as they have heads at both ends (Fig. 87)[1].

Another, found about 1804 in a turbary near Aberystwith, Cardiganshire, is now in the British Museum. It is about 26½ inches in diameter.

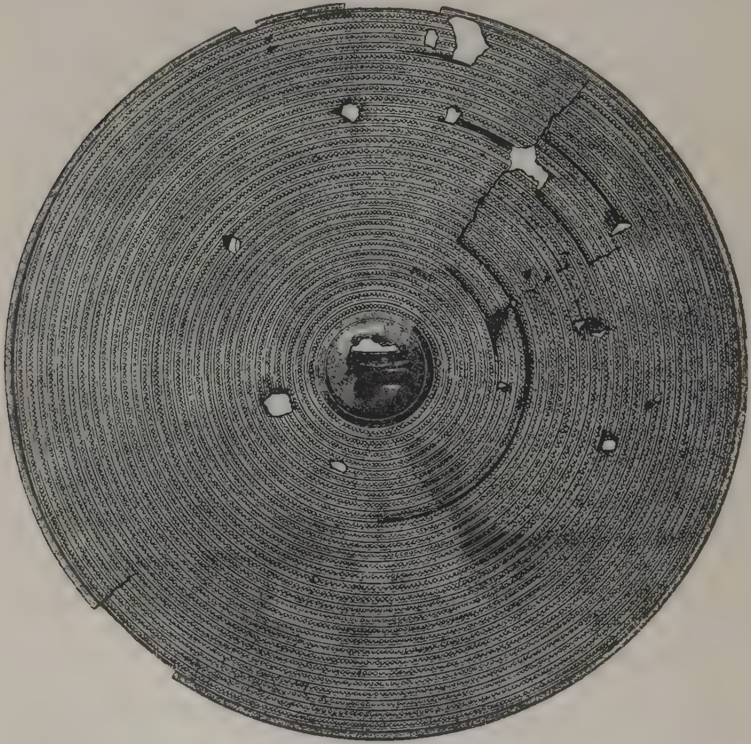

Fig. 88. Bronze Shield; Beith, Scotland.

Another, likewise in the British Museum, measuring 25¼ inches in diameter, was found in a peat moss at Moel Siabod, Carnarvonshire[2].

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[1] Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 346. I am indebted to my friend Sir John Evans for the block of the illustration in the text.

[2] *Id.*, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

Another such shield was found at Corbridge, Northumberland. Fragments of two other shields of the same character were found at Ingoe in the same county about two miles north of the Roman Wall[1].

Scotland has provided us with at least four bronze shields. One found at Beith in Ayrshire is a fine example of the ordinary ring and stud pattern (Fig. 88). It is stated that four or five others of the same kind were discovered at the same time[2].

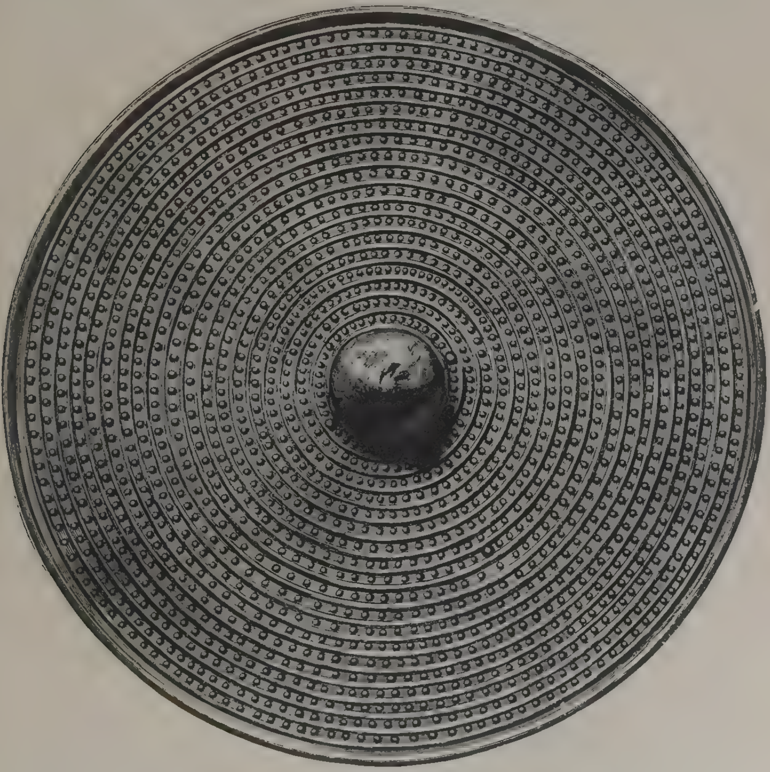

Fig. 89. Bronze Shield; Yetholm, Scotland.

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[1] Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

[2] Evans, *Bronze Implements*, p. 348, Fig. 432. Sir J. Evans has kindly allowed me to copy the illustration of this shield from his work.

Three other shields of a similar character have been found at Yetholm (Fig. 89), Roxburghshire. Two were discovered together in 1837, one measures 23½ inches, the other 24 inches in diameter. The third shield was found in 1870 near the place where the others had been discovered. It is 22½ inches in diameter. All three have the usual rings alternating with small knobs[1].

Figs. 90, 91 represent a bronze shield (now in the Royal Irish Museum) found in a bog near Lough Gur, co. Limerick. It is 2 feet 3¾ inches in diameter, and weighs 5 lbs. 2½ oz.

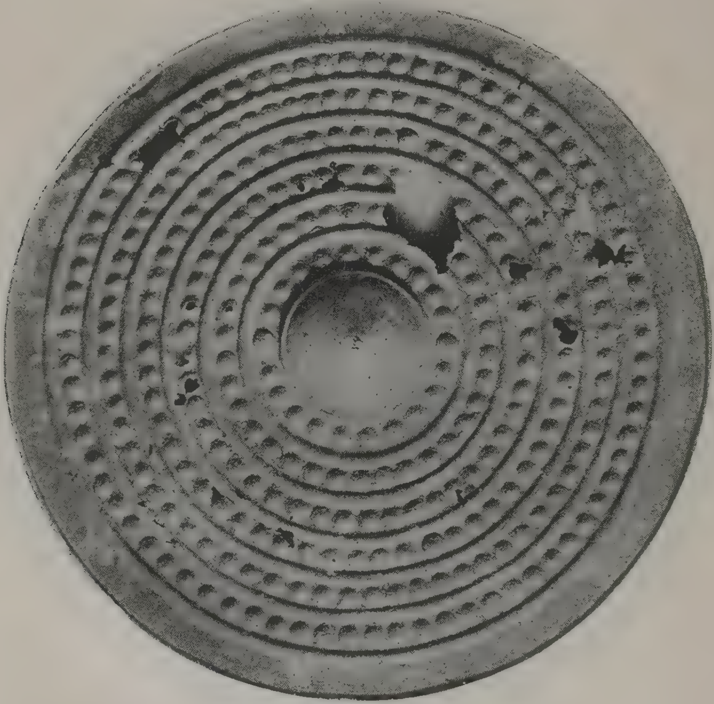

Fig. 90. Bronze Shield, co. Limerick (front).

It may be taken as certain that all these bronze shields had a backing of leather. We shall soon see that such leather lining has survived in some of the bronze shields of Etruria.

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[1] Evans, *op. cit.*, pp. 349—50. I am indebted to the Council of the Scottish Royal Society of Antiquaries for the use of this block.

Nor was it only in the Bronze Age that this type prevailed, for it was also generally in use among the Germanic peoples at the Christian era, and for long afterwards[1].

The Anglo-Saxons brought with them into England from their homes beyond the sea shields of the same type. The 'battle board' (*hilde-borde*) was circular, as is proved from the traces left by it in the graves, where it was regularly laid flat over the warrior's breast. It was usually of wood, probably often covered with leather. A shield of iron is mentioned in *Beowulf*. The iron boss is a regular feature of Anglo-Saxon graves. It was fixed in the centre of the shield by rivets which usually remain. The shape is normally that of a small deep basin tapering at the top to a point which ends in a knob (Fig. 92)[2].

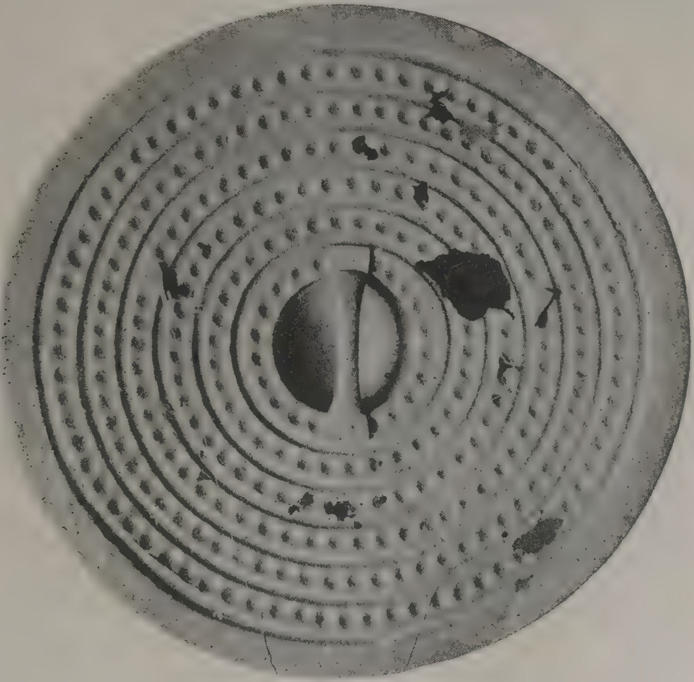

Fig. 91. Bronze Shield, co. Limerick (back).

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[1] Tac. *Germ.* 44: omnium harum gentium (Gothones etc.) insigne rotunda scuta.

[2] The illustration (from one of my own specimens) is from a drawing by my friend the Rev. J. G. Clark, M.A.

It closely resembles the bosses of the Hallstatt type. It is therefore certain that the circular shield with the central boss survived among the German tribes till far into our era. Indeed, although we shall shortly see that the Gauls had adopted the *scutum oblongum* from the end of the fourth century B.C., and that the Belgic tribes had brought such shields into Britain, nevertheless it is certain that at the end of the first century A.D. the British tribes of the interior still used round shields, for Tacitus speaks of the Britons, who fought against Agricola, as armed "ingentibus gladiis sine mucrone et brevibus caetris[1]." This large pointless sword, useless for thrusting, was the parent of the Highland claymore (*claithmor*, big sword), whilst the *caetra* survived in the target borne by the mediaeval Highlanders and Irish.

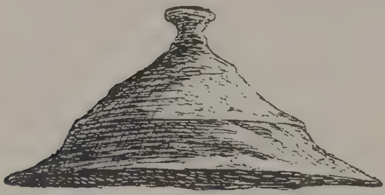

Fig. 92. Boss of Anglo-Saxon Shield; Suffolk.

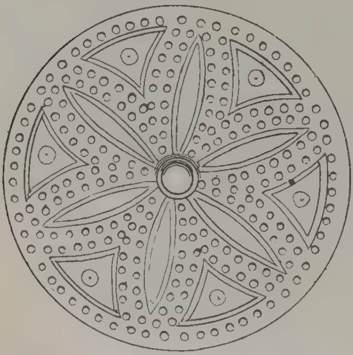

Fig. 93. The O'Donovan Shield; Skibbereen.

I figure (no. 93) a wooden shield covered with leather and studded with brass nails disposed geometrically which is about 200 years old. It belonged to one of the O'Donovan clan and is now in the possession of The O'Donovan[2]. This shield is very interesting as showing that the ancient fashion of the Bronze Age—circular and equipped with a boss—survived in Ireland until almost modern times. Its dimensions and general appearance tally very closely with the description given by Strabo of the shields used by the Lusitanians,—circular shields of about 2 feet in diameter made of wood covered with leather.

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[1] *Agric.* 36.

[2] I am indebted to The O'Donovan for a most accurate account of his shield, to my friend Mr Robert Day, F.S.A., for information about its date, and to my friend Mr John Day for the photograph from which my illustration is taken.

This Lusitanian shield was probably the same as the common Spanish *caetra*, a small shield, which was certainly circular as is shown by the proverb, *Quis rotundam facere caetram nequeat?*

This is in strict accord with the testimony of certain Spanish coins[1] probably of the second century B.C., on which are seen horsemen carrying round bucklers, with a central boss. "One of these shields shows four smaller bosses arranged in cruciform order around the central boss (p. 457); another seems to be plain except the umbo and a projecting rim." The *caetra* was likewise used in Mauritania, where it was sometimes made of elephant hide.

Livy compared the *caetra* to the *pelta* of the Greeks and Macedonians. The latter is familiar to us in the Greek writers as the habitual equipment of the Thracians[2]. But there was also a *pelta* similar to the *ancile* (p. 455 *n.*), and to the indented Mycenean shield. As this *pelta* only survived in the rites of the Curetes, whose connection with Samothrace and the Troad has been shown (p. 198), it was the shield of the true Thracians, the kindred of the Mycenean people. From this it would appear that all across Europe with the exception of Italy, Greece, and Thrace, the round shield with the central boss was in vogue from the Bronze Age down to classical times, and that wherever oblong shields make their appearance in upper Europe they are either actually Roman or are imitations of the Roman *scutum*.

The shield of the Macedonian phalanx, though round, was not the ordinary Greek *aspis*. For, while the latter had no boss, the former had this appendage in a conspicuous form.

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[1] Evans, *Bronze Implements*, p. 354; *Arch. Journal*, XIII., p. 187.

[2] XXI. 27; XXVIII. 5; VII. 75; *cf.* 89.

On coins of Antigonus Gonatas is seen this shield with a boss, in which is the head of Pan, his crook on his shoulder, whilst Athena Itonea on the reverse bears a shield of similar type (Fig. 94)[1].

In the Macedonian shield as well as in the round Thracian *pelta* we have not a borrowing from the Greeks of classical times, but rather a descendant of the round shield with a boss, such as those used by the warriors of Glasinatz, Hallstatt, and all upper Europe.

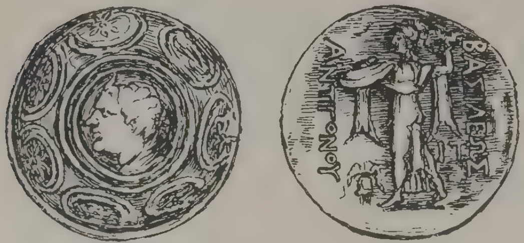

Fig. 94. Tetradrachm of Antigonus.

According to the ancients many peoples from Thrace had crossed into Asia. If then such peoples are found employing not oblong shields like those of the Persians, Assyrians, and Egyptians, but rather small round shields, we must not infer that the latter are indigenous in Asia, but rather take their occurrence as a confirmation of the statements concerning the migration of the peoples who bore them.

The Thracians of Asia bore the *pelta*, and wore foxskin caps, and chitons and *zeirai* (instead of the *chlamys* like the Macedonians[2]), and carried javelins and short swords. The Phrygians, who had also crossed from Thrace (p. 351), had an equipment almost the same as that of the Paphlagonians, who carried plaited helmets, small round shields (σμικραὶ ἀσπίδες), spears of no great size, javelins and daggers.

They wore their national buskins, which reached the middle of the shin. In the same fashion were equipped the Ligyans, the Matienians, the Mariandynians, and the Cappadocians. The Armenians, who were Phrygian colonists, were armed in the

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[1] Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 203. The illustration in the text is from a drawing of my own specimen by my friend the Rev. J. G. Clark, M.A.

[2] Herod. VII. 72—8.

Phrygian fashion. The Mysians, who also had come from Europe, carried small round shields (σμικραὶ ἀσπίδες). Another people, probably the Chalybes, whose name is lost, but who had in their country an oracle of Ares, carried also small *aspides* made of raw ox-hide, as well as bronze helmets.

The Moschians also carried round shields, and spears of small size, but with large heads.

We may infer then that as almost all these peoples carried a small round shield, similar to the round *pelta*, in strong contrast to the great oblong shields of the Persians, Assyrians, and Egyptians, and the *laiseia* of the Cabalians and Cilicians, they had brought this small round shield with them when they crossed the Hellespont.

The Lycians had similarly retained to the days of Herodotus as their chief weapon the bow, which they had brought with them from Crete (p. 208).

Let us now return to the history of the shield in Italy. We saw that the earliest shield in use in Latium was probably the oblong shape, corresponding to the Mycenean and Arcadian shield. This early shield is known to us through the *ancile*, which, like many other obsolete implements and practices, was retained for religious purposes.

In the Servian organization the first class carried the round shield (*clipeus*), but the second class the oblong (*scutum*) which later on became likewise the regulation shield of the first class, and was borne alike by *principes*, *hastati*, and *triarii*. The *scutum* (θυρεός) was four feet long, and two and a half feet in breadth, "though there is also an extra sized shield in which these measures are increased by a palm's breadth[1]. It consisted of two layers of wood fastened together with bull's-hide glue; the outer surface is first covered with canvas, then with calf's skin; on the upper and lower edges it is bound with iron, to resist the downward strokes of the sword, and the wear of resting upon the ground. Upon it also is fixed an iron boss (*umbo*), to resist the more formidable blows of pikes and stones, and of heavy missiles generally." Specimens of such bosses are well known. That here figured was found with others near Mainz[1] (Fig. 95).

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[1] Polyb. VI. 22.

There can be little doubt that the *scutum* is the descendant of the *ancile*, for it coincides with it in contour, but differs from it by having the boss, which does not appear on the archaic sacred shields. But, as the first class in the older military organization carried a large round shield (*clipeus*), it would seem, apart from other considerations, that the circular shield was the true Roman form. This is confirmed by the fact that such shields long continued in use in the Roman army. Polybius tells us that in old days the Roman equites "used to have shields of bull's hide, just like those round cakes, with a knob in the middle, used at sacrifices; they were useless at close quarters because they were flexible rather than firm; and when their leather shrunk and rotted from the rain, unserviceable as they

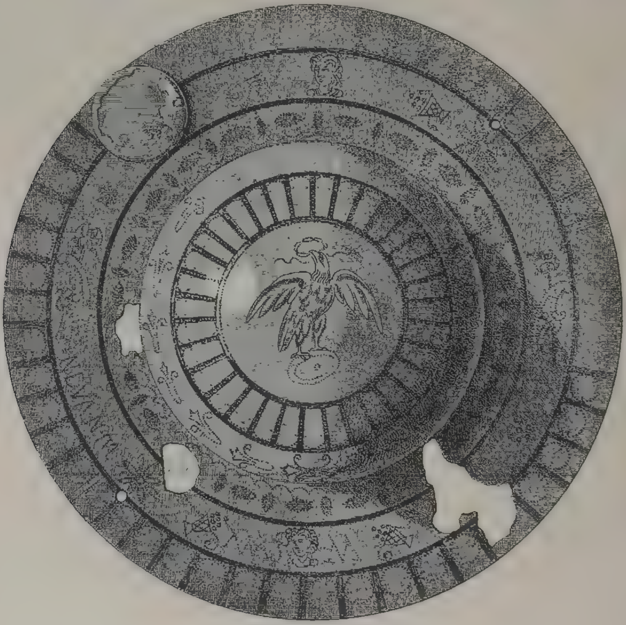

FIG. 95. Umbo of Roman Shield; found near Mainz.

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[1] Lindenschmidt, Vol. I., Heft v., Taf. 5.

were before, they then became entirely so. Wherefore, as experience showed them the uselessness of these, they lost no time in changing to the Greek fashion of armour[1]."

The use of a round shield by both the equites and first class indicates that it was the national shape of the race which was the dominant factor in the Roman state. That the *scutum* was not the national Roman shield is proved by Athenaeus[2], who states that the Romans adopted it from the Samnites, who had probably borrowed it from their aboriginal subjects. It is likewise highly probable that as the archaic cavalry shield had a boss, the old Roman round shield was so equipped. When therefore the Romans adopted the aboriginal oblong shield of the *ancile* type, they modified it by transferring to it the *umbo*.

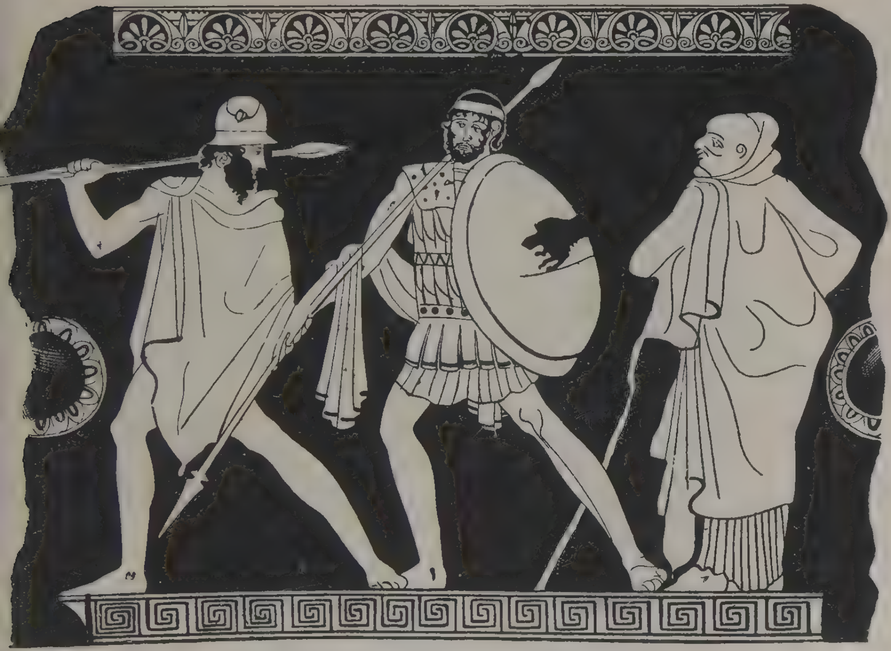

FIG. 96. Agamemnon, Odysseus and Thersites.

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[1] Polyb. VI. 25 (Shuckburgh's trans.).

[2] VI. 273: καὶ παρὰ Σαυνιτῶν δὲ ἔμαθον θυρεοῦ χρῆσιν, παρὰ δὲ Ἰβήρων γαίσων.

The light-armed troops (*uelites*) carried a *parma*, a light round target, three feet in diameter.

It was probably about the time of the First Samnite War (343–1 B.C.) that the *scutum* came into general use with all classes of heavy-armed soldiers and that consequently the *clipeus* hitherto borne by the first class fell into disuse.

The *clipeus* carried by the first class in the Servian constitution seems to have been a round metal shield closely resembling the Greek *aspis* (Fig. 96). It is probable that the Romans borrowed this shield not from the Greeks of southern Italy, with whom they did not come into contact until the time of Pyrrhus (278 B.C.), but rather from their neighbours across the Tiber, amongst whom, as we have seen (p. 247), the Argolic shield had been long domiciled. With the character of the latter we are well acquainted, as fortunately many specimens have been preserved in Etruscan tombs, in which they were regularly suspended.

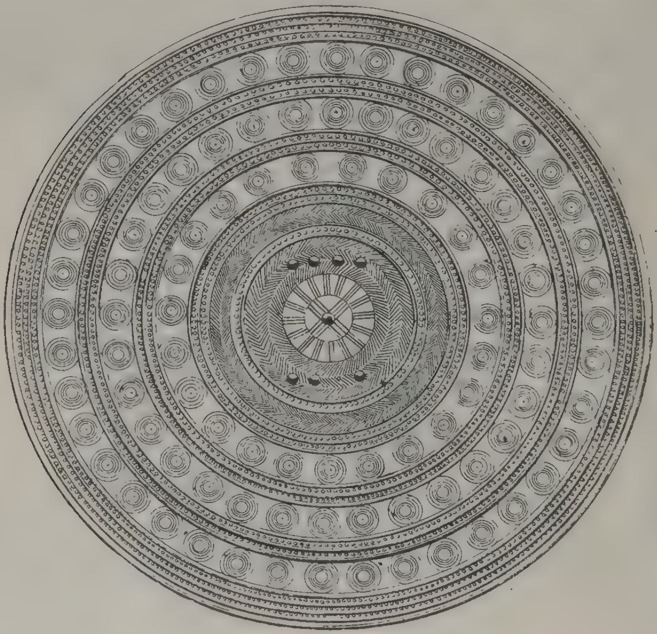

FIG. 97. Etruscan Shield; Tarquinii.

At Caere not less than eight were in the very ancient tomb opened in 1836 by Regolino Galeassi[1]. There is one of the same type in the British Museum. It is 2 feet 10 inches in diameter, and has a very slight boss; the rest of the shield is ornamented with concentric bands of sphinxes and other designs. There is also in the same collection a plain shield 2 feet 9 inches in diameter, "which is of a later period": it was found in a tomb at Tarquinii[2].

The Etruscan shield here figured (Fig. 97) is from a very archaic tomb at Corneto-Tarquinii[3].

The reverse shows the remains of the two handles (*ὄχανα*) by which it was wielded.

It was found in a sarcophagus (not lying in a tomb), which contained the skeleton of a warrior cased in his armour with his weapons by his side, and all the implements of his daily life around him. "His shoulder strap of elastic bronze retaining its lining of cloth; his bronze breastplate covered with a sheet of gold decorated with bands of ducks and other figures in relief; his shield with its leather lining, no helmet, no greaves, no sword, but a dagger and knife of bronze with handles encased in ivory and amber, the head and butt-piece of his lance, and the heads of his double battle-axe." There was no iron.

There were fibulae of gold, silver, or bronze, rings of bronze, and an Egyptian scarab set in silver. Two bronze vases made of plates riveted together, many cups, pots, and plates of bronze; several bowls and a plate of silver. Only a few articles of pottery of very archaic and oriental character, resembling the earliest Rhodian and Cypriote ware. There was a little *guttus* terminating in a pig's head, and adorned with ducks and geometrical patterns much like the decoration on the breastplate.

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[1] *Museo Etrusco Vaticano*, vol. I., Pls. XVIII.—XX.

[2] Kemble and Franks, *Horae Ferales*, p. 167.

[3] *Monumenti inediti dall' Instituto*, vol. X., tav. X., no. 1 *a*; Helbig described the contents of this tomb (*Bull. Inst.*, 1869, pp. 257—60, and in *App. Inst.*, 1874, pp. 249—66). G. Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, I., pp. 415—6.

It will be remembered that the Argolic shield was said to have been introduced into Etruria by Pelasgians from Argolis who came under the leadership of Halesus son of Agamemnon. By the Argolic shield must be meant the circular shields found in Etruscan graves. According to tradition these settlers had left Argos in the third generation after the Achean conquest or about 1150 B.C. Now the breastplate and *guttus* found in the warrior tomb show a style of decoration which belongs essentially to the end of the Mycenean period when it begins to sink into the geometrical or Dipylon. But as we have seen that this style had come into use under the Achean domination and before the coming of the Dorians, the funeral furniture of the warrior of Corneto may well belong to the date assigned to the settlement of Argives in Etruria.

Moreover we saw that on some three painted objects found in the later strata of Mycenae and Tiryns there were warriors bearing round shields, on which in two cases the bosses are visible. From that it was inferred that the round shield had been domiciled in Argolis before the coming of the Dorians. But as the older Etruscan shields still retain bosses of a considerable size, it might be inferred that these shields were Umbrian, and therefore derived directly from the Hallstatt culture, to the bronze work and ornament of which they show close analogy. Yet there is a consideration from which we may conclude that the Etruscan circular shield with a boss was really imported from Argolis in Achean times. As it was held not by a crossbar inside the boss, as were the shields of the Bronze Age of upper Europe (Fig. 91), but was already fitted with handles, it would appear that already in Achean days the round shield with its central boss had been modified by the application to it of handles, which according to Herodotus were borrowed from the Carians, or in other words from the old Aegean people. Probably when the round shield was commonly made of bronze and had increased in size, it was too heavy to be easily wielded by merely a central handle and it was found necessary especially by the small Aegean people to fit it with handles through which the arm was passed.

With the disappearance of the central handle at the back of the hollow boss, there was no longer any great need for retaining the latter, and the indigenous feeling in favour of badges revived, or they were reintroduced from the Carians, who had probably never abandoned their use. Numerous examples of such are seen on the shields depicted on black and red figured vases, which correspond to the shields borne by the Seven who fought against Thebes.

Such devices were used right down into late classical times. Thus the Arcadian Mantineans bore as their blazon the trident of Poseidon, whilst the Lacedaemonian shield had a Λ, the Messenian M, and the Sicyonian Σ. If therefore the passages in the *Iliad* which refer to round shields were interpolated in the 7th cent. B.C. it is indeed strange that the poet or poets when describing the circular shields of his or their own day, should not have mentioned the badges, but on the contrary not only omitted all mention of such, but even represent the shields as fitted with central bosses.

The Shield of Achilles with its wonderful scenes from human life was formerly held to be the pure outcome of the poet's imagination. Helbig first saw that there was at least a nucleus of fact round which the poet had let his fancy play. When vessels of silver wrought in *repoussé* were found in Cyprus, at Caere, Praeneste and Nineveh, which M. Clermont-Ganneau held to be Phoenician[1] in origin, scholars then began to compare the shield to the storied urns of Curium, Amathus, and Caere, more especially as a Caere shield showed the same distribution of subjects in concentric zones as that seen on the cups. M. Perrot[2] thinks that the Mycenean artist derived from Phoenicia this principle of arrangement in concentric zones. But the pretensions of Phoenicia to have exercised an important influence on Mycenean art, though since revived by Helbig, were shattered by Mr S. Reinach[3], who has shown that Phoenicia did not influence Mycenae, but rather Mycenae Phoenicia through the Achean colonies in Cyprus (p. 206).

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[1] S. Reinach, *Les Celtes* etc., 219.

[2] Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, VI. 777.

[3] S. Reinach, *Le Mirage Orientale*, p. 67.

Brunn[1] was the first to see that the nearest analogy to the shield was to be found in the storied *situlae* of Bologna and Watsch (p. 450), which according to Reinach are due to Mycenean influence.

The arguments set forth in the present work lead us inevitably to conclude that Brunn and Reinach were right in seeing the close connection between the Shield and the art of Carniola and upper Italy.

The discovery of the inlaid dagger blades at Mycenae led Milchhöfer to conclude that the poet had not before him a shield wrought in *repoussé* and engraved like the cups of Cyprus, but rather one inlaid and overlaid with various metals, which imparted to it a pictorial effect. This seems a reasonable view, but it is more probable that *repoussé* and engraving were also employed in combination with inlaying and incrustation, as in Japanese metal work.

We may therefore conclude with tolerable probability, that whilst the shape of the Shield and the style and disposition of its ornament are derived from central Europe, its technique discloses the native Mycenean craftsman employing for his Achean lords the method seen in the Mycenean daggers. It is probable then that the poet's description of the shield of Achilles is no mere piece of fancy, but that he had before his mind one of those bronze Argolic shields such as those which at the close of the Achean period were in use in Etruria, where they had been introduced from Argos[2].

As the Latins had abandoned their ancient round shield with central boss for the indigenous oblong *scutum*, so too, as it appears, did the Gauls.

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[1] S. Reinach, *Les Celtes*, pp. 221—6.

[2] Perrot and Chipiez in their new work (*La Grèce de l'Epopée*, pp. 121—30) regard the shield of Achilles as circular, although they profess (pp. 258—9) to follow Reichel's views on Homeric armour. But Reichel (*Hom. Waff.* p. 41 *sqq.*) holds that the shield of Achilles is the great oblong Mycenean shield. But whilst Reichel strains every nerve to show that the Homeric poems reflect the Mycenean age, M. Perrot holds that "sans doute elle (l'Epopée) n'est developpée et n'a pris corps qu'après l'émigration chez les Eoliens et les Ioniens de l'Asie Mineure autour de Smyrna et à Chios" (p. 6). He places Homer about 850 B.C., and sets the epic cycle in the ninth century B.C. It therefore coincides with the Dipylon period which "attained its apogee towards the commencement of the eighth cent. B.C., and began to pass out of fashion towards the end of that century." M. Perrot holds "that the armour which the poet attributes to his

heroes is that of the Dipylon vases." This armour "does not differ essentially from that which was in use in the previous (Mycenean) period" (p. 258).

Reichel's expulsion of the bronze helmet, greaves, and breastplate from Homer suits M. Perrot very well. The graves of warriors in the Dipylon cemetery produced an iron sword (Om. 48 long, Om. 6 in widest part), iron lanceheads, iron daggers, blades, and both bipennes and single-headed axes of the same metal, whilst there was not a fragment of helmet, breastplate, greaves, or shield of metal. Perrot accordingly attempts to fill the lacunae from the pictures on the Dipylon vases. Those of the latter which appear older, show shields and helmets like those on the Mycenean monuments, and no greaves or breastplates are depicted. As the weapons found are of iron, in this respect Perrot's theory fits the Homeric poems better than the Mycenean (Bronze Age) hypothesis of Reichel. But though Perrot's doctrine may fit the poems as hacked by Reichel, it does not agree with the Homeric poems as they have come down to us. It is easy to find a solution which both leaves Homer intact and explains the armature found in the graves and depicted on the pottery of the Dipylon cemetery. We saw (p. 324) that the Pelasgian Arcadians continued to use their ancient armature, and did not don breastplate and greaves, or carry round shields and long spears, until the time of Philopoemen. We need not therefore be surprised if the Pelasgian Athenians continued to use their ancient armature down to the seventh century B.C. Indeed we should be just as much justified in arguing that because the Mycenean armature was still in use in Arcadia in the third century B.C., therefore the Homeric epic was composed only in the fourth century B.C., as Perrot is in arguing that because the Athenian of the eighth century B.C. still retained the Mycenean armature, therefore the *Iliad* was only composed in the ninth century B.C. Such a method of arguing is based on the false, though common assumption, that what holds true for one district of Greece at any given time, holds equally true for every other part at the same epoch; a fallacy pointed out on p. 207.

By holding that the shield of Achilles was round, Perrot has got himself into a hopeless tangle. For he thus postulates as Mycenean or Phoenician in shape a round shield, though he admits that Reichel is right in saying that no such round shields are to be found on Mycenean monuments. He thus assumes that the *round* shield in one passage is not a late interpolation, but a survival from an earlier time, yet he points out that it is only towards the end of the eighth century B.C. that the *round* shield begins to appear on the Dipylon vases.

Furthermore he has failed to notice that when these round shields do appear they are not furnished with bosses like the round shields of the Homeric heroes, but that they are the bossless shields of the hoplite of later times.

On the other hand if the Mycenean shield is assigned to the Pelasgians, and to the Acheans of Homer is restored the round shield with a boss from which sprung, as I have shown, the round bossless shield of later times, there is complete harmony between both the unmutilated documents and the monuments.

The Gauls had entered Italy in the fourth century B.C. There is evidence that when they settled in the plains of the Po, they still were using the circular shield with a boss.

Apparently by the end of the century at least they had adopted the oblong shape for their shields. Certainly by 279 B.C., when they invaded Greece, and passed into Asia, the oblong shield was one of their characteristics.

On the coins struck by the Aetolians after their repulse of the Macedonians (B.C. 314—311) and of the Gauls (B.C. 279) there is the figure of Aetolia, a copy of the statue of that heroine dedicated by the Aetolians at Delphi in memory of their victory over the Gauls[1].—Beneath her feet (on the tetradrachms) is the Celtic *carnyx* (ending in the head of a wolf or dragon), and of the shields on which she is seated, some are of the Gaulish, others of the Macedonian shape (Fig. 98). From this it may be inferred that already at the beginning of the third century B.C. some of the Gauls had adopted an oval or oblong shape of shield (*scuta oblonga*).

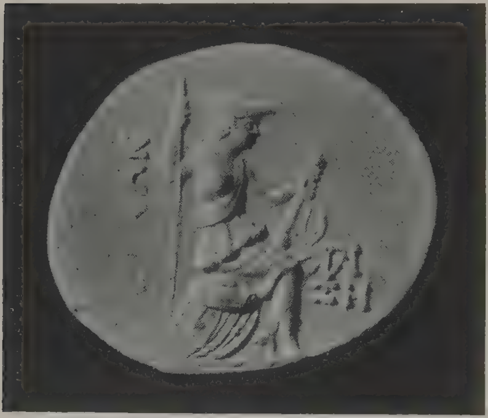

FIG. 98. Tetradrachm of Aetolia (*enlarged*).

When the Gauls crossed into Asia, the *scutum* was their recognized shield, and it is interesting to notice that the Dying Gaul, which is almost certainly from the sculptures set up by Attalus to commemorate his victories over that people, lies on a *scutum*, beside him his war-horn.

That the people of upper Italy used circular shields with bosses in the pre-Gallic times is made probable by the fact that at Villa Beuti near Este in a tomb corresponding to the second period of the Este cemeteries was found a bronze bucket with figures of men in *repoussé*. The men have round shields (one of which seems to show a boss).

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[1] Head, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

A scabbard of a dagger found at Este and belonging to the Gallic period shows a warrior bearing a round shield without a boss. At Baratela near Este on the site of a temple were many dedications belonging mainly to the Gaulish period. Among them was a bronze plaque with five warriors bearing round shields with bosses, with close fitting caps, and five women in long garments[1]. Another plaque showed a warrior with a crested helmet, a round shield (broken), carrying a horn and spear[2].

There can be little doubt of the nationality of this figure. Then come signs of the transition to the oblong shield, for another plaque from the same spot shows three cavaliers with oval shields "with bosses of a type well known in the Gaulish epoch." And two other plaques likewise exhibit horsemen with oval shields and bosses.

We know from Polybius that the Gauls and Iberians had the same shape of shield at the battle of Cannae[3].

The same writer in another passage, already referred to (p. 407), says that the Gaesatae, who had flung away their leather breeches and their cloaks, suffered much from the *pila* hurled by the Roman legionaries, as the Gallic *thureos* did not protect their bodies. This would apply to the *scuta oblonga* which the Gauls employed in the time of Caesar, and is quite appropriate, if the Celtic mountaineers were armed with oval shields only 2 feet wide like that shown in Fig. 100.

We may therefore infer that some of the Gauls adopted the *oblonga scuta*, which seem to have been in universal use among them in Caesar's time, in the fourth century B.C., though others of them may have retained much longer their old round shields.

That in the 'La Tène' period the Celts of Noricum used the oblong shield is proved by an iron sword found along with an iron helmet of the La Tène type and other objects in a late grave at Hallstatt. The sword is in its sheath, which is richly ornamented with figures of horsemen equipped with hauberks and spears; one horseman has a La Tène sword under his arm: three footmen without helmets carry oblong shields and spears[1] (Fig. 99).

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[1] Montelius, *op. cit.*, LX. 2.

[2] *Id.* LX. 3.

[3] III. 114.

To this latter period belong then the two well-known *scuta* in the British Museum. One of these was found in the river Witham. It is oval, 3 feet 8½ inches long, and has a highly decorated oval boss, in the centre of which are three pointed oval pieces of red coral, and there are two smaller studs of the same substance near them. The shield once bore the figure of a boar probably made in some other substance[2].

The other shield slightly curves inwards on its longer sides. It is 2 feet 6½ inches long, whilst its extreme width is 14¼ inches. It has a central boss. The shield is decorated with wavy patterns in relief of great technical excellence and beauty of design enhanced with red enamel. It was found in the bed of the Thames near Battersea in 1857.

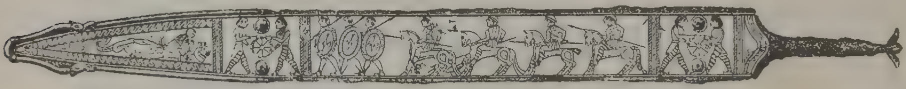

Fig. 99. Iron sword (La Tène type) in bronze scabbard; Hallstatt.

These two shields belong to the 'late Celtic' (La Tène) period. They probably belonged to Belgic warriors. It is worth noticing that the Gauls, like the Romans, while changing the shape of their shields nevertheless retained the boss.

To the same period may be referred an oval Irish shield, which I here figure (Fig. 100). It is made of alderwood, and plainly recalls the characteristics of the circular bronze shields. It was found in 1863 10 feet deep in a bog at Kiltubride, co. Leitrim. When taken out of the bog, it measured 26½ inches long by 21 broad, and ½ inch thick. The reverse is plain with a hollow traversed by a cross piece cut out of the solid behind the boss. It has since shrunk[1].

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[1] Much, *Kunsthistorischer Atlas*, pp. 159, 161; Pls. LXX.—LXXI.

[2] Kemble and Franks, *Horae Ferales*, p. 190, plates XIV., XV.

In this rapid survey I have shown the universality of the circular shield with a boss in upper and western Europe, whilst the oblong[2] shield is the characteristic of the indigenous peoples of the eastern Mediterranean. We may therefore reasonably conclude that the circular shield fitted with a boss entered Greece from the north. This conclusion is confirmed

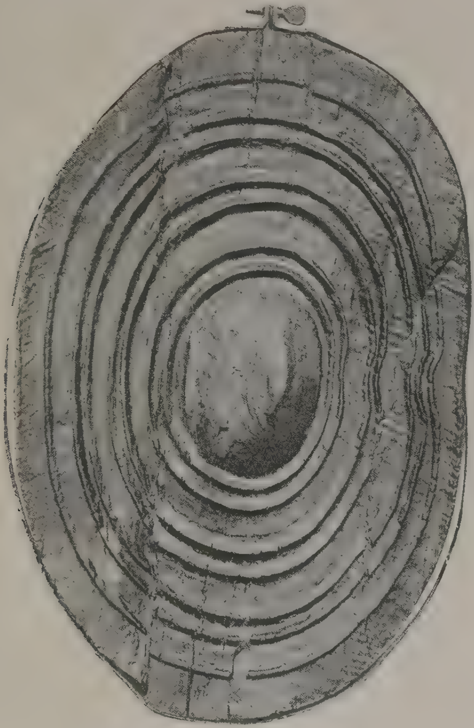

FIG. 100. Alderwood Shield, Ireland.

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[1] Sir W. Wilde, *Proc. Royal Irish Acad.*, vol. VIII. p. 487.

[2] The oblong shield is the more primitive, as the shield seems to have been evolved from the reserve spear held by the warrior in his left hand, and which he used to ward off blows or missiles. This spear survives in the assegai which forms the spine of the Zulu shield.

by the fact that the old Roman shield was circular, fitted with a boss, and made of leather, or in other words, it exactly corresponded to the shield of the Homeric Acheans. But we have seen that the Umbro-Latin stock had come down into Italy from the Alps, that is, the very region where the Halstatt culture had its birth. The movement of the Acheans down into Greece corresponds to that of the Italic tribes down into Italy. In both the Italian and Balkan peninsulas oblong shields, whether oval with indented sides, or rectangular, but always bossless, seem to have been indigenous. This survived in Arcadia in the Boeotian buckler, also in the old Thracian *pelata* carried by the Curetes in their rites and in the *ancile* borne by the Salii. As then the circular shield with the boss entered Greece from the north, it must have come with one of the bodies of fair-haired invaders. But the Acheans were such a people, and their typical shield is that of upper Europe. We may therefore reasonably infer that the fair-haired Acheans had come down into Greece and brought with them the culture of Hallstatt.

CHAPTER VII.

INHUMATION, CREMATION, AND THE SOUL[1].

Let 's talk of graves, of worms, and epitaphs.

Shakespeare, *King Richard II.*

Let us next examine the available data for deciding whether cremation passed upwards from the Aegean into central Europe, or whether the reverse is the fact.

Our object will be best attained by examining in order the various methods of disposing of the dead employed in Europe, Asia, and Africa in ancient times, as far as our knowledge permits.

Starting from the Atlantic we find that the Guanches, the ancient inhabitants of the Canaries, and who were probably akin to the fair-haired Libyans, whose descendants are still found in the Atlas, buried their dead (often in an upright position)[2].

All the wandering tribes of Libya buried "their dead according to the fashion of the Greeks except the Nasamones (who dwelt in the Atlas, and from whom the tribes there found to-day are probably descended). They bury them sitting, and are right careful when a sick man is at the point of giving up the ghost to make him sit, and not let him die lying down[3]."

We saw some reasons for supposing that the Nasamones differed in race from the dark-haired Libyans, and this is confirmed by their different method of posing the dead, which on the other hand resembles that of the Guanches.

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[1] The substance of this chapter was delivered in two lectures at Cambridge, May, 1899.

[2] There is the mummified body of a Guanche woman in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. It came from Teneriffe.

[3] Herod. IV. 190.

As the dark-haired Libyans were closely akin to the inhabitants of Greece, it is natural to find them laying out the body in a similar fashion[1]. The prehistoric people (Libyans) discovered at Naqada, like the Nasamones of a later date, buried their dead in a contracted position. "Ashes were frequently found in the graves of the New Race, but these never showed a trace of human bones, and are therefore to be considered the remains of a great funeral feast, bones of fishes having been found among them[2]." The ashes are generally placed in jars. "A typical grave had eight large jars stacked along its north end. These were filled with gray ashes of wood and vegetable matter. Such ash jars occur in all graves except the very poorest. No traces of human bones were ever found in them, nor were the human bones in the burials ever calcined or discoloured." The bodies had often been disjointed before burial, "and besides this there were grooves left by gnawing on the bones. As these mutilated bodies are accompanied by beads and forehead pendants, we must conclude (says Petrie) that the bodies of relations were often cut up before burial and partly eaten[3]." "There was a tradition that Osiris, who was probably a Libyan god, had reclaimed the Egyptians from cannibalism, and therefore such a tradition was probably remembered down to the Greek period. The custom of feeding on the sacred ram of Thebes and on the sacred Apis of Memphis, while burying the fragments of both from the feast with the greatest honour, shows how such ceremonial flesh-eating was combined with the utmost respect and reverence in historical times."

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[1] Difference in the way of laying out the dead is not of itself a criterion of difference of race. Thus among the closely related tribes of West-central Queensland three modes of burial are in use. In one district the body is laid out at full length, in another it is doubled up, whilst elsewhere it is placed on a platform erected between two trees.

"Earth-burial directly after death occurs from the Urabunna tribe in the south as far north as the Warramunga at Tennant's Creek. Among the latter the body is at first placed on a platform made of boughs in a tree until such time as the flesh has disappeared, when the bones, with the exception of the smaller ones from the arms, which are used for the purpose of making pointing bones, are taken down and buried" (Spencer and Gillan, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 498).

[2] Petrie and Quibel, *Naqada and Ballas*, p. 11.

[3] *Id.* p. 19.

In a Fourth Dynasty staircase tomb at Ballas, half-way up the stairway of the tomb, were five burials in circular pots. In four cases the pots were placed mouth up, in one, mouth down (*cf.* p. 66). At the top of the stairs and at the narrow end of it was an extended burial with head to the north. It had been in a coffin of wood, and was of the Twelfth Dynasty, from the beads found with it.

The Egyptians, the neighbours and kinsmen of the Libyans, had embalmed their dead for at least three thousand years before Christ[1].

Cambyses, as a final act of indignity to the mummy of Amasis, had it burned. This act was horrible in the eyes of the Egyptians, for "they believe fire to be a live animal, which eats whatever it can seize, and then, glutted with the food, dies with the matter upon which it feeds. Now to give a man's body to be devoured by beasts is in no wise agreeable to their customs, and indeed this is the very reason why they embalm their dead: namely, to prevent them from being eaten in the grave by worms[2]."

The Macrobii of Ethiopia, when "the dead body has been dried, either in the Egyptian, or in some other manner, cover the whole with gypsum, and adorn it with painting until it is as like the living man as possible. Then they place the body in a crystal pillar which has been hollowed out to receive it, crystal being dug up in great abundance in their country, and of a kind very easy to work. You may see the corpse through the pillar within which it lies; and it neither gives out any unpleasant odour, nor is it in any respect unseemly; yet there is no part that is not as plainly visible as if the body was bare. The next of kin keep the pillar in their houses a full year from the time of the death, and give it the firstfruits continually, and honour it with sacrifice. After the year is out they bear the pillar forth, and set it up near the town[1]." Some of the Troglodyte Ethiopians, before burying their dead, bound the body round from the neck to the legs with twigs of buckthorn. They then threw stones over the body until they covered the face, at the same time laughing and rejoicing[2]. They then placed over it a ram's horn and departed.

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[1] Budge, *The Mummy*, p. 184. The oldest mummy about the date of which there is no doubt, is that of Seker-em-sa-f, son of Pepi I. and elder brother of Pepi II., B.C. 3200.

[2] Herod. III. 16.

Cremation was not practised in Egypt, Phoenicia, Palestine, Asia Minor or Cyprus, save to a small extent by Greeks, or under Greek influence, and that in late times.

It was the custom of the Hebrews to bury the body, as we know from the cases of Joseph, Jacob and Asa in the Old Testament, and from those of Christ and Lazarus in the New[3].

Among them, as among the rest of the Semites, cremation was practically unknown except under very exceptional circumstances[4].

Burial was the rule among their Phoenician neighbours, as is plain from researches in their cemeteries. This is true also of the Carthaginians[5].

The Babylonians in the time of Herodotus[6] buried their dead in honey.

Sir H. Rawlinson has pointed out that in all the ruins of Assyria, Babylonia, and Chaldea, the normal method of burial was to double up the body and squeeze it into the lower half of a clay sepulchral jar, after which the upper half of the jar must have been added in a soft state and again placed in the kiln, the result of which was the partial calcining of the bones. He adds:—"I judge that this was the mode of sepulture from having in a hundred instances found skeletons in jars either with no aperture at all, or at any rate with so small an orifice that by no possibility could the cranium have been forced through it[1]."

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[1] Herod. III. 24. The crystal, which was found in such large blocks and was so easily worked, cannot have been rock-crystal, but may have been talc. Others have supposed it to have been rock-salt, or that mummy-cases covered with glass enamel are meant.

[2] Strabo 775.

[3] Tac., *Hist.* V. 5, says of the Jews, condire (MS. condere) quam cremare e more Aegyptio.

[4] Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 372. Saul's body was burned (1 Sam. xxxi. 12), "possibly to save it from the risk of exhumation by the Philistines, but perhaps rather with a religious intention, and almost as an act of worship, since his bones were buried under the sacred tamarisk at Jabesh. In Amos vi. 10 the victims of a plague were burned."

[5] Robertson Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 373; Tissot, *La Prov. d'Afrique*, I. 612; Justin, XIX. 1. At Hadrumetum, in the second century B.C., the dead were burned (Berger, *Rev. Archéol.*, 1889, 375).

[6] I. 198.

Regarding the Persian conquerors of Mesopotamia, we are well informed by Herodotus.

"It is said that the body of a male Persian is never buried until it has been torn either by a dog or a bird of prey. That the Magi have this custom is beyond a doubt, for they practise it without any concealment. The dead bodies are covered with wax and then buried in the ground[2]."

Cicero tells us that the Persians buried their dead, "cera circumlitos, ut quam maxime permaneant diuturna corpora[3]." The Magi had the practice (still cherished by the Parsis), "non inhumare corpora suorum, nisi a feris sint ante laniata." But it would appear that the Persians had burned the dead until the time of Cyrus. Certainly they had no scruple in burning the living, as is proved by the story of Croesus. It is said that it was in consequence of Zeus hurling a thunderbolt to save that monarch from being burned to death that "thenceforth the Persians began to observe the law of Zoroaster, which forbade the burning of dead bodies or any other pollution of the element of fire; and so the ancient ordinance which had been neglected was established among them[4]."

The denunciations in the Zend Avesta against those who burned or buried the dead fully bear out the belief that the Persians had once practised cremation as well as inhumation.

The statement that the Persians buried their dead is supported by the fact that the tombs of the ancient kings show that the bodies were buried intact. It is, however, a remarkable circumstance for which an explanation will presently be offered.

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[1] *Archaeological Journal*, LII. p. 318.

[2] I. 140.

[3] Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* I. 44, 108.

[4] Nicolaus Damascenus, Frag., Mueller, *Frag. Hist. Graecc.* III. p. 406 *sq.*

The Magi evidently found it difficult to stop the Persians from burning or burying their dead. It is possible that their own practice of exposing the body to be devoured by beasts was not of Persian origin, but rather an indigenous custom, existing in the country at the time of the Persian conquest and preserved by the priests of the native race. Certainly it was practised by the great tribe of the Oreitae, who dwelt to the east of Persia in Beluchistan. They opposed the landing of Nearchus at the mouth of the Tomerus (*Hingul*) as he sailed along their coast. They were very rude, having no metal, using stone knives, and spears with points hardened in the fire[1].

These Oreitae "resemble the other Indians in everything else save in the matter of disposing of their dead." "For their kindred, naked and equipped with spears, carry the bodies of the dead. Then they place the corpse in the woods of the country and strip off the apparel that envelops the corpse, and abandon the body of the departed to be food for the wild beasts. Then they divide the clothes of the dead between them, and sacrifice to the heroes in the earth and hold a reception for their relatives[2]."

It is hard to suppose that so primitive a people had adopted from the Magi the practice of exposing their dead to the beasts, especially when we remember the difficulty experienced by the Magi in forcing the practice on the Persians themselves. It is more rational to suppose that the Persian invaders tolerated the priests and partially adopted the religion of their subjects, in the same way as in Gaul the conquering Celts treated the Druids and Druidism.

Closely connected with the practice of the Oreitae and Magi was the custom of the Colchians, who according to Apollonius Rhodius[3] disposed of the bodies of their men by wrapping them up in untanned ox-hides and suspending them in trees. "But Earth had obtained a share equal to that of the Air, as they bury their women in the earth. For custom has so ordained."

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[1] Arrian, *Indica*, 24.

[2] Diod. Sic. XVII. 105, 2.

[3] III. 200—9.

Modifications of the practice of giving the dead to the beasts existed among peoples to the north of Persia and east of the Caspian.

In Hyrcania dogs of a noble breed maintained at the public expense served as sepulchres for the common people, whilst the upper classes kept private hounds to perform the same function for themselves.

The Massagetae who dwelt to the east of the Caspian in the most southern portion of the steppe region now known as the deserts of Kharesm-Kizilkoum, the region from which they had dispossessed the Scythians[1], had another way of disposing of their dead. 'Human life,' says Herodotus, "does not come to its natural close with this people; but when a man grows very old, all his kinsfolk collect together and offer him up in sacrifice, offering at the same time some cattle also. After the sacrifice they boil the flesh and feast on it, and those who thus end their days are reckoned the happiest. If a man dies of disease they do not eat him, but bury him in the ground, bewailing his ill-fortune that he did not come to be sacrificed[2]."

This was probably a modification of a still more revolting custom followed by the Issedones, who dwelt next the Arimaspians.

The Issedones certainly did not cremate their dead, for "when a man's father dies, all the near relatives bring sheep to the house, which are sacrificed and their flesh cut in pieces, while at the same time the dead body undergoes the like treatment. The two sorts of flesh are afterwards mixed together, and the whole is served up at a banquet." The skull was cleaned and set in gold, and was kept as an heirloom, being brought out year by year at the great festival which sons kept in honour of their father[3].

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[1] Herod. IV. 11.

[2] I. 216. *γῇ κρύπτειν* is the regular phrase for *inhumation*; *cf.* Herod. I. 140, II. 130, IV. 103, V. 4. *θάπτειν* is used of cremation as well as of inhumation.

[3] *Id.* IV. 26.

The Massagetae had probably resorted to the killing of the dying in order to avoid eating the decomposed body, as was done by the Issedones. The eating of the dead relative may possibly have been due to a desire to keep the *anima* in the family, an idea seen at work in ancient Rome, where it was customary for the next of kin to bend over the dying person in order to catch the last breath in his mouth. It may be from a similar cause that some Australian tribes, after placing the corpse on a platform between two trees, light a fire beneath, and when the grease begins to drip from the corpse, the relatives sit beneath it in order that the drops may fall on their bodies.

Several tribes in Thibet are said still to follow the practice of exposing their dead to birds and beasts of prey.

It would seem that the Magi and Hyrcanians simply preserved a form of sepulture long in use among many primitive Asiatic tribes.

Let us now return westwards.

The Scythians buried and did not burn their dead. The body of a dead king was embalmed, and then carried round on a waggon from tribe to tribe, and finally it was stretched upon a mattress in a grave prepared for it in the royal cemetery in the land of the Gerrhi. "They strangle and bury along with him one of his concubines, his cook, cup-bearer, groom, lacquey, his messenger, and some of his horses, firstlings of all his other possessions, and some golden cups[1]."

The common people likewise buried their dead[2].

Turning down again into Asia Minor, we find that the Carians and their kinsmen, the Mysians and Lydians, never practised cremation in early days. The evidence respecting the Carian mode of sepulture has already been given (p. 192), whilst the story told by Plato[3] of the magic ring taken by Gyges from a corpse laid out in a tomb would of itself be sufficient to show that the Lydians did not practise cremation[4].

The practice is likewise unknown in the Mycenean and pre-Mycenean cemeteries of the islands and mainland of

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[1] Herod. IV. 71.

[2] *Id.* IV. 73.

[3] *Republic*, 359.

[4] Inhumation was also the Lycian custom (Fellowes, *Lycia*, p. 170).

Greece. Thus we saw the island population buried their dead in a contracted posture in small cist-graves, sometimes, as at Amorgus, putting the corpse in a jar, a fashion which was likewise found in the graves at Thoricus in Attica (p. 31).

According to Pliny[1], the Pythagoreans buried their dead in earthenware jars (*doliis*). This sect retained many practices which are plainly survivals of a very primitive time, and as the people of Amorgus certainly buried their dead in jars, the Pythagorean custom was a survival from earlier days, and not a mere sectarian deviation from ordinary usage.

As has been repeatedly pointed out, there is no trace of cremation in the shaft-graves on the Acropolis of Mycenae.

In Grave I. there were three bodies all with their heads to the E. and their feet to the W.; in Grave II. there were three bodies all with their heads E. and their feet W.; the bodies found in Grave III. all had their heads E. and their feet W.; in Grave IV. were the remains of five persons, of whom three had their heads E., their feet W., the other two having their heads N., their feet S.; the only body found in Grave V. had its head E.[2]

Two graves containing cremated remains were found in Salamis in a Mycenean cemetery, but these interments seem to belong to the close of the Mycenean age (p. 32). Yet as we know that Salamis was occupied by the Aeacidae from the very outset of the Achean invasion, these two cremation-graves are probably Achean.

Yet there is good evidence that the native population were slow to follow their new rulers in matters of burial.

We saw from the Dipylon cemetery (p. 328) that inhumation continued to be the regular method of burial at Athens down to the sixth century B.C. (*cf.* p. 509 *n.*). This agrees with the tradition concerning the dispute for Salamis between Athens and Megara in Solon's time.

According to Plutarch the Salaminians buried their dead in the Athenian fashion, that is facing west[1]. The Megarians also interred their dead, but they seem to have laid the body so as to face the east, though according to Hereas of Megara "the Megarians also bury the corpse to face the west, and moreover share with Salamis the custom of laying three or four in one tomb."

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[1] *H. N.* xxxv. 160.

[2] The chief buried at Vaphio lay with his head to the W., thus facing E. Tsountas and Manatt (*op. cit.*, p. 144) think "this was only that the dead might face the door of his tomb, which happens to front the east."

From this it appears that the Salaminians did not adopt the practice of cremation, which had at the very close of the Mycenean period got a temporary footing. The double usage in orientation at Megara was probably due to the mixed aboriginal and Doric population.

As the dead lay towards the west in Attica, Salamis, in some cases at Megara, and in the majority of the interments in the shaft graves at Mycenae, it may be inferred that this was the characteristic orientation of the autochthonous race. This is confirmed by the fact that all the stelae found over the graves in the Acropolis of Mycenae looked west, thus corresponding with the position of the dead below, though it has been suggested that the tombstones were so placed that they might face the roadway.

But, although Solon himself was cremated, as we shall see later on, it must not be supposed that cremation ever became general at Athens or elsewhere in southern Greece. Such certainly was not the case in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. As Herodotus (p. 481) states that the Libyan tribes bury their dead in the same fashion as the Hellenes, it would appear that although cremation was occasionally employed, inhumation was the normal rite among Hellenes. This is confirmed by modern discoveries as well as by other ancient writers. Thus although the Athenians who fell in the first engagement of the Peloponnesian War seem to have been cremated, as we only hear of their bones (ὀστᾶ) being laid out in the funeral tents[2], yet a grave of the fifth century B.C. near Menidi contained the unburnt remains of an old man[1]. Again a grave of the fourth century B.C. opened by Prof. Waldstein at Chalcis in Euboea contained the uncremated remains of a wealthy person. If the rich buried their dead, it is almost certain that the poor did the same.

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[1] *Solon*, 10. For orientation of dead *cf.* Tylor, *Prim. Culture*, II. 422.

[2] Thuc. II. 33. It is not unlikely that cremation was chiefly used in the case of those slain far from home in battle, as it was far easier to transport ashes than a corpse (*cf.* Aesch. *Ag.* 429—30: *πυρωθὲν ἐξ Ἰλίου φίλοισι πέμπει βαρὺ ψῆγμα δυσδάκρυτον, ἀντήνορος σποδοῦ γεμίζων λέβητας εὐθέτου*). Plato (*Rep.* 614 B) says that Er, having fallen in battle, was placed on the pyre.

At Sicyon the old race had managed to hold its ground, and it is not surprising therefore that Pausanias says "the native Sicyonians generally bury their dead in a uniform way: they cover the body with earth[2]."

In the islands also inhumation seems to have long continued. Thus at Ceos in the fifth century B.C. the body was carried to the tomb wrapt in clothes, but the clothes and couch were brought back home[3].

In the Bronze Age tombs of Cyprus[4] burning is unknown, whilst the same holds true of the succeeding period, when the dead were laid in rock-cut tombs, and for the Hellenistic period, when alongside of the latter surface graves came into common use.

According to Plutarch the Spartans in the time of Lycurgus buried the body[5]. The kings of Sparta seem always to have been inhumed, and if a king died in a foreign land, his body was embalmed and brought home to be buried at Sparta[6].

At Piláf-Tepé near Volo in Thessaly, Mr C. D. Edmonds opened a large tumulus which contained a silver urn with burnt remains. But from the accompanying pottery the burial cannot be dated earlier than 150—100 B.C.[7]

To the same category as the urn-burials of Amorgus and Thoricus belong the amphorae discovered at Salona in 1825. They had been divided in half in such a way as to receive the dead, whose skeletons were found entire[8].

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[1] *Science*, 13 Oct. 1893.

[2] Paus. II. 7, 3: *αὐτοὶ Σικυώνιοι—τὸ μὲν σῶμα γῇ κρύπτουσι.*

[3] Dareste, *Inscrr. Juridiques grecques*, Pt. I. p. 11.

[4] J. L. Myres, *Cat. Cyprus Museum*, p. 15.

[5] *Lycurgus*, 27.

[6] Xenoph. *Hell.* v. 3, 19; *cf.* Diod. Sic. xv. 93, 6; Nepos, *Ages.* 8; Plut. *Ages.* 60.

[7] *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xx. pp. 20—25.

[8] Steinbuckel, *Alterthümer*, 67; Marryat, *Pottery and Porcelain*, p. 489.

Passing to southern Italy we find that inhumation was the practice not only of the oldest inhabitants, but also of the Sicels, who had advanced at an early period (p. 258) down the peninsula. This is demonstrated by the discovery near Matera in the ancient Apulia[1].

When we cross the Strait to Sicily it is clear from the excavations of Orsi (p. 69) that not only the Sicels, but the Sicani whom they had conquered, practised only inhumation.

Inhumation seems to have been the regular form of burial even among the Greeks in the fifth century B.C. Thus at Syracuse there was a law which forbade not only extravagance in funerals, but even the customary outlay on the dead. Cremation would certainly have been a violation of this rule, for it was more costly than interment. Gelon who wished to please the *demos* in all respects ordered that his own obsequies should be carried out in strict conformity to the law[2].

In Sardinia inhumation was the practice both of the native population and also of the Phoenician settlers.

In Corsica cremation was equally unknown. Burial-urns of an unusual kind are found, which are to be set in the same category with those of Mesopotamia, Amorgus, Thoricus, and south-east Spain. These vessels, when unbroken, at first sight appear completely closed up, and no trace of joining can be detected. They are, however, composed of two equal parts, the end of one fitting exactly into the other. They are so well closed that the body appears to have been placed within before the final firing in the kiln[3].

The brothers Siret opened upwards of 1000 graves of various shapes, in south-eastern Spain, but all were for inhumation. Metal was rare outside the graves, copper and bronze were found side by side, but no iron. Beside the warrior were his arms, beside his wife the utensils of her daily life.

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[1] G. Patroni, "Un villaggio Siculo presso Matera nell' antica Apulia," *Monumenti Antichi*, VIII. (1898), pp. 417—520. The antiquities here found correspond with those discovered by Orsi in the Sicel tombs at Syracuse. The skulls and other human bones discovered in a tomb in the Matera settlement were unburnt.

[2] Diod. Sic. XI. 38.

[3] Marryat, *Pottery and Porcelain*, p. 488 (where one of these jars is figured).

In some sepulchres large urns were discovered containing skulls and bones[1] (Fig. 101).

Nor are we left only to conjecture the methods by which the body was committed to the jar in this kind of sepulture. Diodorus Siculus[2], when he describes the manners and customs of the people of the Balearic Isles, states that it was their

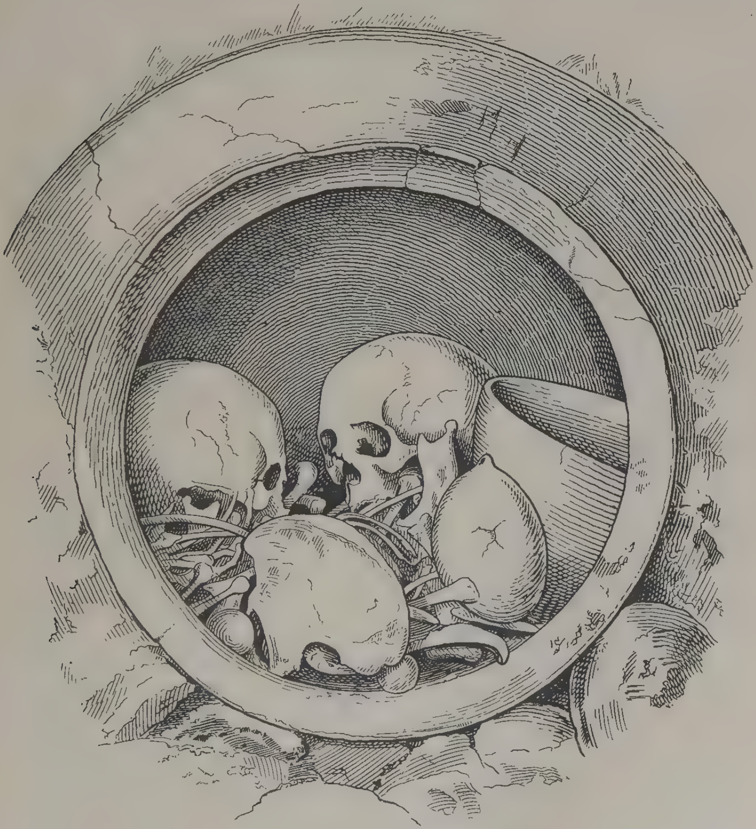

FIG. 101. Burial Urn, Spain.

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[1] *Les Premiers Ages du Métal dans le Sud-est de l'Espagne*, p. 164. The urn here figured is copied from this splendid work. One of these urns is now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

[2] v. 1. The Iberians once buried their dead in their houses, [Plato], *Minos*, 115.

practice to beat with clubs the bodies of the dead, which when thus rendered flexible were deposited in earthenware jars.

But we must be very careful not to take this practice of 'Urn-Burial' as an absolute proof of the ethnic identity of the people of Amorgus, Thoricus, Corsica, the Balearic Isles, and south-eastern Spain, for such a practice is not unknown elsewhere, and that too in a region where few will see any signs of connection with an early Mediterranean stock. The Coroados Indians, who dwell in a village on the Paraiba river near Campos in Brazil, use large earthern vessels called *camucis*, as receptacles for their dead chiefs, who when mummified are placed in them sitting or squatting on their heels, their ordinary posture of repose in life. They are equipped with their ornaments and weapons. The urn is then deposited at the foot of a large tree in the forest. In the one here shown (Fig. 102) the chief has apparently his totem animal, a panther or tiger-cat, buried with him[1].

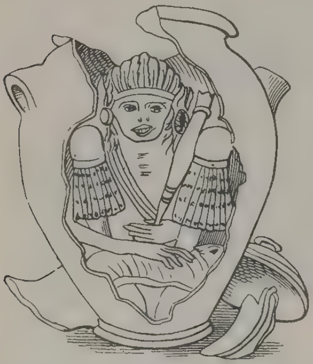

FIG. 102. Coroados Chief in his funeral urn.

We have now taken a survey of all the countries lying around the Mediterranean, and we find that with the exception of two cremation interments in the late Mycenean cemetery of Salamis, inhumation or some other method of disposing of the body without the use of fire was universal in early times and continued so over most of the area down to the Christian era.

It is therefore plain that cremation did not pass into Greece from either Libya[2], Egypt or Asia Minor, nor did it originate among the Pelasgian population of the islands, nor yet on the mainland.

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[1] Debret, *Voyage au Brésil*, tom. I. p. 19 (Paris, 1834); Marryat, *Pottery and Porcelain*, p. 488.

[2] The Cyreneans did not cremate, but laid the dead in rock tombs (Hamilton, *Wanderings*), p. 65.

On the other hand the Acheans of Homer are practising cremation at least B.C. 1000.

Let us now investigate the burial customs of the peoples lying north of Greece. If it can be shown that cremation was practised in central and upper Europe from at least 1200 B.C., there will be a very high probability that cremation had descended from thence into Greece.

We saw the Scythians invariably burying their dead in the fifth century B.C. Let us now return to their neighbours on the European side.

The wealthy Thracians were buried thus: the body was laid out for three days, and during this time they killed victims of all kinds, and feasted upon them, after first bewailing the departed. Then they either burned the body or else buried it in the ground. "Lastly, they raise a mound over the grave and hold games of all sorts, wherein the single combat is awarded the highest prize[1]."

As the genuine Thracians were shown to be of the same race as the Illyrians, this statement is confirmed by the facts revealed in the cemeteries of Bosnia (p. 432). Thus at Glasinatz the builders of the barrows of the Iron Age practised both inhumation and cremation at the same time, burials of the former class forming 60 per cent., of the latter 30 per cent., while the remaining 10 per cent. were of a mixed character, and contained both kinds of interments. We also saw that inhumation was here probably the earlier practice, as the few burials of the pre-Hallstatt period were all interments.

But as there is the best historical evidence for the conquest of the native Illyrians and Thracians by the Celtic tribes who descended from the Alps, and as the culture of the early Iron Age in the Danubian region corresponds to that of Celtic Hallstatt, there is a probability that the practice of cremation which makes its appearance in the early Iron Age in Bosnia, and which was practised by some Thracians in the fifth century B.C., was introduced by the Celtic conquerors, who lived intermixed with the Illyrian and Thracian tribes (p. 347).

The excavations in Carniola (p. 429) have shown both forms of burial. Sometimes the one, sometimes the other is dominant, or again both are intermingled, thus indicating that both Celts and Illyrians were here mixed.

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[1] Herod. v. 8.

Cremation was likewise practised in Styria in the early Iron Age, as we saw in the case of the grave at Strettweg.

At Hallstatt inhumation and cremation seem to have gone on side by side. There were 525 graves with unburned skeletons, whilst in 455 the dead had been cremated. The evidence shows that the body was burnt, not at the grave, but at some other place, when the bones were carefully gathered but not inurned, and then laid with rich gifts in the grave. The dead were burnt arrayed in their personal gear and ornaments, as is proved by the half-melted armlets and glass beads found along with bones[1].

There is evidence, as we saw, not only of the Taurisci, but also of the Ligyrisci in that region. It has already been shown that inhumation was the regular method of disposing of the dead in the Stone and early Bronze periods of north Italy among the people to whom the early Terramare culture belonged, and whom we have been led by the evidence to regard as Ligurians. Over this culture was superimposed that of the Umbrians, who were the dominant people in upper Italy, until the coming into Etruria of first the Pelasgians from Thessaly and Argolis, and later of the Etruscans from Lydia. We have seen that *Ombriké* extended right up to the Alps, where it joined the territory occupied by the Celts, and also that the closest relationship existed between Umbrians and Celts. It is therefore but natural that cremation is practically the universal rule in the cemeteries of the Umbrian period in northern Italy.

In the cemeteries at Este nearly all the burials are cremation, yet some skeletons have been found in all the cemeteries. In one grave a skeleton was found face down; on its back was an urn with burned bones. Prof. Prosdocimi has observed that all the skeletons were close to rich tombs, whilst with the skeletons were hardly any objects[2].

[1] Von Sacken, *Das Grabfeld von Hallstatt*, p. 10.

[2] Montelius, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

Almost all the Umbrian graves at Bologna are cremation, nevertheless some skeletons have been found with articles dating from the same epoch. These skeletons are found "sulla nuda terra" (without coffin) and are usually a little higher than the ordinary graves. The remains are chiefly those of women, the objects buried with them are poor in value. One lay on its belly; some of them were placed over or quite near the tombs of wealthy persons. They were probably female slaves[1] sacrificed not to go with their masters, but rather to take charge of his grave.

The graves of the Etruscans are of a thoroughly distinct type (pp. 239, 249), and in them the dead are always unburnt.

Advancing to Rome we find that although cremation was regularly practised by the upper classes at the end of the Republic and under the early empire, nevertheless the poorer classes buried their dead, probably from the fact that interment was much cheaper than burning. Yet we must not regard poverty as the sole cause, for in India people of but scanty means will do their best to provide a pyre of sufficient size to at least partially consume the corpse. But we know from Pliny that some of the most ancient Roman families always continued to inter their dead unburnt. Sulla was the first of the Cornelian gens whose body was burned.

The bodies of infants[2] were never burned, but always buried, a practice which we shall soon find among the cremationist Hindus. The bodies of those who had been struck by lightning were also buried, and not burned.

Both Cicero[3] and Pliny[4] held that inhumation was the most ancient custom.

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[1] Montelius, *La Civilisation Prim. en Italie*, pp. 363, 364. The skeletons lay either to N.W. or S.W. In the Umbrian graves the cinerary urns stand at the east end of the tomb.

[2] Juvenal, xv. 140.

[3] *Legg.* II. 22, 56.

[4] *H. N.* VII. 187: Ipsum cremare apud Romanos non fuit veteris instituti; terra condebantur; at postquam longinquis bellis obrutos erui cognovere, tunc institutum. Et tamen multae familiae priscos servavere ritus, sicut in Cornelia nemo ante Sullam dictatorem traditur crematus, idque voluisse veritum talionem eruto Gai Mari cadavere. The tombs of the Scipios confirm the last statement.

In view of the mixed nature of the population of early Rome we need not be surprised at the dual forms of disposing of the dead. The Siculi had overmastered the Aborigines of Latium, whom we held to be Ligurians. These Aborigines had later on, with the aid of the Pelasgians, expelled or subjugated the Siculi, whilst finally came the Sabines from Reate. We have seen that not only the earliest inhabitants of southern Italy, but also the Siculi, who had settled there and in Sicily, as well as the aboriginal Ligurians of upper Italy, had all interred their dead, whilst on the other hand the Umbrians, who had advanced down after the Siculi, always practised cremation. But as the Sabines belonged to this later layer of population, we may safely conclude that it was with the Sabine element in the population that cremation got into Rome. It certainly did not come up from the south.

Returning to the Alps, we find that the Rhaetians practised cremation, for the cemetery of Vadena shows no other form of burial. The graves found there, as might have been expected, are practically identical with those of their Umbrian kinsfolk. "The Vadena tombs are of the same stamp as those of Golasecca. They belong to a similar civilization, to a similar population[1]." The ashes of the dead were placed in large urns in the earth along with the ornaments and other personal possessions, which usually bear traces of fire. As at Golasecca the ossuaries were covered with cup-shaped vessels to serve as lids, and were accompanied by smaller vases. The ornament of all the pottery was of a simple linear character. The graves were formed of slabs of stone (*cf.* p. 238).

Now let us cross the Alps, and we shall find that cremation was both of a very early date and almost universal in certain parts of upper Europe.

The Swiss Lake-dwellers of the Stone Age seem to have almost exclusively practised inhumation. Thus at Chablandes near Pully were found graves of the Stone Age, the sides of which were formed of four slabs set on edge with a fifth one for a cover. They average a metre in length and half this in breadth and depth. These contained unburnt remains, and when a single skeleton was found it always lay with its feet to the east[1]. In the Bronze period inhumation seems likewise to have been the prevailing usage, but in a cemetery at St Prex where thirty skeletons were found deposited in free earth, and associated with some ornaments of the best period of the Bronze Age, in the very same place and almost alternating regularly with the free burials were urns containing ashes and charcoal[2].

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[1] Mortillet, *Le Signe de la Croix avant le Christianisme*, pp. 138—43; Bertrand and S. Reinach, *Les Celtes* etc., pp. 64—5.

Indeed M. Heierli has made it probable that even as early as the transition period from Stone to Bronze cremation had already come into use[3].

Tacitus says that the Germans had no pomp in their funerals; "they simply observe the custom of burning the bodies of illustrious men with certain kinds of wood. They do not heap garments or spices on the funeral pyre. The arms of the dead man and in some cases his horse are consigned to the fire. A turf mound forms the tomb. Monuments with their lofty elaborate splendour they reject as oppressive to the dead. Tears and laments they soon dismiss; grief and sorrow but slowly. It is held becoming for women to bewail, for men to remember the dead[4]."

Modern discovery corroborates Tacitus, for though inhumation was the custom of the Stone Age, cinerary urns have been found in numerous localities in all parts of Germany[5]. We know from Procopius[6] that the Heruli were cremating their dead in the sixth century A.D., and burning seems to have been practised by the Old Saxons till the end of the eighth century, for it was prohibited by an edict of Charlemagne, A.D. 785.

In Denmark, the land of the Cimbri, inhumation seems to have been invariable in the Stone Age, the body being buried in a contracted posture. Thus in Jutland the skeleton of a woman was found with its legs bent up, its arms crossed, and the head towards the west. But cremation seems to have been by far the most frequent, if not the universal practice, during the Bronze Age[1].

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[1] Munro, *Lake-Dwellings of Europe*, pp. 540, 541.

[2] *Id.* p. 540.

[3] *Id.* p. 541.

[4] *Germ.* 27 (Church and Brobribb).

[5] J. Grimm, *Ueber das Verbrennen der Leichen* (1850), p. 29.

[6] *Goth. Bell.* II. 14.

In the early Iron Age of Denmark inhumation had steadily reasserted itself. Cremated remains are never found in grave-mounds, as in the preceding age, but in the sides of old barrows and natural eminences. Yet common cemeteries with urns containing burnt bones are not uncommon, as in Germany and Anglo-Saxon England at the same period. The urns discovered in one near Schleswig were like those found in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries[2].

In one cemetery where forty graves contained skeletons, the dead had been laid at full length from south to north, the heads being to the south[3].

Prof. Montelius holds that the Bronze Age of northern Europe began about B.C. 1500, and that the oldest bronze objects are always found in graves with unburnt bodies, whilst those of the later part of the same period are always associated with cremated remains.

That the graves with unburnt bodies are earlier than those with burnt bones is probable from the fact that "when, as frequently happens, both occur in the same barrow, the former are always found at the bottom, while the latter occur higher up and nearer the edges of the barrow; they must therefore have been placed there later[4]."

As Montelius dates the end of the Bronzê and the beginning of the Iron Age in the North at about B.C. 500, it is probable that cremation must have begun in at least some parts of that area by B.C. 1200.

But we shall soon see that in Sweden cremation was practically confined to the nobles, the mass of the people always inhuming their dead. The cemeteries of Friesland yield cinerary urns similar to those of Denmark and Germany.

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[1] Greenwell, *British Barrows*, p. 19.

[2] Conrad Engelhardt, *Denmark in the early Iron Age* (1866), p. 8.

[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 9, 10.

[4] Montelius, *The Civilization of Sweden in Heathen Times*, pp. 46, 47.

If we turn to England, the question of inhumation and cremation appears more complicated.

The researches into British barrows show that in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages, whilst inhumation was by far the more frequent practice on the Yorkshire wolds, in some groups of barrows, which had nothing to show that they were earlier or later than the general mass, cremation was the rule. "For instance, at Gardham there were six burials contained in four barrows, five being of burnt and one of an unburnt body. At Enthorpe, in the same locality, there were twenty-eight burials in six barrows, of these eighteen were after cremation and ten by inhumation."

Out of 379 burials opened by Canon Greenwell on the wolds, only 79 were after cremation, while 301 were by inhumation[1].

It cannot be maintained that cremation was the practice of the Bronze Age, for out of 14 instances where the same archaeologist discovered bronze articles associated with an interment, "it was only in two that the body had been burnt." About 4 per cent. of unburnt bodies and about 2 per cent. of burnt bodies had articles of bronze accompanying them. There can be no doubt that both inhumation and cremation were practised at the same time. "There are cases where the burnt bones of one body were placed in such immediate contact with the unburnt bones of another as to demonstrate incontestably that both must have been deposited in the grave together."

We cannot say that cremation was peculiar to rank or sex, though there are a certain number of cases where it has been plausibly suggested that the cremated remains found in close contact with a skeleton are those of a slave sacrificed to attend on a master or mistress in death.

This is exactly the reverse of what we found to be the case with the Umbrians of Bologna, for there the few skeletons found in or near the graves were probably those of slaves. For this difference we shall presently offer an explanation. Numerous interments of children by inhumation have been met with, but they also have very often undergone the process of burning. A cairn at Crosby Garrett contained the burnt body of an adult woman, and immediately overlying the calcined bones and in contact with them were the unburnt bodies of two infants[1].

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[1] Greenwell, *British Barrows*, pp. 19, 20.

The proportion of burnt to unburnt bodies differs very considerably in different areas. In the Cleveland district of Yorkshire very extensive investigations did not produce a single instance of an unburnt body. Similarly, a large series of barrows near Castle Howard also contained nothing but burnt bodies. In Derbyshire the proportion is slightly in favour of unburnt bodies; whilst in Wiltshire burnt bodies are as 3 : 1 unburnt, in Dorsetshire they are 4 : 1, and in Cornwall cremation seems to have been by far the more common. In the counties of Denbigh, Merioneth, and Carnarvon cremation seems to have been almost universal; in Northumberland the proportion of burnt bodies is 2 : 1[2].

The frequency of cremation in Northumberland, Cumberland, Cleveland, Denbigh, Carnarvon, and Merioneth, is not without significance when we recall the existence in this area of the Cymry, even though philologists deny that they were Cimbri from Denmark (the Cimbric Chersonese) where cremation was almost universal in the Bronze Age.

In view of the fact that inhumation was by far the more common on the Yorkshire wolds, whilst cremation on the other hand was the more frequent in Dorsetshire, it is worth noticing that the dead in the Yorkshire barrows were almost invariably in a contracted position, as in Denmark in the Stone Age, whilst in Dorsetshire on the contrary the extended position seems to be the prevalent one[3], as it was in Denmark in the early Iron Age. The like posture is general in the Anglo-Saxon inhumation graves, the body being laid on its back at full length. And this too was the regular posture of the unburnt dead at Hallstatt.

There are instances where the body seems to have been placed in a squatting position in the grave, just as bodies were sometimes placed in a sitting position in the chambered barrows of Scandinavia[1].

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[1] Greenwell, p. 391.

[2] *Id.* p. 21.

[3] *Id.* p. 22.

In Yorkshire the bodies as a rule lay so that the face was turned south.

In the 'late Celtic' cemetery at Aylesford in Kent the dead seem to have been universally cremated. "The graves were described as consisting of round pits from two to three feet deep and large enough to contain two or three urns, each of varying dimensions, some no bigger than a man's fist, but for the most part containing burnt bones[2]."

There can be little doubt from the British coins found at the same time that we have here a cemetery of the Belgae who had crossed into Kent not very long before our era. These Belgae were said to be Cimbri, and it is not surprising then to find cremation the universal practice of a people who had already begun it at least by 1200 B.C.

As there is good reason for believing that the Belgae conquered Dorset, Wiltshire, and Cornwall, it is not surprising that we should find cremation the prevailing practice in areas where Belgic tribes were the dominant race.

The Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, who settled in Britain, naturally brought with them their own national funeral rites, which they preserved until the introduction of Christianity. Indeed there is evidence that here, as on the Continent, pagan practices long survived. Thus Canon 24 of Aelfric forbade the use of pagan songs at funerals.

In southern Britain inhumation was the normal custom. A tumulus when well preserved consists of a mound and foss: the mound covers a grave containing a skeleton at full length lying on its back with the head sometimes towards the W., an orientation for the most part found in the graves of Kent and Sussex, but more often towards N.[3] It will be remembered that the body in a Stone Age grave of Denmark was laid with head to W., whilst in the early Iron Age the bodies were laid N. and S., though in the case cited the heads were to S.

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[1] *Id.* p. 24.

[2] A. J. Evans, "On a late Celtic Urn-field at Aylesford, Kent," *Archaeologia*, Vol. LII. p. 6.

[3] Akerman, *Remains of Roman Saxondom*, p. viii.; J. de Baye, *Industrial Arts of the Anglo-Saxons*, pp. 120—1.

It is to be noticed that cremation is very unusual in the graves of Kent and other parts of southern Britain, although very common among the Angles of East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria[1], as is evidenced by the large number of cinerary urns found in those districts. Those who were inhumed, dressed and equipped as in life, were laid on their backs at full length, whilst in the grave along with the urn which held the ashes of the cremated Angle were placed his weapons and other personal objects.

May we then infer that the cremation graves of the early Iron Age found in Denmark belong to the Angles or their immediate kindred, whilst the non-cremation burials are to be ascribed to the Jutes and Saxons?

We just now saw that in Dorsetshire the dead when not cremated were laid out at full length. This was certainly the practice of the Gauls of the late Celtic period in burying their dead in the cemeteries of Champagne, where only two instances of cremation have been discovered[2].

In France inhumation was universal before the age of metal, for both the palaeolithic and neolithic, dolichocephalic peoples as well as the brachycephalic, buried their dead or disposed of them in some other way than by the use of fire.

Thus at Laugerie-Basse (Dordogne) a skeleton was discovered which lay on its side in a contracted position, the left hand under the left cheek, the right on the neck, with the elbows almost touching the knees[3]. At Cro Magnon[4] were found in a cave three dolichocephalic skeletons—an old man, a woman with a wound in her forehead, and a youth, whilst a similar trio stretched at full length on their left sides were discovered at Baoussé-Roussé near Mentona[5].

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[1] T. Wright, *Celt, Roman and Saxon*, pp. 2, 425—7.

[2] Morel, *La Champagne Souterraine* (1877—1898), pp. 185, 186, Pls. I. & VII.

[3] Mortillet, *Formation de la Nation française*, pp. 295—96 (Fig. 142).

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 311 *sqq.*

[5] *Ibid.* p. 319 (Fig. 153).

But soon after the commencement of the Bronze Age cremation begins to appear in the area occupied by the brachycephalic Alpine race[1].

The Gauls, according to both Diodorus and Caesar, burned their dead, but it is probable that it was only the master race who had this practice. They cast on the funeral pyre whatever they thought the dead man in life held dear, and favourite animals, slaves, and dependents were burnt along with their master[2], with regular funeral rites (*iustis funeribus*).

In Ireland inhumation was of course the earlier; then cremation makes its appearance for a while, but never supersedes its older rival, as there is clear evidence that both usages were contemporaneous. Later on cremation disappears and inhumation remains dominant[3]. Cinerary urns have been found in barrows in Antrim. Down, Louth, Kildare, Kilkenny and other counties, but, though one or two cemeteries with a considerable quantity of cremation urns have been found in Antrim and Louth, it is probable that burning was chiefly confined to the nobles, and the common folk always inhumed their dead.

In the burial of Fiachra, who died of his wounds at *Forud* in *Ui MacUais* in Meath, "his *Leacht* was made and his *Fert* was raised, and his *Cluicher Caintech* was ignited, and his *Ogam* name was written, and the fifty hostages which he brought from the south were buried alive around the *Fert of Fiachra,* that it might be a reproach to the Momonians for ever, and that it might be a trophy over them[4]."

The reproach consisted in the fact that the captives were not burned with Fiachra, and therefore did not get proper funeral rites, as did the clients and slaves put to death (*iustis funeribus*) at the funeral of a Gaulish chief. Consequently the souls of the hostages, instead of departing to the land of spirits, remained in the earth to watch Fiachra's barrow. This principle is well known in all parts of the world. One or two examples will suffice. Among the coast tribes of North-West America it was customary at the building of the chief's house to plant each of the main posts upon a living captive. So too the Turks in the sixteenth century are said to have walled up a pair of lovers under the foundations of the bridge at Mostar in Herzegovina, whilst as late as 1870 the corpse of a child was ceremoniously buried under the foundations of a bridge at Trebinje[1]. It will be remembered that in the Umbrian cemeteries of Bologna and Este there were various examples of unburnt bodies in cremation graves, the cinerary urn having in one case been placed on the back of the skeleton. The spirits of such inhumed persons (slaves) were probably intended to perform the same functions as the hostages buried round Fiachra's grave.

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[1] *Ibid.* p. 327.

[2] Caesar, *B. G.* VI. 19; Diod. Sic. v. 28.

[3] Wood-Martin, *Pagan Ireland,* pp. 107, 108.

[4] O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the ancient Irish,* Vol. IX. p. 321.

From this rapid survey it is now clear to the reader that cremation was not developed in the countries lying around the Mediterranean, whilst on the other hand it was already practised in central Europe possibly even in the transition period from Stone to Bronze. But as the Acheans practised it at least 1000 B.C., there is a very high probability that they had come into Greece from central Europe, where the fair-haired peoples were certainly burning their dead before the end of the Bronze Age, or at least 1200 B.C.

It may be worth inquiring why cremation came into use in certain parts of Europe, and whether it indicates any particular phase of belief regarding the soul of man and its ultimate destination after death.

It is difficult to find out the causes which first led certain people in upper Europe to burn the corpse of a dead relation, but there is a much greater possibility of ascertaining with accuracy the leading ideas respecting the souls of the departed that prevailed among people who practised inhumation, and those who adopted cremation. If it should turn out that the Acheans of Homer, and the people of upper Europe, who burnt their dead, held the same doctrine respecting the effect on the soul wrought by the consumption of its fleshly tenement on the pyre, this will confirm the conclusion at which we have already arrived, that the Acheans brought the custom of cremation with them from central Europe.

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[1] Munro, *Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Dalmatia*, p. 182. So Hiel laid the foundation of Jericho "in Abiram his firstborn, and set up the gates thereof in his younger son Segub" (1 Kings xvi. 34).

Let us now clearly understand the views concerning the relation of the soul to the body after death, held respectively by those Greeks, who simply buried, and the Acheans who burned their dead.

The Greeks of the fifth century B.C. held that the spirits of the wicked who had died in their sins kept constantly around the grave in which lay their carnal remains[1].

Plato in the *Phaedo* gives us what was probably in the main the primary theory of ghosts, although at the same time he engrafts on it the theory of Ideas. Philosophy (says he) partially liberates the soul even in a man's lifetime, purifying his mind. This is evidently no new idea of Plato himself, for he compares the action of Philosophy to that of the Orphic mysteries which purified the mind from the contagion of body and sense. If such purification has been fully achieved the mind of the philosopher is at the moment of death thoroughly severed from the body, and passes clean away by itself into commerce with the Ideas.

On the contrary the soul of the ordinary man, which has undergone no purification and remains in close implication with the body, cannot get completely separated even at the moment of death, but remains encrusted and weighed down by bodily accompaniments, so as to be unfit for those regions to which mind itself naturally belongs.

Such impure souls are the ghosts or shadows which wallow round tombs and graves; and which are visible because they have not departed in a state of purity, but rather charged full of the material and corporeal. They are thus not fit for separate existence, and return into fresh bodies of different species of men or animals.

Identical with this is the mediaeval and modern belief that ghosts are the spirits of those who have been murdered or otherwise cut off suddenly in their sins. This is the doctrine set forth by the ghost of Hamlet's father:

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[1] Plato, *Phaedo* 81, 82.

> "Cut off even in the blossoms of my sin,
> Unhousel'd, disappointed, unaneal'd;
> No reckoning made, but sent to my account
> With all my imperfections on my head."
>
> *Hamlet*, Act I. Sc. 5.

Nor was it only the souls of those who had perished in their sins that clung close to the bodies in which they had once been housed..

The Greek vase-paintings constantly represent the soul of the dead in close proximity to the tomb. This then was the ordinary doctrine at Athens, where inhumation, as we saw, generally prevailed down to late classical times.

But in the stories relating to the remains of famous heroes, there is more definite evidence of the ancient belief respecting the soul's domicile in the case of one who had been simply inhumed.

Sophocles has left us a valuable piece of testimony in the *Oedipus at Colonus*[1]. Oedipus on his expulsion from Thebes had been hospitably received in Attica, he dies there, and his place of sepulture is to be concealed in order that the Thebans may not be able to carry his bones away, and thus deprive Athens of a champion 'worth many shields.' The danger here contemplated had befallen the Tegeans in their struggle with the Spartans. The latter had been continually discomfited until they sent to Delphi and inquired of the oracle "what god they must propitiate to prevail in the war against the Tegeans." The answer of the Pythian priestess was that before they could prevail they must remove to Sparta the bones of Orestes, the son of Agamemnon. A second oracle told them that "level and smooth is the plain where Arcadian Tegea standeth; there all-teeming Earth doth harbour the son of Atreides; bring thou him to thy city, and then be Tegea's master[2]."

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[1] *Oed. Col.* 1522 *sqq.*

[2] Herod. I. 67 (Rawlinson's trans.).

How the bones of Orestes were discovered and brought to Sparta is familiar to all.

The bones of Tisamenus, the son of Orestes, were similarly translated to Sparta. That king had invaded what was afterwards Achaia when he had been driven from his kingdom of Lacedaemon and Argos by the Dorians. Tisamenus fell in battle against the Iones, and his body was buried by the Acheans in Helice, "but in after time the Lacedaemonians, at the bidding of the Delphic oracle, brought his bones to Sparta[1]."

Cleisthenes of Sicyon, when he was at war with Argos, wanted to drive the hero Adrastus from his city, because Adrastus was an Argive hero[2]. The hero had a shrine at Sicyon and was therefore a constant source of danger, as he would naturally aid his own people in any attack on that city. Cleisthenes asked the Delphic oracle if he might expel the hero, but this was denied him. Doubtless had his desire been granted he would have cast the hero's bones out of the land, just as the Athenians flung beyond their frontiers the bodies of the slayers of Cylon[3]. Cleisthenes then obtained from the Thebans Melanippus, the son of Astacus, and brought him to Sicyon, and built him a shrine in the strongest and safest part of the palace. His reason for so doing was that Melanippus was Adrastus's great enemy, having slain both his brother Mecistes and his son-in-law Tydeus. "Cleisthenes likewise took away from Adrastus the sacrifices and festivals wherewith he had till then been honoured, and transferred them to his adversary."

Plainly then Cleisthenes acted towards Adrastus as if he was a dangerous living man dwelling in the city, whom he wanted to harass in every way, and even to starve out of the city by cutting off his sacrifices.

All these cases[4] prove beyond doubt that the spirit of the dead man was held to be in close attendance on his body and followed his remains wherever they were carried. The same feeling can be seen vigorously at work in mediaeval Christianity, when communities contended for the bones of famous saints. Indeed the mediaeval and modern Roman Catholic worship of the bones of holy men is the unbroken continuation of the veneration of the bones of dead heroes in pagan times.

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[1] Paus. VII. 1, 7.

[2] Herod. v. 67.

[3] Plutarch, *Solon* 12: *τῶν δὲ ἀποθανόντων τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνορύξαντες ἐξέρριψαν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ὅρους.*

[4] Numerous other instances could be quoted from Pausanias, such as the bones of Arcas, Hector, Aristomenes, Hesiod, Hippodamia, Leonidas, Linus, etc.

From the case of Adrastus it is plain that it was believed that the soul of the dead retained its bodily feelings and appetites. The dead therefore required to be supplied with food daily or at longer intervals. The food for the dead was usually a *pelanos* of meal, honey, and oil[1], or a drink-offering of blood. These were poured into a hole (*bothros*) close to the tomb, or even directly through a hole passing from the outside into the very grave itself. Thus, at Tronis in Daulis, Xanthippus (or Phocus, p. 166) was "worshipped every day, and the Phocians bring victims, and the blood they pour through a hole (δι' ὀπῆς) into the grave, but the flesh it is customary to consume on the spot[2]." Doubtless the fresh blood renewed the faint vitality of the dead hero, who could thus more effectively watch over his people.

The custom of pouring blood, wine or oil through a funnel, not only into the grave, but even into the very mouth of the dead, is practised to-day in many parts of Africa, Asia, and the South Pacific[3].

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[1] Aesch. *Cho.* 92.

[2] Paus. x. 4, 10.

[3] A Romano-British lead coffin at Colchester has a pipe projecting from the lid, and which probably led to the outside of the grave. A similar explanation may be offered for the hole found by Canon Greenwell in the Yorkshire barrow 'Brown Willy' which extended from the exterior right into the middle of the tumulus. Such an aperture has been found in the great barrow in Taman (S. Russia). This barrow was the tomb of a rich Greek family settled there in the fourth century B.C. (Frazer *ad* Paus. x. 4, 10). Many Roman graves near Carthage contain urns with calcined bones. Each urn is covered with a saucer in the middle of which there is a hole which communicates with the exterior of the tomb by means of an earthenware tube (Frazer). In Congo, when a king was buried, a tube was passed from the outside into his mouth, and down this tube food and drink were poured every month. See Frazer's masterly note for many other examples.

As the *dromos* at Menidi shows that such grave-offerings were immemorial in Attica, so too the custom of Tronis finds its counterpart at Mycenae in the altar slab over Grave IV. (p. 5), with a funnel-like aperture, which probably conveyed the offering directly to the dead within.

Such offerings were the renewal of the food placed in the grave at the funeral. This seems often to have been burned. Thus, in the shaft-graves of Mycenae, burnt remains were found near the dead. The ash-jars of Naqada contained the relics of the funeral feast. Burnt remains are found in the Stone Age inhumation graves of central Europe. Possibly, even the burnt human remains found with inhumation burials in some British graves may be explained in the same way.

As the dead required food, so also they needed clothing to wear in the grave. Thus the dead at Mycenae were laid to their eternal rest arrayed in their full apparel and ornaments. As the latter were not burned, plainly they were to be worn by the soul in the grave. In a later age, when the soul was supposed to depart to a separate realm, it was necessary to burn the clothes, as is proved by the story of Periander[1]. The ghost of his wife Melissa said "she was chill, having no clothes; the garments buried with her were of no manner of use, since they had not been burnt."

As the dead needed both food and raiment, as in life, so it was only natural that their final abode should resemble the house which they had occupied on this side the grave. Thus the terra-cotta coffins in which the Cretans deposited the bones of their ancestors occasionally take the shape of a dwelling. In fact they alone reproduce the exterior of the Mycenean house, whether in Crete or elsewhere[2]. Urns, shaped like round huts standing on piles[3], have also been found in Melos and Amorgus.

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[1] Herod. v. 92.

[2] Tsountas and Manatt, *op. cit.*, pp. 137, 259—60.

[3] The aboriginal Sakeis of the Malay Peninsula erect at the foot of the grave a triangular hut or shelter raised on three piles about three feet high. In it are placed food and utensils etc. (according to the sex of the dead) made in miniature, *cf.* p. 443. A little wooden ladder leading up to the hut gives the spirit easy access to it. For these facts I am indebted to my friend Mr W. W. Skeat, M.A., Straits Civil Service.

All these considerations make it clear that the people of the Mycenean Age, like the inhumationist Greeks of later times, believed that the soul dwelt in the grave beneath the earth. Naturally then the term *χθόνιος* is commonly applied to the dead.

Now let us examine the Homeric doctrine on the same point.

The soul leaves the body at death and wings its way to Hades bemoaning its fate, as it leaves for ever its manhood and youth[1]. But within the portals of the Unseen it cannot pass until the body is consumed by fire.

The departed soul has a long way to go to the House of Hades, and is therefore glad of company on the road. Thus Deiphobus cried, "Not unavenged is Asius, nay, methinks that even on his road to Hades, strong warden of the gate, he will rejoice at heart, since, lo, I have sent him escort for the way[2]."

For the complete separation of the soul from the body it is indispensable that the latter be burned. Until this all-important act is fulfilled the soul flits between the living and the dead, for access to Hades is denied it. Therefore the soul of Patroclus besought Achilles: "Thou sleepest and hast forgotten me, O Achilles. Not in my life hast thou been unmindful of me, but in my death. Bury me with all speed that I pass the gates of Hades. Far off the spirits banish me, the phantoms of men outworn, nor suffer me to mingle with them beyond the river, but vainly I wander along the wide-gated dwelling of Hades. Now give me, I pray pitifully of thee, thy hand, for never more again shall I come back from Hades, when ye have given me my due of fire. Lay not my bones apart from thine, let one coffer hide our bones[3]."

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[1] Erwin Rohde, *Psyche, Seelencult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen*, pp. 24 *sqq*. *Il.* xvi. 856:

> *ψυχὴ δ' ἐκ ῥεθέων πταμένη Ἀιδόσδε βεβήκει,*
> *ὃν πότμον γοόωσα, λιποῦσ' ἀνδροτῆτα καὶ ἥβην.*

Cf. Il. xxii. 362 (Hector's soul); xx. 294, xiii. 415; *Od.* x. 560 *ψυχὴ δ' Ἀιδόσδε κατῆλθεν*; xi. 65.

[2] *Il.* xiii. 415. *Cf. Il.* xxiv. 246 *βαίην δόμον Ἄιδος εἴσω*; vi. 422 *κίον Ἄιδος εἴσω*.

[3] *Il.* xxiii. 69 *sqq*. Lang, Leaf, Myers.

So too with the soul of Elpenor who through excess of wine had met his death by falling from Circe's housetop: "his neck was broken, and his spirit went down to the house of Hades[1]."

When Odysseus had reached the realms of the dead and evoked the spirits of them that be departed, "first came the soul of Elpenor, my companion, that had not yet been buried beneath the wide-wayed earth; for we left the corpse behind us in the hall of Circe, unwept and unburied." Then Odysseus inquires, "Elpenor, how hast thou come beneath the darkness and the shadow? Thou hast come fleeter on foot than I in my black ship." Elpenor tells how he met his doom and finally says: "Leave me not unwept and unburied as thou goest hence, nor turn thy back upon me, lest haply I bring on thee the anger of the gods. Nay, burn me there with mine armour, all that is mine, and pile me a barrow on the shore of the grey sea, the grave of a luckless man, that even men unborn may hear my story. Fulfil me this and plant upon the barrow my oar, wherewith I rowed in the days of my life, while yet I was among my fellows[2]."

Aristonicus points out that Homer supposes that the spirits of those who have not yet been buried are still sentient[3], and Cicero noticed that when Achilles maltreats the body of Hector he thought that Hector could feel it[4].

Once the body was burned, as we have just seen, the soul entered the house of Hades never more to return to the land of the living[5], and takes no thought of those there, unless in the exceptional cases when they have tasted of freshly shed blood.

Rohde[6] saw the wide difference between the Homeric conception and the ideas which prevailed in historical Greece, but he has failed to explain it.

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[1] *Od.* x. 560.

[2] *Id.* xi. 51 *sqq.* (Butcher and Lang.)

[3] *Ad Il.* xxiii. 104: *ἡ διπλῆ ὅτι τὰς τῶν ἀθάπτων ψυχὰς Ὅμηρος ἔτι σωζούσας τὴν φρόνησιν ὑποτίθεται.*

[4] *Tusc. Disp.* i. 105: lacerari eum et sentire, credo, putat.

[5] *Il.* xxii. 389.

[6] *Psyche*, pp. 32, 163—4. Rohde's failure is admitted by one so committed as Dr Leaf to the theory that the Mycenean Age is that of Homer (*Class. Review*, 1895, p. 55).

Though the worship of the dead formed an essential part of the Greek religion of classical times, he could find nothing corresponding to it in Homer. He endeavoured to bridge over this gulf by citing the altar-slab found at Mycenae (p. 5); but to assume that the altar-slab of Mycenae is a proof of the existence of ancestor worship among the Homeric Acheans is simply to beg the question, and equally invalid is the only other evidence adduced by Rohde—that as the grave of Aepytus is mentioned as a landmark in the *Iliad*, there was probably there a cult of the dead (*cf.* p. 119).

A good explanation may however be found in the fact that a people had come down from central Europe with ideas wholly alien to those of their subjects, and that in Homer we have their religious conceptions embodied. This people, as we saw, had soon merged into the indigenous race. The more material ideas of the latter had always continued with the masses, and thus in the cults of classical times there is little trace of the Homeric practice of cremation or of the Homeric conceptions of the gods.

If it can be shown that the cremationists of upper Europe held exactly the same views as the Acheans respecting the effect produced on the destination of the soul by the burning of the body, our hypothesis will have been amply confirmed.

The ruling class in Gaul practised cremation in the first century B.C. They held that the soul was immortal, that it departed to another region, access to which was through the medium of fire, and that after a fixed period it would be re-incarnated. Thus at funerals some used to cast into the pyre letters written to their relatives in the belief that they would read them[1]. Caesar (p. 505) tells us that all a man's prized possessions, as well as his favourite animals and slaves, were burned along with him.

The literature of Scandinavia has preserved evidence of great weight. Odin ordained that all men should be burned and brought on to the pyre with their property. He said that every dead man should come to Valhalla with such gear as he had on the fire; he should also have the enjoyment of what he had himself buried in the earth. But the ashes were to be carried out to sea, or buried down in the earth[1]. A howe was to be raised as a memorial to noblemen; and for all such as had achieved any distinction *bauta*-stones should be set up. Animals and even slaves were thrown on the pyre as well as other forms of property. Thus at the funeral of Sigurdr and Brynhildr two hawks and a number of men and women servants were burned.

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[1] Diod. Sic. v. 28, 6.

At the obsequies of Haraldr Hilditonn "Hringr had a great howe made, and had the body of Haraldr laid in the chariot and driven therein to the howe with the horse which Haraldr had had in the battle. The horse was then killed. Then king Hringr took the saddle on which he had himself ridden, and gave it to his kinsman, king Haraldr, and besought him to do whichever he wished, whether he wished to ride or drive to Valhalla." So too at the burning of Balder the hero's horse and the ring Draupnir were laid on the pyre.

Odin's doctrine that everything burned with the dead would pass to the soul's eternal resting-place accords with that of the Homeric poems, as shown by the funeral of Patroclus, and the last words of the shade of Elpenor, who begs that his arms may be burned with him. The weapons and ornaments injured by fire which are found in the cremation graves of Hallstatt, at Sesto Calende and elsewhere, demonstrate that the cremationists of central Europe had a similar belief.

The soul passed away to Odin to Valhalla, where the departed hero "drank ale on the high seat among the Aesir," whither his kindred had gone before. Thus Sigmundr spake, when he met his death-wound: "It is Odin's will that we shall no longer draw the sword now that it is broken; I have fought so long as it pleased him;......I will go to seek our kinsfolk who are already departed." These words are a good comment on the swords and other weapons found deliberately broken in graves in upper Italy and elsewhere. Indeed, Odin himself is represented as saying on his death-bed that he is about to go to Godheimr and to greet his friends there[1].

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[1] *Ynglinga Saga*, c. 8; H. M. Chadwick, *The Cult of Othin*, pp. 40—1.

But in Sweden cremation never superseded inhumation altogether, and the masses held to the older custom. Why they did so, will be made plain by the following passages which relate the death and burial of Freyr, the Swedish god. "Freyr (Fro) fell sick, and when the sickness came upon him men sought counsel and allowed few men to approach him, and they built a great *howe*, and put a door and three windows on to it, and when Freyr was dead they carried him secretly into the *howe* and told the Swedes that he was alive. And they kept him there three years[2]."

"When all the Swedes knew that Freyr was dead, but plenty and peace continued, then they believed that it would so be as long as Freyr was in Sweden. So they would not burn him. And they called him the god of the world[3], and have sacrificed greatly to him ever since for plenty and peace[4]."

The belief of the common Swedes was therefore identical with that of the ordinary inhabitants of the Greek peninsula. Both thought that the spirit continued with the remains. On the other hand, Scandinavians, Odin-worshippers, Celts and Homeric Acheans, agree in believing that, as soon as the body is burnt, the soul fares forth to an invisible world, and all alike held that it was a long journey thither. This Silent Land is not beneath the earth either in the Scandinavian or Homeric conception, although it is the fashion among scholars to speak of the Homeric 'Underworld.'

But Odysseus makes no descent into the Infernal abodes as did Aeneas in the Sixth Aeneid, or as Dante did in the *Inferno*. The Achean hero simply sails away in his ship to the extreme West. Nor is there any idea of an Underworld in the post-Homeric belief in the Isles of the Blest, whether these lay in the West, or like the White Isle (Λευκή), in the Euxine.

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[1] *Ynglinga Saga*, c. 10.

[2] *Ynglinga Saga*, c. 12.

[3] Veraldar gott, possibly 'god of human life.'

[4] *Ynglinga Saga*, c. 13.

There is some evidence that the northern cremationists, like the Acheans, believed that the Spirit-land lay in the West. Perhaps the ordinance of Odin that the ashes of the dead should be sent out to sea points in this direction, but it is clear from Procopius[1] that in the sixth century of our era, the peoples of north-west Europe held that the soul of the departed journeyed westward. He says that he had heard it frequently stated in all seriousness by the natives that the souls passed into the western part of Britain (p. 177). A peninsula opposite Britain was inhabited by a folk, who both tilled the soil, fished and traded to Britain[2]. They were subject to the Franks, but paid no tribute by virtue of the ancient service of ferrying the souls out into the Ocean to Britain. Those whose turn it was to discharge this duty went home at nightfall and lay down to sleep. Roused from their beds at dead of night by weird knocking at the door, they went down to the shore seeing no wight, but constrained by a mysterious voice and a resistless impulse. There ships, not their own but stranger, stood ready to depart, but on them was seen no one of mortal mould. Embarking they grasped the oars, and found the barks laden to the gunwale with an invisible freight. A voyage which took their own ships a day and a night was accomplished in a single hour. Britain reached, they returned at once, the ships now being light and buoyant.

This strange tale, like the voyage of Odysseus to the West, points to no Inferno. The latter idea is a development in the South from the ancient belief that the souls of the dead dwelt in their graves beneath the earth.

It seems then that the Homeric doctrine of the soul is the same as that held by the fair-haired peoples of upper Europe, who like the Acheans burnt the bodies of their dead kinsfolk.

As cremation was not esteemed by the mass of Swedes, it seems clear that it was not indigenous in the North, and must therefore have passed upwards from Germany. Indeed as cremation is an essential part of Odin-worship, and it was said that the souls of nobles went to Odin, whilst those of serfs appertained to Thor, it would appear that at least in parts of the North cremation was only practised by the nobles, while the commonalty clave to the ancient rite of burial. The presumption that Odin-worship and cremation had entered the North from central Europe is strengthened by several traditions. Thus Odin was said to have introduced iron, and he was supposed to render his votaries proof against iron weapons. Helmets likewise, and shirts of mail, are sometimes worn by his followers. He likewise had introduced the Runic Futhorc, and he was also said to have taught the battle-formation called the wedge. It will shortly be shown that the use of iron made its way into the North from central Europe, where we have already seen the development of defensive armour, such as corselets, helmets, and greaves.

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[1] *Goth. Bell.* IV. 20.

[2] The story seems to refer to the Veneti of Armorica, who were famous shipmen, and in Caesar's time had the trade with Britain in their hands.

No one now doubts that the Runes are derived from some form of the Mediterranean alphabet, be it from the Greek, as held by Rask and Taylor, or from the Latin, as is maintained by Wimmer.

Iron and the alphabet would naturally advance to the North along the great routes which we have already described. In Caesar's time the Helvetii wrote with *Graecae litterae*, from which it is certain that they used some symbols which looked more like Greek than Latin letters. The Gauls also used *Graecae litterae* in Caesar's day, which they had probably borrowed from Massalia, and Greek letters are seen on some Gaulish coins, and even on some of those minted by the Belgic tribes of Britain. If the Helvetii were using *Graecae litterae* in the century before Christ, there is no reason why we should doubt the existence in Germany, in the time of Tacitus[1], of inscriptions in *Graecae litterae*, though we need not regard them as a proof that either Hercules or Ulysses had passed that way.

That the Runes were in full use in Germany in the centuries after Christ is proved by the oft-cited lines of Venantius:

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[1] *Germ.* 3. As the Greek inscription of Brough-under-Stanmore was read as Runes by an eminent modern writer, we need not be surprised if the Romans took Runic letters for Greek.

> "Barbara fraxineis scindatur rhuna tabellis,
> Quodque papyrus agit, uirgula plana facit."

It is not impossible that the Runes were derived from the alphabet of Massalia, whose coins with the legend ΜΑΣΣΑ were much imitated by the Alpine tribes and circulated all over northern Italy until the Roman conquest; indeed Massaliote coins have been found at the mouth of the Rhine and even in remote Britain.

But whether the Runes were derived from the Massaliote, or one of the North-Etruscan alphabets, or from the Balkan, it is certain that they must have reached the North from central Europe. But as they, like iron and cremation, are ascribed to Odin, we may infer that cremation, like its two companions, had likewise moved upwards from central Europe.

But it is even possible to see the Homeric doctrine on its southward course. We have seen that the fair-haired peoples had settled from an early time along the south of the Danube extending even up to the shores of the Black Sea, and that certain of them were included under the general name of Thracians. We have also seen that cremation was partly practised in Thrace. It is probable that we must class under the category of these fair-haired Celto-Thracians the Getae, who are described by Herodotus[1] as the noblest and most just of all the Thracian tribes, and are especially mentioned as believing in their own immortality (p. 399).

It is probable that the Trausi also held that at death the soul passed away into a place of bliss (p. 399).

"The belief of the Getae in respect of immortality is the following. They think that they do not really die, but that when they depart this life they go to Zalmoxis, a divine being (*δαίμων*), who is called also Gebeleizis by some among them. To Zalmoxis every four years (*διὰ πεντετηρίδος*) they send a messenger chosen from amongst themselves by lot, and they charge him to bear their requests." The victim was tossed in the air and impaled upon lances held to receive him as he fell. "If he is pierced and dies they think the god (ὁ θεός) is propitious to them; but if not, they lay the fault on the messenger, who (they say) is a wicked man: and so they choose another to send away. The messages are given while the man is still alive. The same Thracians, when it lightens and thunders, aim their arrows at the sky, uttering threats against the god; and they do not believe that there is any god but their own."

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[1] iv. 94.

Not only did the Celts of Gaul believe that their souls were immortal and departed at death to a separate abode, but like the Getae they every four years (κατὰ πενταετηρίδα) offered a human sacrifice[1]. Malefactors reserved for this purpose they impaled in honour of the gods (ἀνασκολοπίζουσι) and consecrated them with many firstfruits as well (καθαγίζουσι), preparing pyres of great length. Diodorus adds that they also used captives as victims for doing honour to the gods.

Not only the periodicity of the festival, but also the method of sacrifice, is the same among Gauls and Getae. It is moreover to be observed that the Olympic, Delphic and Delian festivals were likewise held every fourth year. In the case of the first we have already had occasion to ascribe its establishment to the Acheans, whilst later on it will be shown that the same people introduced at Delphi and Delos the worship of Hyperborean Apollo with its great periodic games and rites.

The cult of Zalmoxis or Gebeleizis of the Getae resembles that of Odin in more than one respect. We have seen that the kings of all the Thracian tribes traced their descent from and specially sacrificed to a deity, whom the Greeks identified with their own Hermes, probably because the Thracian god was connected with the dead, as was certainly the case with Zalmoxis and Odin. The Romans identified Hermes with their own Mercurius, whom they also recognized in the Odin of the Germans. Not only then did the Thracian kings trace their descent from, and worship a god who was not one of the chief Thracian divinities—Ares, Dionysus, and Artemis (Bendis)—but there is the further fact that some of the Thracian nobles, and therefore probably the kings, employed cremation, a practice confined also in Sweden to the kings and nobles. But the Teutonic chieftain families all trace their descent from Odin, as the Thracian kings did from the so-called Hermes.

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[1] Diod. Sic. v. 32, 6.

The Scandinavians, like the Getae, often selected victims for Odin from among themselves by lot, as is exemplified in the well-known story of king Vikar. As the Celts sacrificed captives taken in war, so the Scandinavians used to dedicate to Odin the souls of the vanquished.

Though the Scandinavians do not seem to have impaled their victims, as did the Getae and Celts, yet a favourite mode of sacrificing to Odin was to hang the victims on a tree or gallows, from which Odin derived one of his titles. Thus Helgi, after slaying Thorgrimr in battle, sang: "I have given the brave son of Thormorr to Odin; we have offered him a sacrifice to the Ruler of the Gallows and his corpse to the ravens[1]."

The readiness of the Getae to wage war even against heaven reminds us of the Cimbri, who, when their land was invaded by the ocean, used to "take up arms against a sea of troubles and by opposing" inevitably meet their end[2] (*cf.* p. 396).

But we saw reasons for believing that the Getae, and Trausi, as well as the fair-haired ruling element in Thrace, had passed from central Europe into the Balkan, and were therefore closely connected with the fair-haired races of upper Europe. If this were so, they ought to have some religious ideas in common with the latter. But as such a resemblance has just been pointed out between the cults of Zalmoxis and Odin, it is not improbable that in Zalmoxis, Gebeleizis, the Thracian Hermes, and Odin, we have the same divinity under different appellations.

As cremation entered Greece from the north, so most probably did the doctrine of a separate abode for souls which is so intimately connected with the burning of the body. In this we get still another proof that the Acheans had descended from central Europe into Greece.

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[1] *Cf. Il.* I. 3—5:

> πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄιδι προΐαψεν
> ἡρώων, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐλώρια τεῦχε κύνεσσιν
> οἰωνοῖσί τε πᾶσι.

[2] Aelian, *Var. Hist.* XII. 23.

It has been conjectured that the practice of burning their dead kinsfolk originated among nomadic tribes, who were afraid that their enemies might exhume the bodies of their deceased relatives. Such an act might be either for insult and desecration, or to use them for magical purposes against the living tribesmen of the defunct. As portions of the body such as hair, or the parings of the nails, are supposed to give magical power over the original owner to anyone into whose hands they may have passed, it is not an unreasonable suggestion that similar powers might accompany the possession of the entire body.

Yet a little consideration of the facts lately stated will convince us that this ingenious conjecture is not tenable.

In the first place it was perfectly easy for wandering tribes to conceal the graves of their kindred. Thus among the Yaroinga tribe of Queensland, in cases of important personages the bones are buried in the ground with nothing on the surface to indicate their presence beneath.

Secondly, the Greeks, who had the strongest motives for making sure that the bones of heroes such as Oedipus and Orestes should not fall into the hands of their enemies, ought to have burned the remains of such worthies, if the action of fire would have rendered their bones useless for magical purposes. But, as we have just seen, they did nothing of the sort, though they took great pains to conceal their sepulchres. It may be that they believed that the burnt bones would have been just as useful a possession for their foes as the unburnt.

According to this doctrine nomadic tribes would have gained no security from the mere burning of their dead, unless they carefully concealed the ashes, or carried them with them from place to place, but of the latter practice there is no proof. It is more probable that the Athenians and the Tegeans thought, like the Swedes, that if the hero's body was burned, his spirit would depart from the land and thus cease to act the part of a puissant guardian.

But if this was the case it was not any view concerning the dead body, but rather a doctrine concerning the soul, that actuated them. From this standpoint nomadic tribes would have burned the dead body because they believed that its destruction by fire would have certain desirable effects on the soul, and not because they wanted to place the body out of harm's way. We may therefore conclude that the primal cause of cremation is not to prevent the dead falling into the hands of enemies.

Again, it might be urged that the practice originated in fear of

> "the wolf that's foe to men,
> For with his nails he'll dig him up again."

But this danger could have been as easily averted by the Europeans of the Bronze Age, as it is at the present moment by the blacks in the Boulia district of Queensland who bury the corpse in a grave about four feet deep, then cover it with a layer of logs crossed by others laid transversely, then they fill in the earth, and raise a mass of logs, bushes, and earth over the grave to prevent the dingoes from tearing up the body[1].

Cremation then cannot be said to be the result of precautions taken by nomads against either human or animal foes.

But were the nomad tribes of the ancient world especially prone to burn their dead? If it should turn out that they were not, then the whole hypothesis that cremation originated among nomads falls to the ground.

But we have just seen that the most notable nomads of the ancient world—the Libyans, the Arabs, and the Scythians—all buried their dead unburnt. Clearly then a nomadic life cannot be regarded as a *vera causa*.

On the contrary, there is a presumption that nomadic tribes are of all others the least likely to cremate the dead, as they usually wander over open plains, which are commonly devoid of timber. Thus the Scythians and Arabs seem always to have boiled their meat instead of roasting it, because less fuel is required for boiling than for roasting.

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[1] W. Roth, *Ethnographical Studies among the North-west-central Queensland Aborigines*, pp. 163—4.

The Scythians, because wood was so scarce, commonly cooked an animal with a fire made of its own bones[1].

The Arabs often have to rely on camel's dung to furnish the fire to cook the evening meal, and they like the Scythians seem always to have boiled their meat, and for the same reason.

The Hebrews normally boiled their meat, as can be shown from various passages in the Old Testament. In the desert they had longed for 'the fleshpots of Egypt.' The Ethiopians likewise are said to have boiled their meat[2].

All this naturally leads up to the conclusion that the people who first started the practice of cremation in Europe lived in a well-wooded region. But central Europe, the cradle of cremation, is essentially a land of vast forests, and here abundance of fuel was ever ready to hand.

It is noticeable that the Homeric Acheans always roasted their meat, a fact which in itself is sufficient to show that they had long dwelt in well-wooded countries. When we likewise remember that the Acheans had probably brought the Celtic short-horn cattle into Greece (p. 334), and that they had the same habit as the Celts in honouring distinguished guests with the choicest cuts of the meat[3], once more we get a confirmation of the proposition that they had come from central Europe.

We saw that the Acheans, Celts, and Scandinavians believed that on the burning of the body, the soul departed to a distant region. From this circumstance we might be led to conjecture that the practice of cremation is intimately bound up with a belief in a spirit-world.

It might further be suggested that this conception of a separate abode for departed spirits, which is so much higher than the primitive notion that the soul remains close to the grave, is really Egyptian in origin, and that the Homeric Greeks and through them the peoples of upper Europe had ultimately derived their doctrine from the land of the Nile.

To the first conjecture an effective answer can be given. The Egyptians believed in a spirit-world, but they did not

[1] Herod. VI. 61.

[2] Herod. III. 28.

[3] Diod. Sic. (v. 28, 4) points out this resemblance.

cremate the body, therefore cremation is not essential to a belief in a separate abode for disembodied spirits. To the second there is an equally valid objection.

The Achean, the Celt, and the Odin-worshippers of Scandinavia held that on the burning of the body the soul departed never more to return to its earthly tabernacle, though, as we saw, until the burning was accomplished the soul kept flitting to and fro between the unseen world and its late habitation. Thus cremation is essential to the happiness of the soul. But to the Egyptians the thought of destroying the body or even a portion of it was absolutely horrible, for they looked forward to the revivification of the body, when the perfected soul would return to its carnal abode and animate it once more. Hence for several thousand years before our era the Egyptians had spared no cost or trouble in order that their dead kinsfolk's bodies might last as long as possible. The various ways of embalming the dead are familiar to all readers of Herodotus[1] and Diodorus[2]. Even the viscera, which in the most expensive process (costing a talent of silver) were removed, were medicated separately and either placed between the legs of the mummy and swathed up along with it, or placed in a vase. "The future welfare of the body in the nether world depended entirely upon its having every member complete[3]." Hence Cambyses (p. 483) as a final outrage had the mummy of Amasis burned.

The Homeric doctrine of the soul is therefore completely at variance with the Egyptian.

Neither then does the doctrine of a separate abode of spirits lead to the cremation of the body, any more than a nomadic life.

It is therefore clear that the Homeric doctrine of the soul is not borrowed from Egypt; and furthermore, as it was found in upper Europe among the Celts and Scandinavians, it probably passed from thence into Greece; but, as it appears there with the Acheans, it is probable that they came from upper Europe.

As the Acheans and the cremationists of upper Europe held that on the burning of the body the soul departed to the abode

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[1] II. 85.

[2] I. 91.

[3] Budge, *The Mummy*, p. 182.

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of spirits never more to return, this at first sight gives strong support to the theory often plausibly put forward, that the practice of burning the dead arose from a desire to get rid of the ghost effectually. But we shall presently produce conclusive evidence against the validity of this hypothesis.

As the Egyptians embalmed their dead from a distinct theological belief, we are naturally led to inquire whether other peculiar methods of disposing of the dead such as cremation are not as a rule due to a similar cause.

It seems certain that the Egyptian practice of mummifying the dead after lasting for several thousand years fell into disuse in the fourth century A.D. because the old belief gave way to the Christian doctrine that at the coming of Christ "this corruptible must put on incorruption," and therefore there was no need to preserve the body. As Christianity killed embalming in Egypt, so it put an end to cremation in other parts of the Roman Empire, where that practice prevailed. For though the Christians thought it unnecessary to embalm the body, since the soul would receive an incorruptible body at the Resurrection, so on the other hand were they unwilling to completely destroy the mortal body that was to put on immortality.

With the rise of Islam cremation received a further blow, for it is essential for the happiness in the future state of a Mahommedan that his mortal body shall suffer no mutilation. Hence Mahommedans sometimes light a fire on the bodies of their slain enemies in order that the latter may not be admitted to the plenary joys of Paradise[1]. But this doctrine, like so many others of Islam, is only the embodiment of the custom of the ancient Arabs, who, like all the other Semites, did not burn, but buried their dead.

In all these cases the treatment of the body after death is regulated by the particular theological tenet.

Thus far we have only considered cremation as practised in ancient Europe.

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[1] For the same reason the Ghoorkas (who profess Hinduism) regularly light fires on the bodies of their Moslem enemies. Mere execution failed to check Moslem fanatics from 'running a muck' on the north-west frontier of India until our officers adopted the expedient of having the bodies of such malefactors burned and their ashes sown broadcast.

At this point it will be convenient to briefly glance at the geographical distribution of inhumation and cremation in the modern world, more especially as there is a vague idea abroad that cremation marks a stage in the development of many races.

Africa presents little difficulty. All its Mahommedans of course bury the body for the reasons just stated, whilst the same practice is universal among all the Negro and Bantu tribes, Hottentots, and Bushmen.

Yet very different notions concerning the destiny of the soul after death are held by different tribes. Thus the Tschwi tribes of West Africa believe that the soul departs to Srahmandazi, "where there are markets and towns and all things as on this earth. The slaves and women killed at the funeral are to form for the dead a retinue and riches wherewith to start life in Srahmandazi." "But in the Delta (of the Niger) there is no underworld to live in, the souls shortly after reaching the underworld being forwarded back to this in the form of new babies, and the wealth that is sent down with a man serves as an indication as to what class of baby the soul is to be repacked and sent up in[1]."

There is a considerable difference between the death customs of the Bantus and pure negroes.

The negroes of the Niger Delta always bury their dead under the floor of their huts. The Calabar natives do the same, "when the consul's eye is off them." In the case of a great chief his head is cut off and buried with great secrecy somewhere else.

The burial of the spirit is however a different ceremony from that of the body, and causes much trouble to all the West African tribes, Negro and Bantu alike. For every spirit is malevolent, and as the family have to get together a considerable amount of wealth to carry out the spirit burial, a long time often elapses. The same custom prevails "in Cabinda and Loango, but there instead of burying the body in the meantime, it is placed upon a platform of wood, and slow fires are kept going underneath to dry it, a mat roof being usually erected over it to keep off rain. When sufficiently dried, it is wrapt in clothes and put into a coffin, until the money to finish the affair is ready." The Duallas are more tied down, as they have to celebrate their death dances on the third, seventh, and ninth day after death. "On these days the spirit is supposed to be particularly present in its old home. In all the other cases the spirit does not leave the home until its devil is made, and if this is delayed too long, he naturally becomes fractious."

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[1] Mary H. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, pp. 491, 492.

Among the tribes of Congo Français there are many different kinds of burial. The Fans have a cannibalistic form, but they hold it to be decent to bury a relation, even if they subsequently dig him up and dispose of the body to the neighbours. The Igalwas and M'pongwe bury in the earth, whilst "several upper Ogowe tribes, including the Adoomas, beat the body into unrecognizable pulp. The practice of beating to pieces or cutting up the body is a widely diffused custom among all the West Africans in order to get rid of dangerous and troublesome spirits[1]."

The Ncomi put the body into a coffin, but do not bury it, only placing it in a special spot in the forest. The Ajumbas of the Ogowe river bury the body under heaps of branches and leaves[2].

In Asia as in Africa the Mahommedans of course bury their dead. All the Turko-Tartaric peoples, pagan as well as Mussulmans, follow the same custom almost universally, the exceptions being due to the influence of Hinduism.

We found the Hyrcanians, who were Scythians, giving the dead to dogs, and the modern Scythians—the Tartars—retain a similar practice.

The Samoyede tribes inter their dead, if the death takes place in summer; digging a very shallow pit they cover the body with bushes and then throw the earth upon it. In winter they erect a hut of timber, place the dead in it, with an axe, knife, bow and arrows and other articles, and then leave him to be devoured by the foxes.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 479, 480.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 481, 482.

They dress the deceased in his best clothes, and put the head in a boiler, thinking that after the head is decayed, the soul will still remain there. They then wrap the body in a tent-cover of reindeer skin, rope it round, and drag it out of the tent head-foremost, not out of the door but from under the covering of the tent which the man inhabited, for if the dead be taken out through the door, he will return and soon fetch away some other of the family. The reindeer that drew the corpse to the grave are killed and put with their harness into the grave. Rich people also kill the reindeer with which the deceased used to hunt[1].

The Ostiaks have particular burying-places called *chalas.* The dead is placed in a little boat which has its fore and aft parts cut off, with all his implements, except his flint and steel, which are only given to the dead carved in wood. The grave is about two feet deep. Reindeer are sacrificed on the grave, and their harness is laid on a platform set over it, the sledges being laid slanting up against it[2].

The Kalmuck Tartars dispose of the dead in six different ways. They either lay the corpse naked in the open field with its head toward the east, and the body in the attitude of sleep, the head supported on the right arm, or else they carry the body dressed to some adjacent wood. In each of these two cases the body is left to be devoured by wild beasts, by which process the soul continues its transmigration. The bodies of children are thrown into water. Others inter the body, while others again cover it with a heap of stones.

These five ways are for the common folk and the lower priests. If the exposed body is not devoured by beasts of prey, they consider it an ill omen for the departed. Cremation is employed, but only for the superior lamas, the nojohns or princes, and a few holy people, in whose regeneration they believe. The ashes of such are carefully collected, mixed with frankincense, and sent to the Dalai-Lama in Tibet, who sends word back into which paradise the new-born soul has arrived through the fire, without being metamorphosed into an animal.

[1] G. A. Cook, *Geography*, vol. I. p. 461.

[2] *op. cit.*, p. 464.

The bodies are burned in specially constructed ovens.

In Tibet the Buddhists practise cremation, but among some tribes the dead are exposed on the bleak pinnacle of some neighbouring mountain, to be devoured by wild beasts and birds of prey.

In Ladak after "the corpse of a Buddhist has been burned by the Lamas, some of the ashes of the dead man are mixed with clay and moulded into a little idol, which, if the deceased was a man of wealth, is placed by itself in the middle of a chorten built expressly for it; if he was a poor man, this idol is placed in some old chorten, with other idols of the poor. I found the cavities of ancient chortens filled with these little images[1]."

The Chinese, as is well known, do not cremate their dead, but on the contrary use various means to retard decomposition, the rich being embalmed.

Cremation seems likewise unknown in Japan, being practised neither by the Japanese proper nor by the Ainos.

The latter bury thus: "The dead is dressed in his best clothes, and the body wrapped up and made fast in a mat. The favourite implements—whether weapons or household utensils—of the deceased are put along with the corpse, and so is some food. The body is dragged by relations and friends to the grave, which is generally at the edge of a wood, and to the west of the house. In the grave it is laid with the head to the south and the feet to the north. Over the grave a mound is erected, and on the mound a post is set up, which differs in shape according as the deceased was a man or a woman. Lastly, water is poured on the grave from a wooden vessel, after which the bottom is knocked out of the latter, and the broken vessel is set up on the top of the post[2]."

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[1] Knight, *Where Three Empires meet*, pp. 145—6.

[2] H. von Siebold, *Ethnologische Studien über die Aino auf der Insel Yesso* (Berlin, 1881), p. 33. The practice of the Ainos of the island of Krafto is different. Here the intestines are taken out of the body, which is then exposed to dry on a scaffold in the open air. Whilst it is drying, which lasts about thirty days, the friends assemble round it. When dried it is buried "auf einer Begräbnisstatte beigesetzt." Von Siebold (p. 34) reports this on the authority of a certain Mogami Tokunai.

The Siamese, who are Buddhists, burn their dead, but this is derived through Buddhism from Hinduism. In Laos and Cambodia cremation is practised as in Siam and from the same cause[1].

The natives of the Malay peninsula seem never to have burned the dead. The little aboriginal Sakeis bury the body[2]. The Malays being Mahommedans of course do the same, but it is probable that at no time did any of the Malays, either on the mainland or in the great islands, practise cremation.

In Borneo[3] likewise the practice seems unknown (except amongst Hindu settlers), as it is also in New Guinea and Australia.

The Burmese practise inhumation, even the Buddhists burying their dead, but great priests are burned. Royal personages were buried, but were supposed to be burned, as all the motions and actions of cremation were gone through at their burial ceremonies[4].

The Shan tribes also inter their dead.

The natives of the Andaman Islands inter their dead, great personages being subjected to tree burial[5].

The people of the Nicobar Islands also inter, but witchcraft deaths are buried in the sea.

Cremation seems little used among the Polynesians and Melanesians[6], earth or sea burial being practised in Tahiti, Sandwich Islands, Marquesas, Fiji, and New Caledonia. Space however does not permit us to go at greater length into the burial practices of regions which lie so remote from our proper sphere of inquiry.

The natives of both North and South America seem almost universally to have practised inhumation[1], yet there are some notable exceptions. Thus in Georgia[2] tumuli in close proximity have contained in some cases burnt, in others unburnt bones. The natives at Port des Français on the north-west burnt all of the body except the head. The head and burnt remains were then put in a coffin and set in a *morai*.

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[1] Aymonier, *Notes sur le Laos*, p. 20.

[2] This information I owe to Mr Walter Skeat of the Straits Civil Service.

[3] This information I owe to my friend Charles Hose, D.Sc., of Baram, Sarawak, *cf.* C. V. Creagh, *Anthrop. Journal*, 1897, pp. 33 *sqq*.

[4] For this information I am indebted to Col. R. C. Temple, C.I.E.

[5] I am indebted for these facts to Col. R. C. Temple, C.I.E., Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. See also Man, *Andaman Islanders*.

[6] Ellis, *Polynesians*, I. 398, etc.; Codrington, *Melanesians*, pp. 254 *sqq*. Burning is only known among the chiefs' families on Bougainville Str., and in Saa sometimes but rarely a corpse is burned at the wish of the deceased, when the head is protected from the fire, and kept as a *mangite*.

The Indians of Florida buried their dead in the ground, the hut and all that had belonged to them being burned.

Let us now return to Hindustan, which has been purposely kept till last.

The Hindus on their coming found it peopled by Dravidians, who still form the chief element in the population, and whose speech still dominates all its southern regions. The vast majority of the people of India get rid of their dead by throwing them into the nearest stream in the pious hope that ultimately they may find their way to the Ganges.

On the other hand the Hindus proper burn their dead except children under two years of age, and women who have died in childbirth or menstruation. To burn such would be dangerous, for their spirits become *bhuts*, or malevolent demons, who have to be propitiated by offerings. As such souls stay near their unburnt bodies, they can be thus localized, and fitting offerings can be made. On the other hand, if the body were burnt, the spirit would have no longer a local habitation and would be more difficult to deal with. Having departed in a state of impurity, even though burnt it cannot pass to the final abode of the dead. The spirits of those who have died violent deaths, either by accident, suicide, or capital punishment, also become *bhuts*. Such a soul reaches an additional grade of malignity, if it has been denied proper funeral ceremonies after death. If a woman marries a second time, she is especially liable to the attacks of her first husband, and so too is her second consort.

A lamp made of flour is placed in the hands of the dead Hindu to light his ghost to the realm of Yama, which lies still in the south as it did in Vedic times. "The relations howl like Irish keeners to scare evil spirits, who would obstruct the departure of the spirit to its final home." The Banjaras of Khandeish move their huts after a death, and make a special entrance to be used instead of the ordinary door, which is supposed to be polluted by the passage of the spirit of the dead[1].

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[1] Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, p. 105.

[2] Greenwell, *op. cit.*, p. 19 *n.*

According to one Vedic hymn, Yama and his twin sister Yami, or Yamuna, were the first human pair, the originators of the race. They were the offspring of Vivaswat (the sun). Another hymn says that Yama was "the first of men that died, and the first that departed to the (celestial) world." He it was who found out the way to "the home which cannot be taken away": "those who are now born (follow) by their own paths to the place whither our ancient fathers have departed."

According to the *Rig-Veda* his messengers are two dogs, which are brown and four-eyed[2].

In the later mythology Yama is represented as of a green colour and clothed with red; he rides upon a buffalo, and carries a ponderous mace and a noose to secure his victims. He dwells in the lower world in his city Yama-pura. There in his palace called Kalichi he sits upon his throne of Judgment, and is assisted by his recorder and counsellor Chitra-gupta, and waited upon by two chief attendants. His messengers (Yama-dutas) bring in the souls of the dead. He is called Pitri-pati, 'lord of the fathers' (Manes) and many other titles.

A soul, when it quits the body, repairs to Yama; there the recorder reads out the account from the great register, and a just sentence follows. The soul then either ascends to the abodes of the Pitris (fathers) or to one of the twenty-one hells according to its guilt, or it is born again on earth in another form[3].

The addition of the buffalo is sufficient to show that the later conception of Yama has grown up lower down in India, where that animal replaces the ox. Again, in the *Veda*, Yama is not a judge of the dead, but with him is simply the habitation of the 'fathers.' The doctrines of hells and transmigration are also later additions, for the *Veda* shows no trace of them.

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[1] Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India* (Allahabad, 1894), pp. 174—5.

[2] *R.-V.* x. 14, 10. The epithet 'four-eyed' (*caturakshas*) probably means that they had a spot over each eye, as is frequently the case with collie dogs: such in Ireland are often spoken of as 'four-eyed' dogs.

[3] Dowson, *Dict. of Hindu Mythology*, *s.v.* Yama; Moor, *Hindu Pantheon*, pp. 303—310.

We have now come to a folk in the heart of Asia who had the custom of cremation, and who are held to have been closely akin to the Acheans and Celts. If it should turn out that their conception of the effect on the soul wrought by cremation of the body coincided with that of the Acheans and Celts, it is probable that they adopted cremation for the same reasons as the latter. If we can detect the reasons which led such a people to burn the dead body, we may reasonably hold that their kindred cremationists in Europe had been actuated by similar motives.

The ancient Aryans who dwelt in Vedic days in the north of India burned their dead. In the *Atharva-Veda* Agni (Fire) is frequently termed 'corpse-devouring,' 'corpse-destroying,' and we learn from several passages that it is he who sends the soul of the dead on to the abode of Yama.

It is a long way to the dwelling-place, where are gathered the forefathers of the nation. This is plain from an invocation addressed to a sick man[1].

"Let not thy soul go thither, nor be lost to us: slight not the living, go not where the Fathers are: Let all the gods retain thee here in safety. Yearn not for the departed ones, for those who lead men far away.—Let not the black dog and the brindled seize thee, two warders of the way sent forth by Yama."—"Here let this man, O gods, remain: let him not go to yonder world[2]."

It is then essential that the body be burned, in order that the soul may journey to Yama.

Thus the Hindu doctrine of the soul is in complete accord with that of the Homeric Acheans, the Celts and the Scandinavian cremations, who held that there was a separate abode for spirits, that it was a long journey thither, and that the soul could only reach it through the medium of fire.

The funeral-pyre was quenched with water and soma[3].

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[1] *Atharva-Veda*, VII. 1 (Griffith's trans.).

[2] Bk. VIII. 2.

[3] *Atharva-Veda*, III. 21.

Agni (Ignis) is a very important personage in Hindu mythology. He is one of the chief divinities along with Indra and Surya, and very many of the hymns of the *Rig-Veda* are addressed to him. Agni is the messenger (*dutas*) between men and the gods: he bears up to the gods the butter poured out on the fire in sacrifice, hence he is called 'Butter-back' (*ghṛitanatas*): as he mediates between men and the gods he is called priest (*hotas*).

But in the *Rig-Veda* itself there are indications that Agni is also the transmitter of the soul to Yama. Thus in a hymn Agni is declared to be the priest, who provides sacrifices for Indra, the Maruts and all the gods. Then comes the question, Is Agni the priest of Yama also?[1] Many times in other hymns is Agni described as the messenger from men to the gods. The offerings are placed on the fire and the Fire-god conveys them up to heaven. To make him also the conductor of the souls to Yama is but a slight extension of the general doctrine that Agni is the only mediator between the visible and invisible world.

As fire was the only means whereby material objects, such as sacrifices, could be conveyed to the gods, it was natural to suppose that it was by the same medium only that the soul could be detached from its corporeal clothing, and thus translated from its material home to its immaterial resting-place.

The first step might have been the human sacrifice offered to gods, when the life of the victim like that of any animal would be supposed to reach the god by the instrumentality of fire.

The story of the translation of Elijah the prophet in a chariot of fire proves that the Hebrews (who were continually offering burnt sacrifices to Jehovah) believed that fire was the only vehicle by which the human soul could make its way to heaven.

With the growth of the idea that departed souls went to Yama, the ancient father of the race, and with his deification, the body would be burned as a sacrifice to him.

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[1] *Rig-Veda*, x. 52, 3, ayáṃ yó hótā kír u sá yamásya kám ápy ūhe yát samañjánti devā́ḥ.

This is confirmed by the fact that one of the most common ways of making human sacrifices[1] to Odin was to set fire to the house of the victim when asleep. So his people "burned Olaf Tretelgi in his house, giving him to Odin, sacrificing him that they themselves might have plenty." As Odin himself had ordained that all dead men should be burned and brought on the pyre with their property, it is plain that the European cremationists regarded fire as the only medium by which the soul could reach the hall of Odin, just as the Hindus held Agni to be both the priest of Yama and the only conductor of the spirits to Yama. In each case the burning of the dead is bound up with the idea of sacrifice.

Agni therefore as the conveyer of the dead man's soul to Yama is regarded as Mroka, the 'destroyer,' an appellative which has a special reference to his function of burning the dead.

But Agni is not merely the 'corpse-eater' himself, it is his function likewise to drive away carnivorous Pisachas that beset the place where the corpse is laid.

"Far off we drive malignity, destruction, Pisachas, banqueters on flesh, and Grahi. And all the demon kind, the brood of sin, like darkness we dispel."

Agni is likewise termed Pavaka, the 'purifier.'

From these data we can possibly learn the reasons for burning the dead. Though Agni himself is Mroka, the destroyer of the dead, yet by so doing he rescues it from what is regarded as infinitely worse, the 'corpse-eating' Pisachas, that is putrefaction. Agni is the messenger and priest of the gods, because by the action of fire can the corporeal be seen passing into the incorporeal. The passage just quoted shows that it is only at a later stage that Agni is regarded as a priest of Yama as well as of the heavenly beings. This indicates that the idea of a place set apart where the souls of the dead ancestors dwell under the rule of Yama is distinctly later than a belief in gods of the sky. With the development of this idea it was natural that as Agni was the sole agent by means of whom material objects could pass to invisible realms he should be regarded as the intermediary between mankind and the realms of Yama. Agni thus becomes a Psychopompos, the conductor to Yama of the soul which he has rescued from foul and malignant demons.

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[1] Tacit. *Germ.* 9: deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis diebus humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent. Mercurius is Odin. Chadwick, *Cult of Othin*, pp. 30 *sqq.*

But the purificatory power of fire was one of the earliest facts noticed by mankind, and when we find that Agni is called the Purifier, it seems likely that one of the reasons which led to cremation was a desire to banish in the most effectual of all ways the defilement arising from a corpse. Thus the Florida Indians, though they did not burn the dead man, yet consumed by fire his hut and all his personal belongings, a practice which looks like the first step towards the cremation or partial cremation of the body as practised by some of the Indians of Georgia and north-west America.

"So amongst the Arunta tribe of Central Australia, as soon as burial has taken place, the man's or woman's camp in which death occurred is at once burned down, and all the contents are then destroyed—in the case of a woman nothing whatever being preserved—and the whole of the local encampment is shifted to a new place[1]."

We have just seen a similar dread of the pollution arising from a corpse in the case of the Banjaras of India, who move their huts after a death, and make a new entrance, as the ordinary door has been polluted by the passage of the spirit of the dead.

The Punyans, an aboriginal tribe of Borneo, when a death occurs, at once quit the camp, leaving the corpse where it lies unburied (unless it be that of a chief, which is thrust into a hollow tree)[2].

At the burning of a corpse the Vedic people said: "Go far hence, O Death, on thy way which lieth far from the path trodden by the gods; I bid thee, who hast eyes and hearest, harm not our children nor our men[3]."

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[1] Spencer and Gillan, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 498.

[2] I owe this information to my friend Charles Hose, D.Sc., magistrate of Baram, Sarawak.

[3] *Rig-Veda*, x. 18, 1: Páram mṛityo ánu párehi pánthāṃ yás te svá ítaro devayā́nāt cákshushmate ṣṛiṇvaté te bravīmi mā́ naḥ prajā́ṃ rīrisho mótá vīrā́n.

These lines evince a strong desire to free the living from all danger likely to arise from the contagion and contamination of a corpse.

Greeks, Romans, Semites, all dreaded the pollution from a dead body. Thus among the Romans it was the custom when the relatives returned from the grave after the interment of the body, for a priest to sprinkle them with lustral water (a practice which still survives in the Roman Church in the use of holy water at funerals).

Similarly the Hindus according to the *Atharva-Veda* employ water for lustral purposes.

But though most peoples hold the strong necessity for purification of all persons and things which have been in contact with a corpse, very few of them find it necessary to employ fire for the purpose. We must not then conclude too hastily that it was merely through a desire to purify themselves that men began to burn their dead, although such a feeling was one of the causes which led to the practice. Thus the Hebrews, who were normally inhumationists, resorted to cremation in the case of those who died of a plague. Indeed Eustathius tells us that some held that cremation had originated in the belief that "a corpse was impure, and the consumption by fire of that which was decomposed was held to be a sort of purification, because fire was purificatory, wherefore purifications were carried out by fire." Doubtless the desire of safeguarding the dead from the attacks of demons (so much dreaded by the modern Hindus) contributed to the practice.

As theological doctrines finally put an end to cremation, so it is all the more likely that it in some degree owed its beginning to similar causes.

If among modern barbarians who burn their dead, we can find that they ascribe this course not to any desire to purify themselves, but rather from certain ideas concerning the soul of the departed, it will strongly confirm the result at which we have arrived. Such an example is at hand.

"The Curumbalen, a slave caste, who worship the hill god (Malai-deva) and the spirits of deceased ancestors, burn their dead, if good men; and bury them, if bad; the latter become demons, requiring to be conciliated by sacrifice[1]." But this is simply the principle followed by the Hindus with respect to women who have died in a state of physical impurity. So too the Kalmucks do not burn the mass of the dead, but only superior priests and holy men of whose passage to paradise there can be no doubt (p. 529).

As they burn the good, but not the bad, cremation is evidently done with a good purpose toward the soul of the deceased. It is therefore done for the purpose of sending the soul, and that too in a state of purity, to a blissful abode, though there are some souls so imbued with physical impurity that no fire can cleanse them. This is all the more likely, as the bad who are not burned remain as demons, who have to be appeased. If the dead were cremated merely to get rid of the soul, then these people would cremate the bad, for they would thus get rid of troublesome and mischievous spirits.

These facts completely overthrow the theory that the body was burned as the most effectual means of getting rid of the ghost of the departed.

This doctrine is the opposite of that of the West African peoples, who, when they want to get rid effectually of a malignant spirit, completely destroy the body (p. 528).

The practice of burning the body of dead kinsfolk indicates a mental attitude very different from that of primitive peoples, who have a vague idea that after death the soul abides for a longer or shorter period in, or close to, its carnal tenement. Such a custom therefore could only have arisen among men who had long emancipated themselves from the grosser material conceptions of the vast majority of the human race, and who had grasped the reality of the spiritual and incorporeal, and had a deep-rooted belief that there was within man that which could not be locked within the iron hills or blown about the desert dust, and which even the flames themselves could not destroy.

It is probable therefore that the practice of cremation began among a people dwelling in a forest region, where their houses were of wood, and that the house and all appertaining to the dead were burned to avoid pollution of the living, and to purify at the same time the soul of the dead, which by this means being freed from all contamination of matter would pass to the place of spirits, just as burnt sacrifices reached the gods by the agency of fire.

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[1] Sir Walter Elliot, *Journal of Ethnological Society*, new series, vol. I., p. 115, quoting Buchanan's *Journal*, vol. II. p. 497. (Greenwell's *British Barrows*, p. 20.)

But the view here put forward is not merely based on the evidence derived from Vedic tradition and modern Hinduism; it is in strict agreement with Greek tradition also. Eustathius[1] says that "the Hellenes had formerly the custom of burning the dead, a practice which still prevails with some of the northern barbarians. They did so to show that the divine element in man when borne on high by fire as if in a chariot mingled with the heavenly beings, whilst the earthy element remained below, partly consumed by fire, partly surviving in the remains of the bones. Some say that it was because the corpse was held to be impure, and because the consumption of decomposed matter by the agency of fire was a form of purification, because fire is purificatory. For which reason purifications were effected by means of fire."

Thus no other reason is assigned for cremation save that of purification, although there were two different views concerning its object. We may therefore conclude with confidence that the burning of the dead originated in a desire for purification. The physical notion, as is always the case, probably preceded the spiritual. Thus while the Vedic people beseech Death to depart from their homes, with the Hindu devotees, such as Calanus, Alexander's Brahman[1], the cleansing of the soul is paramount. But there is no evidence that either the Asiatic or European cremationists ever burned the bodies of those whom they held dear until they had evolved the idea of the purification of the soul by the funeral fire[2].

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[1] Eustathius, *ad Hom. Il.* 43: *ὅτι ἔθος ἦν Ἕλλησι καίειν τοὺς νεκρούς, ὃ δὴ καὶ εἰς ἔτι παραμένει τισὶ τῶν Βορείων βαρβάρων. ἐποίουν δὲ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς ἔδειξιν τοῦ τὸ μὲν θεῖον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀνωφορηθὲν ὥσπερ ἐν ὀχήματι τῷ πυρὶ προσμῖξαι τοῖς οὐρανίοις, τὸ δὲ γήϊνον κάτω μεῖναι, τὸ μὲν πυρὶ δαπανηθέν, τὸ δὲ ἐναπομεῖναν λειψάνοις ὀστῶν. οἱ δέ φασιν ὅτι τὸ μὲν νεκρὸν οὐ καθαρὸν ἐδόκει, ἁγνισμὸς δέ τις ἦν ἡ διὰ πυρὸς δαπάνη τοῦ νεκροθέντος, ὅτι καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἁγνιστικόν, διὸ καὶ οἱ καθαρμοὶ διὰ πυρὸς ἐγίνοντο, καὶ Εὐριπίδης δὲ τοιοῦτό τι ἐμφαίνει, ὅπου φησὶν ὅτι τὸ τῆς Κλυταιμνήστρας δέμας πυρὶ καθήγνισται. ὁ δὲ Λυκόφρων τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐννοίᾳ συντρέχει, ἐν οἷς τὴν Σκύλλαν καυθεῖσαν δομηθῆναί φησιν, ἤγουν ἀνακτισθῆναι, ἀναζωθῆναι, καὶ γενέσθαι κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν *κακὸν ἀθάνατον. διὸ καὶ οἱ Γυμνοσοφισταὶ πυρίκαυστοι γινόμενοι ἀπετίθεντο τὴν ζωήν, ὡς καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου Κάλανος.* He adds that some wrongly attributed the institution of cremation to Heracles.

Eustathius knew that the Brahmans practised cremation for the same reason as those Greeks, who had this custom in common with the barbarians of the North.

A story cited and discredited by Eustathius, ascribed to Heracles the introduction of cremation. Evidently then the custom was not immemorial in Greece, since there was a legend concerning its first appearance in that country. Thus the Greek traditions are in full harmony with our conclusions respecting the origin and spread of cremation.

As the Homeric doctrine of the soul differs essentially from that of the Egyptians, and agrees not only with that of Celts and Scandinavians, but also with that of the Vedic people, it is now certain that it is not Mediterranean in origin, but comes from upper Europe. The ancient Hindus, as we have seen, regarded fire with deep reverence in all its aspects save that of the 'corpse-devourer.' This respect for the element they had in common with their Persian kinsfolk, but in the course of time the latter gave to fire a still more exalted place in their religion than had ever been accorded to Agni in the Vedic system. Earth too is counted very sacred by the Hindus, who place on the bare earth dying persons as well as childing women. This reverence for earth, like that for fire, the Persians carried still further. The *Avesta* in its opening chapter denounces those people who either burned or buried their dead.

According to the *Avesta*, the first object of man is purity, that is, "Purity is for man, next to life, the greatest good[1]." The principal means by which uncleanness enters man is death, as death is the triumph of the demon. The moment life departs the Drug Nasu, or corpse-Drug, falls upon the dead from the north, the region of hell, and whoever henceforth touches the corpse becomes unclean and makes unclean whomsoever he touches.

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[1] See preceding note: *cf.* Arrian, *Anab.* VII. 2, 4; 3, 1.

[2] The instances of partial cremation at Hallstatt and Glasinatz seem to indicate that burning was not to get rid of a festering corpse, but rather that it was meant to have some effect on the spirit of the dead. The people of Saa (p. 531, *n.*) hold that the ghost is weak while the body smells; the latter being partly burned, the ghost "is active and available at once."

The desire to free the living from the taint of the dead occasionally impelled the Hebrews to burn those who had died of plague (Amos vi. 10).

The Drug is expelled from the dead by the Sag-did, 'the look of the dog': a four-eyed, or a white one with yellow ears, is brought near the body, and made to look at the dead; as soon as he has done so the Drug flees back to hell in the shape of the fly in which it had come to the smell of the dead body. The Drug is expelled from the living, whom she has seized through their contact with the dead, by a process of washings with cow's urine combined with the Sag-did.

The Sag-did is but the survival of a time when Drug Nasu (decomposition) was kept off by the eating of the corpse by a dog, as was the custom in Hyrcania (p. 487).

As birds of prey are as 'fiend-smiting' as the dog, one may appeal to their services when there is no dog at hand[2]. So with the modern Parsis the vulture has completely superseded the dog.

The Persians then dreaded just as much as the Hindus the assaults of fiends on the dead. Both thought that the only safety lay in the destruction of the body: to accomplish the same end the latter gave it to the flames, the former to the beasts.

When a man died in a house, the people of the house absented themselves from it for nine days or a month[3].

According to the *Avesta*, Angra Mainyu created "a sin for which there is no atonement, the burying of the dead." For in the earth lived a goddess Spenta Armaiti, and no corpse ought to defile her sacred breast. Hence for inhumation there is no atonement.

The *Avesta* alleges the existence of a goddess in the earth as the reason for not inhuming a corpse. As the Magian practice of giving the dead to the beasts was simply that of all the tribes of a large part of Asia, all of these may have similarly abstained from inhumation for fear of outraging the Earth goddess herself.

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[1] Darmesteter, Introduction to the *Vendidad*; LXXIII. *sqq.*, Farg. v. 21.

[2] Farg. VII. 3 *n.* (Darmesteter).

[3] *Vendidad*, Farg. I. 19.

Yet in spite of this awful denunciation, the Achaemenid kings were all intombed, as we know both from classical writers and modern discovery both at Meshed-i-Murghab (Pasargadae?) and at Persepolis[1].

The burning of a corpse or of any matter from a corpse was also an unpardonable sin, a sin for which there was no atonement[2].

The cooking of a corpse for eating (the practice of the Issedones and Massagetae) was held likewise to be a sin, which could be only atoned for by death[3].

Water was held as sacred as the fire, and to bring dead matter to it was as bad as to put it on the fire.

But it must not be thought that the dread of polluting earth had in any wise contributed to the institution of cremation. For the Hindus, as we have just seen, do not burn, but bury in the ground, the bodies of those who are specially impure. Again, the cremationists of Europe seem to have no fear of polluting the earth by placing unburnt bodies in it, for at Bologna there were various instances where the skeletons of women were found in close juxtaposition to cremated remains, and in Britain likewise burnt remains have been found buried in the same grave with skeletons.

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[1] The royal tombs at Meshed-i-Murghab are older than those at Persepolis, and they are assigned to Cyrus and Cambyses, whilst those at Persepolis are probably those of Darius Hystaspes and his successors. Cyrus was buried at Pasargadae (Strabo 729). Alexander visited the tomb, which was a small tower standing in a park amid a grove of trees, solid below, above there was one storey and a shrine with a very narrow opening. Aristobulus says that by Alexander's command he entered by this aperture and decorated the tomb. He saw there a golden couch, a table with cups, a golden coffin (*πύελος*), many garments and dresses garnished with precious stones. These he saw on the first occasion, but on a second visit he found that the tomb had been robbed, and everything had been removed except the couch and the coffin, which had been only broken. The dead body had been removed from its place (*μεταθέντων τὸν νεκρόν*). The shrine was guarded by Magi, who for maintenance received a sheep daily, and every month a horse (for sacrifice to Cyrus, Arrian, *Anab.* VI. 29). Theophrastus (*Lap.* 6) says that Darius was laid in an alabaster sarcophagus: *καὶ ὁ τῷ ἐλέφαντι ὅμοιος ὁ χερνίτης καλούμενος ἐν ᾗ πυέλῳ φασὶ καὶ Δαρεῖον κεῖσθαι.* For the royal tombs see Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Persia*, pp. 196 *sqq*.

[2] Farg. I. 13; III. 36.

[3] *Ibid.* I. 17. This was practised in Kakhra. Inhumation was the custom of Harahvaiti (Argandab).

The extreme dread of polluting the earth with a corpse which is so marked a feature of the *Avesta* is really peculiar to Magism, for the ordinary Persian buried his dead down to the fifth century B.C., and, as we know, the Achaemenean kings were most certainly neither given to fire nor yet to the beasts. Just as dreadful was it to defile fire by the contamination of a corpse. Thus when Cambyses burned the mummy of Amasis, "this was truly an impious command to give," says Herodotus[1], "for the Persians hold fire to be a god and never by any chance burn their dead, since they deem it wrong to give the corpse of a man to a god."

The Persians then, as it would appear, had reverted to inhumation, when the reverence for fire had increased to such an extent that they no longer held that it had any lower phase, such as the Hindus believed to be the case with Agni.

When neither the pure element of fire nor the earth-goddess herself nor water must be defiled by a dead body, there was no course left but to leave the dead to be devoured by the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air. Nature's mysterious chemistry would thus transmute the rotting carcass into the bodies of living creatures, and thus neither earth nor fire nor water would be outraged. But in view of the evidence lately stated, it cannot be held that this was a new practice invented by the Magi as a means of escaping from grave theological difficulties. The same practice still prevails among the Tartars, Samoyedes and Tibetans, as it did in ancient times not only among the Hyrcanians, but also among the very barbarous tribes who dwelt on the shore of the ocean east of Persia. It is therefore not unreasonable to infer that this practice once extended in Asia from the Northern to the Indian Ocean. The Magi (who, be it remembered, were recruited from Media) then seem simply to have clung to the ancient practice of the indigenous people, and continually tried to force it upon the Persian conquerors. Indo-Persian respect for the Fire-god supplied them with a lever, and the Magi did not find it difficult to put an end to cremation. But with inhumation it was different, and it seems very doubtful if they ever succeeded in constraining the mass of the Persians to abandon this practice.

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[1] III. 16.

It is quite possible that even when cremation was generally followed, the kings were buried and not burned. The Persians, like the Swedes, may have held that it was very important for the weal of the land that the king's spirit should remain among his people and not depart to another region, as it certainly would, if the body were consumed by fire. From the furniture in the tomb of Cyrus, and the monthly sacrifice there offered, it is clear that the soul of the great conqueror was supposed to dwell therein. The king thus continued to watch over his people. The practice of burying chiefs and heroes within the precincts of a city or fortress is too well known to need much illustration. We have seen it at work in the case of Adrastus at Sicyon, of Theseus and of Orestes. At Mycenae the royal graves stood within the acropolis, and at Cyrene the tomb of the first founder and those of his successors lay in the agora. So too did the people of Amphipolis bury Brasidas as their patron hero in their market-place. Thus, Queen Nitocris, the builder of the walls, wharves and bridge of Babylon, had her tomb constructed in the upper part of one of the principal gateways of the city. It was broken open by Darius Hystaspes[1].

Still not unfrequently may be seen close to the entrance of an Irish liss (fort) the barrow of the chief[2].

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[1] Herod. I. 187.

[2] Such a liss and contiguous barrow may be seen at Cnocan near Mallow, Co. Cork. Though it stands far from any modern habitations, an annual fair with races was held at the barrow until far into the nineteenth century, when the fair was transferred to Ballyclough, four miles distant. The barrow was utilized for road-making some years ago, when a fine cromlech was brought to light which contained a skeleton, a bronze sword, and other articles. For these facts I am indebted to my late friend, the Rev. T. Olden, the well-known ecclesiastical historian.

The spirits of the dead heroes ever kept watch and ward over the dwelling-places of their people.

It is not improbable that a like feeling may have hindered the cremation of the Burmese kings, whose bodies, as we saw, were buried, after the forms of cremation had been gone through.

The same feeling offers a ready explanation of the fact that according to Greek tradition neither Orestes nor his son Tisamenus, though Acheans, was burned. The great mass of their subjects were of the old race, who had always buried their dead, and who continued to do so almost exclusively down through classical times. Such people would have an especially strong objection to burning the king's body.

Did cremation come from Asia, or did it go there from Europe, or did it arise independently in each?

It is very unlikely that the Hindus developed the practice of cremation independently.

That the ancient Hindus and ancient Persians were the kinsfolk of the Celto-Teutonic stock is a fact generally admitted. They spoke a language differing entirely from that of the Turko-Tartaric races of upper Asia, and that of the Dravidian races of Hindustan, but which is closely related to the chief languages of Europe.

More than forty years ago, R. G. Latham, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, in the introduction to his edition of the *Germania* argued that Europe, and not the Hindu Kush, was the original seat of the Aryans. But Latham was only an Englishman, and no one in this country (not even in his own University) would listen to him. However, later on, Benfey in Germany and Whitney in America adopted Latham's view, but it was only when his doctrines came to England from Germany in the works of Penka and Schrader that his countrymen always *incuriosi suorum* gave Latham's principles a hearing, but that eminent man was then nearing the close of a disappointed life. Truly saith Solomon, "The eyes of a fool are in the ends of the earth."

Latham's argument was briefly this: Lithuanian is closely cognate to Sanskrit and is just as old. Either then Lithuanian came from Asia, or Sanskrit from Europe.

The peoples who speak languages cognate to Sanskrit and Lithuanian occupy almost all Europe, whilst in Asia they form a small isolated patch in the midst of vast populations, who speak languages essentially different. Is it not more probable that the small body is a fragment which has got isolated from the larger than the converse?

This question, long ignored, has never been answered. The modern writers have added further arguments, some bad[1], others good. But there is now a general feeling that the Indo-Iranian branch passed from Europe into Asia.

In our last chapter we showed that from time to time, as far back as history goes, tribes from Europe had constantly passed into Asia. Thus the Armenians (p. 396) were a branch of the Phrygians, a Thracian tribe which had crossed into Asia Minor. The Gauls passed by the same route and had made all Asia Minor their tributary. Before them the Cimmerians had made similar irruptions into Asia, and the same people had occupied southern Russia at least as early as the eighth century B.C. The Scythians who had forced the Cimmerians from their homes at a later date made their way into Afghanistan and north India. But Alexander's expedition to India demonstrates how readily a people from the upper Balkan could make their way into the heart of Asia. There is therefore no reason why a people from Europe should not at a still earlier date than the Cimmerians have passed from the Danube valley across south Russia and by the great trade-route (p. 404) right up the Oxus valley and into northern India. Here settled in a fine climate they could multiply and send down swarm after swarm, as they have done ever since, into the rich plains of Hindustan.

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[1] Among the bad arguments may be reckoned that based on the absence of names for the camel and the ass. It is argued that if the Aryans had spread from central Asia, where the Bactrian camel and the ass are indigenous, they would have had terms of their own for these animals just as they have for the ox and the horse, and would not have had to borrow κάμηλος (Gimel) and ὄνος from the Semites. But, unless the Aryans had domesticated the camel and the ass before leaving Asia, they would have lost all knowledge of these animals as soon as they advanced into those parts of Asia and Europe where the camel and the ass were unknown, and accordingly their names for the camel and the ass would have been lost in a couple of generations. On the other hand, as the wild horse and wild cattle extended right across Asia and Europe, they would never cease using their own terms for these animals. When at last on the Mediterranean they would again meet the camel and the ass on coming into contact with the Semites, they would naturally take over the Semitic names along with the beasts.

The Hindus of the *Rig-Veda* were acquainted with gold (*hiranyam*) and a metal called *ayas*, which like the Zend *ayanh*, the Latin *aes*, and the Teutonic *aiz*, means copper.

There is no appearance of any name for iron. From this we may infer that the Hindus of the *Rig-Veda* were in the Bronze Age. But as the evidence is in favour of the coming of the Indo-Iranians from Europe into Asia, there is a high probability that the practice of cremation came with them from Europe likewise.

But the evidence from Hallstatt, the Swiss Lake-dwellings, and Scandinavia, showed that cremation had commenced and was already in use in the Bronze Age. The Indo-Iranians had therefore burst their way into Asia before the beginning of the Iron Age 1400 B.C. How much earlier who can say?

This hypothesis offers a ready explanation for the fact that Latin and Sanskrit have the same name for copper (*aes*, *ayas*) and fire (*ignis*, *agnis*), whilst Greek has two entirely different terms. For both the Italic tribes and the Vedic peoples on starting from central Europe moving in large bodies with women of their own would keep their own terminology in their new homes, whilst the Acheans being but a small body of conquering warriors merged into the conquered, and the language of the latter became dominant, as I shall endeavour to show at greater length in a following chapter.

Thus then our general contention that cremation was invented in upper Europe and thence passed into Greece is once more substantiated by the probability that the same practice made its way into India from central Europe likewise.

But the doctrine of the Hindus respecting it coincides with that of the Acheans and Celts. Thus once more we get a proof that cremation is not Mediterranean but upper European. Therefore the Acheans brought it thence into Greece, and continued to practise cremation there just as the Italic tribes and

Aryans brought the like practice from the same region into Italy and northern India respectively.

We have seen how the doctrines of the ancient Hindus and ancient Persians became modified by contact with the religious beliefs of the aboriginal races of India and Iran. It was but natural that the doctrines held by the Acheans and the native Pelasgians should have acted upon each other in a similar fashion. This hypothesis will explain the difference between the Homeric doctrine respecting the destination of the spirit after the burning of the body and that of the Athenians in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.

According to the Homeric doctrine, once the body was burned the spirit returned no more from its dwelling-place with the dead. But on this point Aeschylus held a very different view. In the opening lines of the *Choephoroe* Orestes prays Hermes to summon his father "to hear and attend to his (Orestes') prayer at this very mound of his tomb." The maidens from the palace, at the bidding of Clytemnestra, are bearing offerings to Agamemnon, such as "are used for propitiating the powers below." Electra's speech likewise shows the belief that the dead man in the tomb could hear the words addressed to him when the libations were poured out. All this is the ordinary doctrine respecting one whose unburnt remains lie in the tomb, for the spirit keeps near its tenement.

But it is assumed in the *Choephoroe* that Agamemnon has been burned, and therefore, according to Homer, his spirit would be far away in the land of the dead, nor could it be consulted save by one who voyaged thither as did Odysseus. It is evident then that by the time of Aeschylus an eclectic doctrine had been evolved. The Homeric belief in a separate abode for disembodied spirits was adopted, but at the same time the ancient doctrine of the constant presence of the soul in the grave of its body was retained, the gulf between both doctrines being bridged over by the theory that even though the body was burnt the soul could return to its ashes in the grave and could comprehend the prayers addressed to it. That this was a new tenet is shown by the fact that Orestes is made to express himself as if there was no sure possibility of his prayer being heard by his father, as the latter was afar off: "Father, ill-starred father, what can I say or do to waft to you from afar to that place where you repose with the dead, light equal to your present darkness?" To this doubt the Chorus give an encouraging reply: "My son, the consciousness of the dead is not subdued by the fierce consuming flame of the fire, but he shows his feelings even after it[1]."

Then Orestes and Electra raise their lament at the grave and presently the Chorus pronounces that "by this time there is an ally being set in motion for them in the world below, and things will favour the children." This ally is of course the soul of Agamemnon, which, as it is far away in the underworld, takes some time to reach the tomb where it is being invoked.

The Homeric abode of the dead is not an underworld, as has been pointed out above, and we may therefore infer that the common Greek and Italian belief in an infernal region was an element derived from the older race in each peninsula, just as the modern Hindu doctrine of twenty-one hells has been added to the Vedic abode of the dead with Yama and the fathers.

It is probable that this new doctrine of the soul had arisen at Athens by the sixth century B.C., for cremation was then coming into use, and its introduction would be greatly facilitated by the new doctrine, which removed the great difficulties presented by the pure Achean view. This gains confirmation from a new practice respecting the bodies of worthies.

We have referred to the care with which the bodies of heroes had to be watched in early days, for fear of their falling into the hands of enemies. It would always have been easy to guard against this risk by cremating the hero, but then his guardianship was lost to his people, as his spirit would have perished or have departed to Hades.

It was to the policy of Solon that Athens owed Salamis, and who but Solon could keep Salamis sure for Athens? Accordingly the body of the sage statesman was burned, and his ashes sown over that island[2]. By the new doctrine the fire did not subdue the dead man's thought, and whilst on the one hand it was impossible for the Salaminians to cast his body out of the land, so his spirit would be ever present to keep the island safe for Athens.

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[1] *Choeph.* 324 *sqq.*

[2] Plutarch, *Solon*, 32.

The body of Phalanthus the founder of Tarentum was treated in like fashion. We are told that it was taken up and burned, and its ashes scattered over the market-place of Tarentum[1]. No one henceforth could carry it off and use it against Tarentum, as the Spartans had done with that of Orestes to the bane of Tegea.

As there is no doubt that the Hindus and Persians had entered countries occupied by alien races, and that their own doctrines respecting the soul were modified by those of the conquered, so the Acheans (whose doctrines differed essentially from the Pelasgian, with which they eventually blended) had similarly entered Greece as conquerors. But, as it has been shown that the Achean practice of cremation and doctrine of the soul correspond to those of the fair-haired people of upper Europe, the Acheans must have entered Greece from that quarter.

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[1] Justin, II. 4, 13.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE BROOCH.

ἐν δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἔϲαν περόναι δύο καὶ δέκα πᾶϲαι
χρύϲειαι, κληῖϲιν ἐϋγνάμπτοιϲ᾽ ἀραρυῖαι.
Od. xviii. 293—4.

One of the distinguishing features of the Hallstatt culture is the presence of brooches, which were certainly used by both sexes (p. 423) for fastening on the garments. The origin of the brooch and its development is a subject of great interest, from more than one point of view, since it can be used as a criterion of considerable value to settle some questions of historical importance.

We have already (p. 298) remarked on the total absence of the fibula in the graves on the acropolis of Mycenae, and we noticed that only at the close of the Mycenean period does it (concurrently with iron) first make its appearance.

On the other hand, in the full Iron Age of the Homeric poems the brooch is a recognized part of the ordinary attire of both sexes.

The form of fibula found in the graves of the Lower City at Mycenae resembles the safety-pin of to-day (*cf.* Fig. 106). This form is commonly met with over the countries on both sides of the Adriatic. When, how, and where, did it originate? Fortunately these questions are not hampered by one of the many difficulties which surround so many archaeological problems, for no one will attempt to say that the brooch was invented in either Egypt or Babylonia or Phoenicia, and that it made its way thence into Europe.

In the Aegean area the brooch does not appear till the Iron Age, but when we pass to northern Italy we find that not only the primitive safety-pin, but several very marked modifications of it, were in full use before the end of the Bronze Age. In the Pile-dwellings of the Italian lakes, in Switzerland, Bavaria, Austria, and Hungary, long slender pins of bronze are a characteristic feature. These pins are nothing more than a piece of wire with one end sharpened, the other either simply crooked to form a head (Fig. 103) or elaborated into a spiral (Fig. 104). The primitive safety-pin, such as those found at the famous Bronze Age settlement of Peschiera in Lake Garda close to the spot where the Mincio finds its outlet, is a simple adaptation of one of those long bronze pins[1]. These bronze pins simply imitated in metal the primitive thorn (*fibula*) or skewer of wood or bone, with which man in central and upper Europe had fastened on his scanty covering, consisting generally of a cloak, such as the *sagum*, which in the time of Tacitus was the sole garment of the Germans, being fastened either with a fibula or, failing that, a thorn[2]. For greater security one day some one with a progressive mind bent up the pin after passing it through the garment and caught the point behind the head. The inventor or some one else wishing to get a better hold for the point of the pin gave the pin a complete turn and thus produced the spring. The simple safety-pins of the pile-settlement of Peschiera and the graves of the Lower Town at Mycenae are identical.

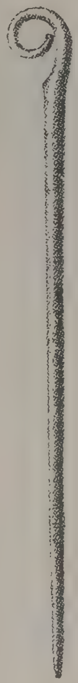

Fig. 103. Bronze Pin, Salzburg.

Once the principle of the brooch was discovered, its evolution steadily progressed[3]. Mr S. Reinach has summarized its history in a very valuable article, whilst Dr Montelius has dealt exhaustively with the story of its growth on Italian soil[1].

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[1] Montelius, *La Civilisation primitive en l'Italie* (1895), pp. i.—ii., Ser. B, Pl. VII.

[2] *Germ.* 17, tegumen omnibus sagum fibula aut, si desit, spina consertum.

[3] 'Fibula' in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dict. Antiq.* II. (1896).

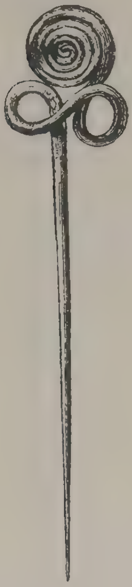

Fig. 104. Bronze Pin, Lake Garda (pile-dwelling).

The fibulae found in Italy fall into two clearly distinct kinds: (*a*) those with a single small disc or a catch, and (*b*) those with two or four discs.

The first class of fibulae is found everywhere in Italy from the Alps to Sicily. They are only wanting in Sardinia, where there are no fibulae but a very limited number imported from other countries. These fibulae fall into four classes: (1) those with the simple bow, a disc and a spring on one side[2] (Fig. 105); (2) those with a simple bow with a catch and a spring either on one side or on both sides (Fig. 106); (3) those with a serpentine bow with a disc and a spring on one side[3]; (4) those with a serpentine bow, a catch, and a spring on one side. The first two series are almost contemporary; the first types of series 3 and 4 are more recent. The whole four series commence in the Bronze Age towards the end of its third period, but they have not all lasted for the same time. Those with the disc have hardly survived the Bronze Age, whilst the type with the catch has given birth to the fibulae which were still in use several centuries after Christ.

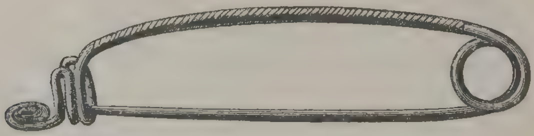

Fig. 105. Bronze Fibula, Servirola.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. i.—vi., Pll. i.—xxi.

[2] Montelius, *op. cit.*, Pll. i.—iii.

[3] *Ibid.* Pll. xiv.—xv.

The body of the fibula begins by being straight and parallel to the pin. It was formed by twisting a long ordinary Bronze Age pin into a safety-pin. This was found not to give room enough for the cloth of the garment, hence the bow shape was adopted; first the bow was very high and semicircular, then lower. The disc was originally formed by several twists of a fine round wire; the number of twists became smaller, the wire became broader and flattened, and the diameter of the disc increased. In some cases the original spiral can just be traced, then the disc becomes a complete plate, the body and spring are all of one piece like the modern safety-pin. In series 2 the process of evolution was much the same as in series 1. The bow is sometimes furnished with rings, with little ribs or big ribs, but it more frequently bulges out. Many of the fibulae of this series have their body formed of one or more pieces of amber, glass, or bone. The catch of the oldest examples of series 2 is very short, but it soon grows large and almost semicircular; the bow springs out of the middle of the catch; later it is usually very small, but the bow always starts from the middle of it. It becomes very elongated, opening from above, and finally it terminates in a knob, at first small, then very large. Next the opening of the catch is placed at the side instead of on the top. Finally the extremity of the catch curves up. This is the regular characteristic of the Etruscan brooches of the Certosa type (Fig. 111).

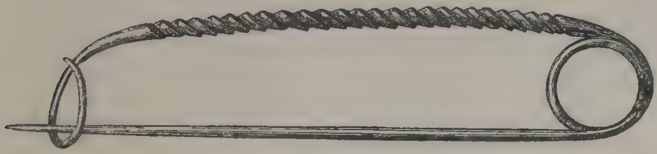

Fig. 106. Bronze Fibula, Peschiera.

The immediate derivatives from the simple form are found both in Hungary and in Bosnia. The type with the plain arched bow is found in all Italy, the Balkan, on the coast of Asia Minor, and in the most ancient cemeteries of the Caucasus, especially at Koban.

The fibulae with swollen bow are found also in Carniola, Hungary, the north of the Balkan peninsula, and in Greece, but the enlargement often becomes a series of small knobs.

From the high-arched fibula with the middle of the bow enlarged come the forms known as the Boat and the Leech. Sometimes the nose is elongated and ends in a button; sometimes they are ornamented with amber or decorated with animals on the back. An analogous fibula with a head of a *mouflon* was found at Koban[1].

The leech-shaped fibulae are found not only at Olympia, but also at Dodona[2].

The type derived from the high-arched bow, ornamented with knobs, glass beads and the like, is rare to the south, but is common to the north of the Apennines, especially around Como and Maggiore.

Plain wire bows ornamented with a single bead, which are found along with the leech type at Corneto, are probably later in origin than the latter.

The serpentine fibula appears along with the boat.

South Italy yields fibulae with a knob-shaped appendage and a similar one has been found at Olympia. They resemble those seen on some women on the François vase.

There is a class of serpentine fibulae with a bow formed of two wires which unite into a single pin. These are found in Italy and also at Olympia.

Both boat-shaped and serpentine fibulae are found equally over all Italy. The fibulae of the boat type are found in gold at Caere and Vulci. One of these is so beautiful, that Mr S. Reinach[3] thinks that it must be the work of a Greek settled in Etruria. But the explanation of Etruscan art as a whole, already offered (pp. 250—1), applies to the fine workmanship of these fibulae.

The Certosa type is common in the provinces of Bergamo and Como, the region of Este, the Austrian Alps and in Bosnia (Glasinatz).

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[1] S. Reinach, *loc. cit.*

[2] Carapanos, *Dodone et ses ruines*, Pl. I. fig. 1.

[3] *Loc. cit.*

When we pass to central and western Europe, we find that west of Bavaria the ancient Italian types are very rare, whilst they are common in Austria (Hallstatt), and Carniola (Watsch). All the semicircular, boat-form, and serpentine forms are found at Hallstatt, which likewise yields types either unknown or at least very rare in Italy. But to these we shall presently revert.

We saw (p. 413) that the Hallstatt folk had fastened on both their under and over garments by means of fibulae.

Indeed it can readily be shown that at all times cloaks fastened with fibulae were regarded as the characteristic of the fair-haired peoples of central and upper Europe. Thus when Tacitus wrote, the *sagum fibula consertum* was universally worn by the tribes of Germany.

Scipio Africanus wore a Gallic *sisyra* furnished with fibulae[1]; Claudius Gothicus in a letter to Regillianus, governor of Illyria, asks for two cloaks fitted with fibulae (*duo saga, sed fibulatoria*[2]). In a letter of Valerian there is also an allusion to *duo pallia Gallica fibulata*. That such cloaks were also employed in northern Greece is shown by the fact that the Thessalians had a special word (*ἄλλιξ*[3]) to designate a chlamys fitted with a fibula.

Though the Romans did not fasten the toga with fibulae, but only used them to secure some extra upper garment (*lacerna, palla, sagum, paludamentum*), yet there is some reason to believe that the Sabine element in the Roman state had once used generally the fibula to fasten on their garments. Thus the Salii[4] selected by Numa (himself a Sabine) from the Patricians, as priests of Mars, the war god of the Sabine stock, were clad as warriors, and their costume, like the language of their hymns, naturally retained much that was obsolete. They wore tunics girt with bronze belts (*μίτραι*) (such as those found at Corneto, in upper Italy, and Hallstatt, p. 311), *trabeae* fastened with fibulae, conical caps, reminding us of the conical helmets of the Po and Danube regions, and each carried in his right hand a sword or lance, and in his left the *ancile*. The latter was probably not the Sabine, but rather the indigenous Italian shield (p. 468). The story shows that it was a shield of no ordinary shape.

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[1] Polyaen. VIII. 16 A, 85.

[2] Treb. Poll., *Tyrann.* 10.

[3] *Etym. Magn.* 68, 33; Hesych. *s.v.* ἄλλικα.

[4] Dion. Hal. II. 70: *χιτῶνας ποικίλους χαλκαῖς μίτραις κατεζωσμένοι καὶ τηβέννας ἐμπεπορπημένοι περιπορφύρους φοινικοπαρύφους, ἃς καλοῦσι τραβέας,...... καὶ τὰς καλουμένας ἀπίκας ἐπικείμενοι ταῖς κεφαλαῖς, πίλους ὑψηλοὺς εἰς σχῆμα συναγομένους κωνοειδές, κτλ.*

From these considerations it follows that the upper garment with fibula is not indigenous in the lower parts of the Italian and Balkan peninsulas, and that when it is there found, it is probably adventitious.

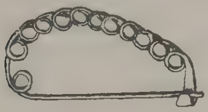
FIG. 107. Bronze Fibula, Hallstatt.

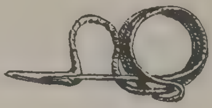
FIG. 108. Bronze Fibula, Hallstatt.

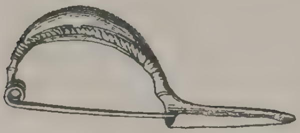
FIG. 109. Bronze Fibula, Hallstatt.

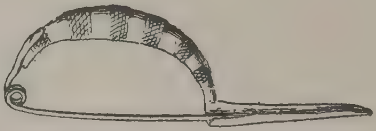
FIG. 110. Bronze Fibula, Hallstatt.

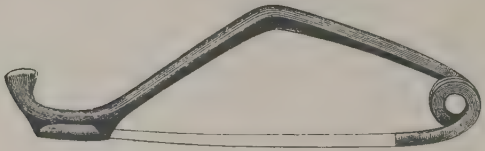
FIG. 111. Bronze Fibula, Orvieto.

All the fibulae hitherto described have a spring at one side.

The Celts beyond the Alps had developed from their older fibulae (Figs. 107—10) those furnished with bilateral springs. They then modified the fibula of the Certosa type (found in the Alps and Bosnia as well as in Italy) by giving it a bilateral spring[1]. This new type, known as the La Tène, has played a great part in the history of the fibula. It extends from the

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[1] Montelius thinks that this took place after the Gauls settled in Italy.

Danubian regions to the valleys of the Seine and the Thames, and even to Ireland (Figs. 133—5). The most ancient La Tène brooch has the lower extremity bent back like that of Certosa (Fig. 111). This curved portion became longer and longer until it at last touched the bow (Fig. 112), which it clasps. Finally it unites with the bow, leaving no trace of its origin save in the ring which once had served to join together the curved up extremity and the bow.

The pin of the La Tène brooch, like that of the fibula with a single spring of series 2, is formed of the same piece as the body of the fibula.

At the commencement of the Christian era the La Tène type had given birth to the Roman provincial fibulae, and those in turn were the parents of the fibulae which the Germanic peoples made in the first centuries after Christ in the epoch of the great migrations and—in Scandinavia—much later.

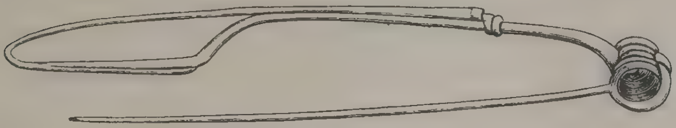

Fig. 112. Iron Fibula, La Tène, Neuchâtel.

To increase the elasticity of the pin a spring was added to the front of the bow. Montelius terms the arc of both these series *serpentine.* There are two series (3 and 4) of these serpentine bows; one with a disc (3), the other (4) with a catch. The evolution of the disc is the same as that in series 1. The catch of series 4 is seldom short, the oldest examples of it having the catch elongated. Like the catch of series 2, that of 4 at first opened upwards, later on from the side. Some of the later specimens of the serpentine class have also the termination in a knob. In series 3 and 4 the pin is usually formed of the same piece as the body of the fibula, but there are examples which show the pin separated and attached to the posterior extremity of the bow.

According to Montelius, the earliest Italian fibulae date from the fifteenth century B.C.[1] This (he thinks) is proved by the presence of fibulae of this type in Greek tombs contemporary with the Egyptian Amenophis III., but to this point we shall presently revert (p. 572).

The Certosa brooches date from the fifth century B.C., the oldest perhaps from the sixth. This is proved by their presence in Etruscan tombs which contain Greek painted vases of that epoch.

The oldest La Tène fibulae are almost contemporary with those of Certosa. This is proved by the resemblance in all respects except the spring. It results that the fibulae of types which are later than the first and more ancient than that of Certosa, date from the fourteenth to the sixth century B.C. If all these five intermediary periods have had almost the same duration, it is evident, says Montelius, that each period represents 150—200 years, which gives approximately the age of each class of brooches; but if we know the age of the different kinds of brooch, we can fix the date of each find which contains fibulae.

But to assume five periods of even roughly similar duration seems rash. The value therefore of the fibulae as a chronological criterion must be frankly discounted, no matter how reluctant we may feel.

On the other hand, if it can be shown that all the various forms of fibula have spread from one original starting-point, the brooch can be used as a valuable criterion in questions of ethnic movements.

Let us now pass over to the Aegean area. It has been pointed out that fibulae and all pins evidently used for purposes of dress are unknown in the oldest settlements in that region.

At Hissarlik in the oldest city, where but little bronze was found, there were several dozen pins from 4 to 4½ inches long, some of which have a round head, others a head in the form of a spiral. The pins of the Mycenae graves are very similar to the Trojan ones, but their size and thickness, and the rich, sometimes even figured decorations of their heads, prove without a doubt that they were intended as ornaments for the hair[1].

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[1] Montelius, *op. cit.*, p. v.: "Les types les plus anciens des fibules italiennes datent du quinzième siècle avant J.-C. Cela est prouvé par la présence de fibules du type Fig. 19 (*i.e.* Peschiera) dans des tombes grecques contemporaines du roi égyptien Aménophis III. qui vivait dans ce siècle." Montelius, "Die Bronzezeit im Orient und in Griechenland" (*Archiv für Anthropologie*, XXI. p. 31): Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, VI. pp. 990—1004.

Indeed there is no place for the fibula in the dress of either men or women of the Mycenean period, for the men are either represented as stark naked, or wearing a loin cloth, which sometimes takes the form of a pair of drawers (p. 297); and the Mycenean woman wears a long *chiton* with a flounced skirt. This contrasts sharply with the dress of the Homeric period, when the Achean man wore a *chiton* and a *chlaina* secured with a fibula like the people of central and upper Europe, while the woman was clad in a *chiton* and a *peplos* fitted with fibulae. The fact is that the people of the sunny South did not require the warm clothes which were an absolute necessity for the folk who dwelt in the realm of Boreas.

On Greek soil the fibula first makes its appearance in the tombs of the Lower City at Mycenae, where several examples of very early forms of the safety-pin have come to light. Only one example of the type which seems to have come directly from the long bronze pin with a head formed by twisting the wire into a spiral is as yet known. This was found in a chambered tomb with a fibula of the ordinary Peschiera type (Fig. 106). Both were about 8 inches long. Other examples of this brooch have been found. In the cemetery at Salamis M. Kabbadias found several bronze brooches having their bow much more arched. Another and later variety of fibula has the wire of the bow flattened out into a thin plate, wide in the middle and tapering to the ends. In addition to the single specimen from Mycenae another has now come to hand at Delphi[2].

It is likewise to be carefully observed that fibulae appear in the late Mycenean cemetery at Salamis, where instances of cremation (probably of Achean origin) were discovered (p. 32).

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[1] Schuchhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

[2] Tsountas and Manatt, *op. cit.*, pp. 163—4.

In Cyprus only a few examples of the fibula have been found in Mycenean tombs, but the reader will remember that the Mycenean age comes down far later in Cyprus than on the mainland of Greece (p. 206). Two safety-pins were found at Enkomi (near the ancient Salamis where Teucer and his Acheans settled). One of these is completely, the other almost, identical with most of those found at Mycenae and known as the Peschiera type. Another fibula from Enkomi exhibits a slight modification, as "its bow rises towards the foot, which holds the pin in a small sheath" (Fig. 113)[1].

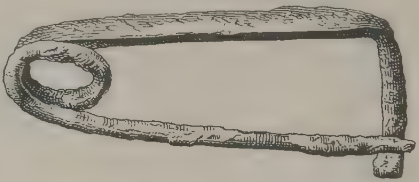

Fig. 113. Bronze Fibula, Cyprus.

From the simple safety-pin springs a type of brooch of elliptical form with two slight projections on the bow. This form is commonly found in tombs dating 700—500 B.C.[2]

Sometimes these resemble a triangle with one curved side, not unlike a harp. One such was found at Curium. Two others from Maroni[3] (Figs. 114—5) are also in the British Museum. Two similar fibulae made of gold were found at Paphos in 1888 along with a sub-Mycenean pseudamphora[4].

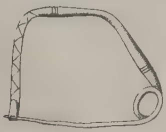

Fig. 114. Gold Fibula, Cyprus.

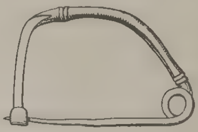

Fig. 115. Gold Fibula, Cyprus.

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[1] *Catalogue of the Bronzes in British Museum*, Nos. 59, 60; A. S. Murray, *Excavations in Cyprus*, p. 16, Fig. 27.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Catalogue*, No. 57.

[3] *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, xvii. p. 63.

[4] *Id.* xiii., p. 223 *note*.

From this roughly triangular type appears to spring one in which the bow becomes completely angular; the whole fibula thus forms a triangle. The apex of the angle which has replaced the original bow is surmounted with a knob. Each arm of the 'bow' is ringed at intervals. Such brooches are found in Graeco-Phoenician tombs of the sixth and fifth centuries at Amathus, Curium, and elsewhere[1].

Fibulae of this type may have been sometimes worn by the Phoenicians of the mainland of Asia. One from Tartûs here figured is in the Ashmolean Museum (Fig. 116)[2].

But, although the fibula is found on the coast of Asia Minor, and in the Caucasus, it never had much vogue among the peoples of Asia Minor and North Africa (at least in male costume), for of all the nations that followed Xerxes the Milyans alone fastened their garments with it[3].

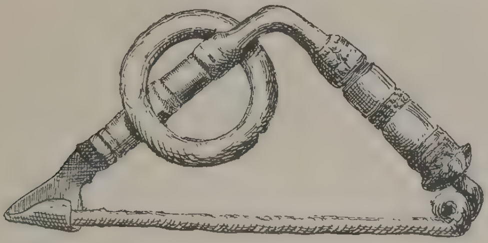

FIG. 116. Bronze Fibula, Tartûs.

In Crete Miss Boyd[4] has discovered (1900) at Vronda associated with late Mycenean pottery fibulae of the plain semi-circular type, such as are found at Salamis, in the upper Balkan, Hungary, and Italy; two others of the same shape have their bows considerably thickened.

Mr A. J. Evans obtained in Crete a fibula[5] (broken) belonging to a class which occurs in most parts of Italy[1] and at Hallstatt[2] and is found in the Sicel graves of Syracuse and Apulia.

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[1] H. B. Walters, *Cat. of Bronzes in Brit. Mus.*, p. lx.; Myers, *Cyprus Mus. Cat.*, Nos. 4840—4842.

[2] The illustration is from a drawing kindly made for me by Mr C. F. Bell, assistant-keeper of the Ashmolean Museum.

[3] Herod. VII. 77: *εἵματα ἐνεπεπορπέατο.*

[4] I am indebted to Miss Boyd for photographs of these fibulae, and for permission to mention them here.

[5] Now in Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

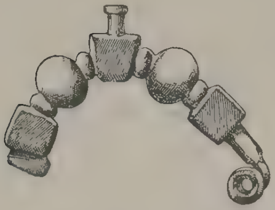

FIG. 117. Bronze Fibula, Rhodes.

In the cemeteries of Rhodes of the Mycenean age no fibulae occur, but in those of the early classical period several varieties are found, one of these from Camirus has its bow ornamented with three cubes alternating with two beads; the central cube has a knob attached[3] (Fig. 117). Two others from the same place have glass beads on their bows. At Camirus was found a little fibula with a bird on its back; it is analogous to a well-known class of Italian fibulae decorated with quadrupeds and birds. In some of the Rhodian specimens the foot has grown into a flat oblong plate often decorated with geometrical patterns and animals incised[4].

An early electrum hecte of Phocaic standard (42·2 grains) in the possession of Canon Greenwell shows on its obverse a raised disc with a fibula similar to that from Camirus ornamented with bronze beads[5] alternating with cubes. This type therefore was probably in use in the sixth century B.C.

In the Mycenean tombs of Attica no fibulae have been found. Indeed no brooches of a date earlier than the geometrical (Dipylon) period have as yet been discovered on Attic soil.

Fibulae of the geometrical period have also been found at Thebes (Fig. 119), Olympia and occasionally in other parts of Greece[6]. (Fig. 118.)

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[1] Montelius, *op. cit.*, Pll. XVI.—XVIII.

[2] Von Sacken, *Das Grabfeld von Hallstatt*, Taf. XIV. nos. 9, 10; XXVI. 17.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, Nos. 151, 154, 155, 157.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, Nos. 150, 152, 153, 156.

[5] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1897, p. 265, Pl. XI. 25. The rev. of the coin has an incuse containing markings which assume something of the form of a Maltese cross.

[6] *Zeitschrift f. Ethnol.* 1889, pp. 221 *sqq.*

We find in Greece the fibulae with the swollen bow, or its variety ornamented with knobs and beads, such as that from Rhodes, and these fibulae, as we have just seen, are found in the upper Balkan, Hungary, Carniola, and at Hallstatt as well as in Italy.

The Leech type is found not only at Olympia but also at Dodona. Mr S. Reinach[1] well remarked that it is premature to explain as importations the specimens of this type found on Greek soil.

In another class (Fig. 118) the bow has become a wide lunate plate and is engraved in the Dipylon style. Although these large flat fibulae are hardly known as yet outside Greece, they are analogous to the peculiar Hallstatt type of the same shape, which have their plaques decorated with birds, circles, and other geometrical ornaments; but the Hallstatt series is characterized by a number of small chains with pendants, which are suspended from the flat bow (p. 412).

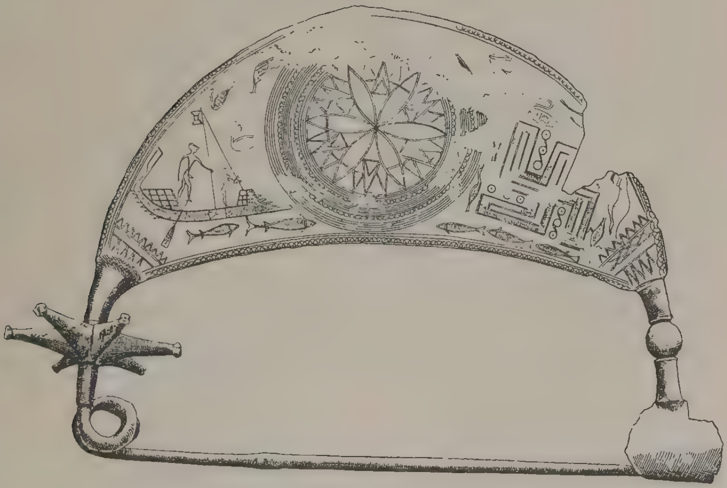

Fig. 118. Fibula of geometrical period, Greece.

In another class the foot widens out into a flat quadrangular plate and is decorated in the so-called Dipylon style (Fig. 120).

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[1] *Op. cit.*

Thebes has yielded a number of these fibulae with a sail-shaped foot on which are incised designs closely corresponding to the periods into which the so-called Dipylon vases have been distributed. Fig. 120 represents one of the third class. This type of fibula seems peculiar to the geometrical period, and many examples of it have been found at Olympia.

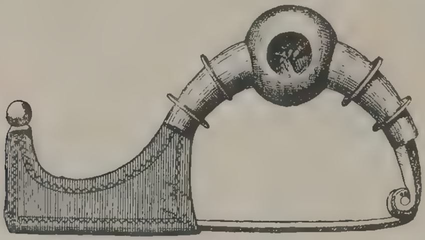

Fig. 119. Fibula of geometrical period, Thebes.

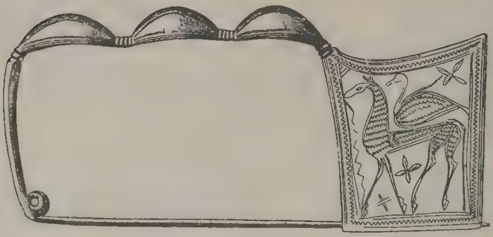

Fig. 120. Fibula of geometrical period, Thebes.

Although these fibulae have hardly been found anywhere else except in Greece, some of an analogous type have recently been found at Glasinatz in Bosnia[1], whilst some fibulae having their plaques triangular and not yet developed into the quadrangular shape known in Greece have been found in Pannonia and Italy[2].

Olympia has yielded a specimen of a class of fibulae with a knob-shaped appendage which is found in south Italy, and which resembles some seen on some of the women of the François vase[1].

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[1] S. Reinach, *L'Anthropologie*, 1890, pp. 105—6, Figs. 1—5.

[2] *Mitth. Athen.* xii. p. 18.

Olympia has likewise furnished examples of the serpentine class with a bow formed of two wires uniting into a single pin, like those found in Italy.

Closely related to these is the unique fibula found by Gsell at Vulci in a *camera* of the 7th cent. B.C. It has a double bow and *two* pins, which catch into the twin grooves or channels of an elongated nose[2] (Fig. 121).

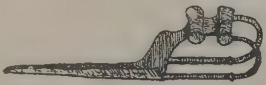

FIG. 121. Fibula with two pins; Vulci.

From these data it is plain that the fibula only found its way into Crete, Rhodes, the parts of Cyprus occupied by the Graeco-Phoenician population, and to the mainland of Asia, at a comparatively late period. The same holds true for Attica, Thebes and Olympia, where no fibulae earlier than the Dipylon period have come to hand. That this should be the earliest type known at Olympia is especially interesting, as it will be remembered that the vast majority of the bronze objects found there all belong to the Dipylon period. But if our arguments are sound, this was the epoch of the Achean domination. We thus have only to consider the safety-pins from the Lower City of Mycenae, and the cemeteries of Salamis and Enkomi, when we discuss the ultimate place of origin of the fibula.

The Homeric poems contain four words—*περόνη*, *πόρπη*, *ἐνετή*, *ἕλιξ*—each of which has been held to mean a fibula by either the ancient commentators or modern archaeologists.

As the ancients considered *perone* and *porpe* convertible terms[3], any conclusion concerning the former will hold equally true for the latter.

The Homeric *perone* was worn by both sexes, but scholars have disputed much concerning its nature.

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] S. Reinach, *loc. cit.*; Gsell, *Fouilles de Vulci*, pp. 521—2.

[3] Eustath. *ad Il.* XVIII. 401: *εἰσὶ δὲ πόρπαι μὲν περόναι γυναικῶν χλαίναις, ἀπὸ τοῦ πείρω, ἐξ οὗ καὶ περόναι.*

It was certainly some kind of a pin or brooch with a sharp point, which like that of the modern pin or brooch projected from the garment secured by the *perone* in such a way that the wearer or anyone else was liable to scratch his or her hand against its point. This is made clear by the scoff levelled at the wounded and weeping Aphrodite by Athene, "verily I ween that the Cyprian was urging some woman of Achaia to join her unto the Trojans, whom she so marvellously loveth; and stroking such an one of the fair-robed women of Achaia, she tore upon her golden brooch her delicate hand[1]." It is to be noticed that the wearing of such *peronai* is especially attributed to *Achean* women.

How the latter wore these ornaments is made clear by the *peplos* given by Antinous to Penelope.

It was large and of passing beauty "and in it were golden brooches, twelve in all, fitted with well-bent catches[2]." Modern archaeologists have explained these *peronai* as *hooks*, and the 'well-bent catches' as *eyes* (on the opposite side of the garment) into which the hooks were caught, exactly like the hook and eye of modern female dress. Whilst a well-bent 'catch' is a very inaccurate description of either an eyelet wrought in the garment or attached to it, on the other hand it exactly describes the bent-up catch of the primitive safety-pin (Figs. 105, 106). If *perone* really meant a hook, the epithet 'well-bent' ought to go with it rather than with *kleides*. But, as the ordinary *perone* worn by Achean women (such as Penelope) had sharp points ready to tear any chance hand that caressed the wearer, it cannot have been a hook caught into an eye, for the point of the hook, then as now, would have been inside the garment, and therefore could not scratch the hand of the wearer or anyone else. The conclusions thus drawn from the statements of the poems are confirmed by ancient tradition, for the scholiast explains the *kleides* as "catches into which they let down the pins[3]."

[1] *Il.* v. 422: *πρὸς χρυσέῃ περόνῃ κατεμύξατο χεῖρα ἀραιήν.*

[2] *Od.* XVIII. 293—4: *ἐν δ' ἄρ' ἔσαν περόναι δύο καὶ δέκα πᾶσαι χρύσειαι, κληῖσιν ἐυγνάμπτοισ' ἀραρυῖαι.*

[3] Sch. H: *κληῖσιν· κατακλεῖσιν εἰς ἃς καθίεσαν τὰς περόνας.*

Though Penelope did not use the hook and eye system for her *peplos*, yet fasteners of that description were known to Homer, but they are called *enetai* and not *peronai*, for with such Hera fastened her *peplos* down her bosom (κατὰ στῆθος[1]). Studniczka[2] (followed by Helbig) identified these with a form of fibulae worn by some of the personages on the François vase. But Eustathius[3] explicitly explains *enetai* as a kind of *perone* which were inserted in holes opposite, as earrings are in the lobes of the ear.

It is noteworthy that while the sharp-pointed *peronai* are a characteristic of Achean women, Hera, who, as we have seen, was a Pelasgian goddess, secures her dress with quite a different kind of fastener.

From no fibulae having been discovered in the acropolis graves of Mycenae, it has been supposed that the women of the Mycenean age tied on their dresses, but, as Hera's costume would be that of her Pelasgian worshippers, the latter may have used such *enetai* as those ascribed to Hera.

When we remember that the Hallstatt folk often wore more than a dozen fibulae, we need not be surprised that a *peplos* of special beauty such as that given to Penelope should be accompanied with twelve such fasteners.

The *perone* with which Odysseus fastened his *chlaina* was evidently of unusual character, for the poet would otherwise not have described its structure. It bore on it a dog grasping a fawn and it was furnished with 'twin pipes[4].'

Helbig[5] identifies it with certain clasps (ornamented with sphinxes), which are found in Italy. These clasps are furnished with two straight pins, which run into two straight pipes attached to the other side of the clasp, whilst the locking is effected by two hooks on the one side which catch into eyes on the other.

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[1] *Il.* XIV. 180: *χρυσείῃς δ' ἐνετῇσι κατὰ στῆθος περονᾶτο.*

[2] *Beiträge zur Gesch. der altgriech. Tracht*, p. 97.

[3] *ad loc.* *ἐνεταὶ δὲ περόνης εἶδος, χρησιμευούσης κατὰ τὸ ἰδιωτικῶς λεγόμενον τενάντιον, παρὰ τὸ ἐνίεσθαι, ὅ ἐστιν ἐμβάλλεσθαι τῇ ἀντικειμένῃ ὀπῇ, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἕρματα, ὡς ὁ ποιητὴς ἔφη, ἐνίενται εὐτρήτοις λοβοῖς.*

[4] *Od.* XIX. 226: *αὐτάρ οἱ περόνη χρυσοῖο τέτυκτο αὐλοῖσιν διδύμοισι.*

[5] *Das hom. Epos*, 2 ed., p. 105, Fig. 110.

But the Italian examples seem girdle clasps, whereas the *perone* of Odysseus is used to fasten on his cloak in the usual way.

The fibula from Vulci (Fig. 121) just described relieves us from this difficulty, as its two pins are caught into the 'twin pipes' or grooves of its long nozzle. The long nozzle of certain classes of fibulae was devised probably in order to protect the wearer against injury from the point of the pin.

When Hephaestus took refuge with Thetis and Eurynome from his mother, he wrought with them much cunning work of bronze. Amongst his productions were 'twisted *helikes*[1],' which Helbig[2] has identified with a class of brooch composed of spirals of discs, a type especially common at Hallstatt and over the Danubian region. Of these we shall soon speak at length.

But it is quite possible that these *helikes* were not the Hallstatt fibulae, but simple spirals of bronze or gold, such as those found in the shaft-graves of Mycenae (p. 326)[3], and which were probably used amongst other purposes to bind tightly the tresses of the hair in the manner affected by the Trojan Panthous[4]. Cylinders of leather covered with bead-work are similarly used to confine their tresses by the Moquis of Arizona. The ancient scholars certainly did not regard the *helikes* as any form of brooch or buckle, but rather as some kind of spiral ring[5].

As the monumental evidence points to the appearance of the fibula on Greek soil only at the end of the Mycenean period, so the Homeric poems show us this ornament as especially a feature of Achean costume.

We can readily narrow down the area within which the fibula was invented to Greece and Italy. It was not devised in Asia Minor, Egypt or Libya; neither is it found early in Spain, one of the seats of the Mediterranean race; Sardinia only shows a few sporadic imported examples. The two peninsulas of Italy and the Balkan remain. Are we to say that it was produced among the people of north Italy, or among the Mycenean people of Greece?

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[1] *Il.* XVIII. 401: πόρπας τε γναμπτάς θ' ἕλικας κάλυκάς τε καὶ ὅρμους.

[2] *Hom. Epos*, p. 191 (ed. 1); p. 279 (ed. 2).

[3] Ridgeway, *Metallic Currency*, p. 37.

[4] *Il.* XVII. 52: πλοχμοί θ', οἳ χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ ἐσφήκωντο.

[5] Eustath. *ad Il.* XVIII. 401: ἐνώτια ἢ ψέλλια παρὰ τὸ εἰς κύκλον ἑλίσσεσθαι; Hesych. *s.v.* ἕλικες explains them as ἐνώτια ἢ ψέλλια ἢ δακτύλιοι.

"En l'état actuel de nos connaissances (says Mr S. Reinach), on ne peut même pas affirmer, que la fibule soit une invention des tribus Grecques pendant leur séjour au nord de la presqu'île des Balkans: peut-être faudrait-il en chercher l'origine plus loin vers l'Ouest[1]."

Undset[2] and Reinach derive the fibula from a bronze pin provided with an arrangement for keeping it fixed in the garment into which it had been inserted. In central and northern Europe are found pins of the Bronze Age with a hole through the broader part, in which the remains of wire are sometimes found. In this wire Undset sees the embryo of the spring of the fibula.

As it is held by some that this type of pin has spread from Cyprus into central Europe, Cyprus has thus been put forward by implication as the birthplace of the brooch. There are pins from Enkomi[3] of gold with "ornamental heads; some have the centre of the stem widened and pierced with a hole, others have a loop attached to it. The hole was intended for the insertion of a piece of wire which was twisted round the drapery and held it in place." But such a pin as this is indeed far removed from the principle of the fibula, the distinctive feature of which is its spring. Such pins were fitted with a hole in which to insert something which would keep the pin from working out of the hair or garment, just as the axle-tree is fitted with a linchpin to prevent the wheel from coming off. In fact they are analogous to the pins which have their points furnished with a nut or cap to keep them securely fixed in the garment.

But there is not the slightest evidence to show that any form of the primitive safety-pin came from such a type of pin. Where is there any trace of the slot, or what part of the safety-pin could have developed out of it?

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[1] *Op. cit.*, section 9.

[2] *Beitr. zur Anthrop. Bayerns*, 1881, p. 51.

[3] A. S. Murray, *Excavations in Cyprus*, p. 19, Fig. 38.

But even granting that the suggested origin is true, there is no evidence to show that it had sprung up in Cyprus or elsewhere in the Aegean. The remains found at Enkomi are admitted to belong to the end of the Mycenean period, which only seems to have begun in Cyprus when it was coming to its close on the mainland of Greece. The fibulae found at Enkomi cannot be regarded as earlier than those of Salamis or the Lower City of Mycenae. But in the latter place iron, and in the former cremation, has made its appearance.

The struggle for the fibula against Italy must be carried on by the mainland of Greece. But the fibula only appears in the Iron Age in Greece, whereas it exists in north Italy in several well-defined forms from the end of the Bronze Age in that region.

Dr Montelius assumes that because scarabs with the cartouche of Amenophis III. have been found in the Lower Town at Mycenae, the fibulae there unearthed are contemporaneous with the reign of that monarch and are therefore to be placed in the fifteenth century B.C. If this date were certain, there would be a good *prima facie* case in favour of the claim of the Myceneans to be the inventors of the brooch, as it would not be easy to show that the fibula had appeared at an earlier date in Italy. But since it has already been pointed out (p. 76) that the evidence of isolated scarabs, except for fixing a superior limit, is but of small value even for dating objects found in the tomb with them, it is most unsafe to base any chronological argument on such data. We must therefore resort to other criteria. Here is a simple test: Attica was always occupied by the older race, who kept up many customs of the Mycenean period until a comparatively late epoch, as we have seen in the case of burial and the method of wearing the hair. If it can be shown that it was at a late period that the brooch came into use at Athens, there will be a very strong presumption that the brooch was not the invention of the Pelasgians, but that it came into Greece with a new body of inhabitants, who introduced it in the early Iron Age at Mycenae. Herodotus tells us how the Athenians once on a time made an attack upon Aegina which ended in their total defeat. Only one man survived to bear home the disastrous tidings. "When he came back to Athens, bringing word of the calamity, the wives of those who had been sent out on the expedition took it sorely to heart, that he alone should have survived the slaughter of all the rest; they therefore crowded round the man, and struck him with the pins (περόνη) by which their dresses were fastened—each, as she struck, asking him where he had left her husband." For this murderous deed the Athenians punished the women by compelling them "to wear the costume of the Ionians. Till this time the Athenian women had worn a Dorian dress shaped nearly like that which prevails at Corinth. Henceforth they were made to wear the linen tunic which does not require brooches. In very truth, however, this dress is not originally Ionian, but Carian; for anciently the Greek women all wore the costume which is now called the Dorian. It is said further that the Argives and Eginetans made it a custom, on this same account, for their women to wear brooches half as large again as formerly, and to offer brooches rather than anything else in the temple of these goddesses" (Damia and Auxesia)[1].

He then adds, "From this early age to my own day the Argive and Eginetan women have always continued to wear their brooches larger than formerly through hatred of the Athenians."

The use of the Carian dress was probably due to the fact that the original Ionian settlers, who had brought no women of their own with them, which was especially the case with the emigrants from Athens, married Carian women whose fathers and brothers they had slain. The Ionian women never sat at table with their husbands, on the ground that the Carian wives of the first settlers had refused to eat along with their husbands or call them by their names because they had slain their fathers and brothers[2]. As their daughters had in this respect followed the practice of their Carian mothers, they likewise would naturally wear their mothers' costume, and thus it came to pass that the Ionian women wore a dress which was really Carian. The women of Greece therefore could not have got their fibulae from Caria, as no such fasteners were worn with the Carian dress.

[1] v. 87, 88.

[2] Herod. I. 146.

But it is also not unlikely that when the Ionians settled in Caria, many of them who had not been Acheanized wore the old Mycenean (Pelasgian) costume, which was of course similar to the Carian, and did not comprise fibulae.

The belief of Herodotus that anciently all the Hellenic women wore the costume later called Dorian, was probably due to the fact that the Dorians on coming down from northern Greece appeared in a dress (including fibulae) which was practically identical with that of the Acheans described in Homer. Herodotus naturally believed that the dress of the Homeric women was the original Hellenic costume[1].

What then were these large *peronai* which could be used as stilettos? Were they brooches such as those of which we have been speaking? We naturally turn to the monuments themselves. We have seen that no brooches earlier than those ornamented in the Dipylon style (Fig. 118) are found at Athens. But a brooch of this kind would have been very awkward to employ as a dagger. On the other hand large bronze pins are regularly found at Athens similar to those from Mycenae and the Heraeum[2] (Fig. 122). One from Athens in the Ashmolean Museum is at least seven inches long and stout in proportion. It is a veritable dagger. There is a still longer specimen from Corinth.

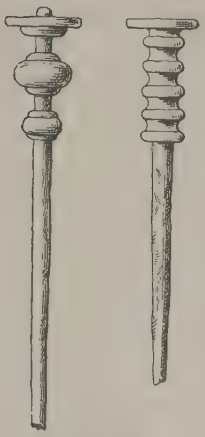
Fig. 122. Bronze Pins, Heraeum of Argos.

These pins seem too cumbrous to have been worn in the hair, and therefore were probably used to fasten the garment. This is confirmed by the François vase, where the Moirai are seen with their garments fastened at the shoulder not with brooches, but with long pins or skewers[1]. These then are probably the large *peronai* which the women employed with such murderous effect[2]. Whether the Athenian women slew their victim with brooches or long pins it matters just as little to us as it did to him. For as no brooches earlier than the Dipylon period are known in Attica, it follows that the brooch only entered Attica at a late time, and even then it does not seem to have got a good footing, since according to Herodotus the Athenian women had ceased to wear any kind of *perone* for a long period before the date at which he himself was writing.

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[1] This likewise explains the statement of Eustathius (567, 35) about the fibula: *ἐν τοῖς στήθεσιν ἐφόρουν αἱ παλαιαὶ γυναῖκες, δι᾽ ἧς τὸ κεχηνὸς τοῦ πέπλου συνήγετο, Δωριέων καταρξάντων τοῦ τοιούτου ἱματισμοῦ.*

[2] By the kindness of my friend Prof. Waldstein I am enabled to give this illustration.

It is also a notable fact that, whereas in classical times the use of the fibula seems entirely confined to women, among the Homeric Acheans, as with the peoples of Glasinatz, Hallstatt, and Celtic and Teutonic tribes in general, the brooch formed an essential part of the dress of the men as well as of the women. As it therefore at no time was part of the equipment of the Athenian men, it follows that such a practice was not indigenous in Greece, and therefore was probably introduced from a region where the men as well as the women employed it to fasten their garments. But as this fashion seems to have been universal in central and upper Europe, it is probable that the Acheans who had the same custom had come from that region.

But it may be said that the reason why no brooches have been found in the graves on the acropolis of Mycenae is that these graves contained only the remains of men, and not of women, and that as women only would wear brooches, and as there were no female bodies interred in those graves, therefore no fibulae were found in them, and that consequently no ethnical or chronological argument can be based on the absence of these articles. To this I answer (1) that the evidence of Schliemann's excavations shows that out of the 19 interments a considerable number were undoubtedly those of females, and (2) that the use of fibulae was not confined to women either in Homeric Greece or in central and upper Europe. We are therefore justified in concluding that as there are no brooches found with the interments of either men or women in the acropolis graves such brooches were not in use at the epoch when these interments took place; and that as we do find brooches in some graves of the Lower Town we may conclude that these interments belong to a later period.

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[1] Lady Evans, *Greek Dress*, p. 29, Fig. 5.

[2] Dr Murray (*Explor. in Cyprus*, p. 20) thinks the *peronai* used as daggers were similar to those from Enkomi with perforations or loops above described. But, as such pins have not yet been found in Attica, whilst the ordinary large bronze pin is there known, the view given in my text seems the more reasonable.

The dangerous character of large pins or brooches is well illustrated by one of the Brehon Laws which bade that men should wear their brooches either on the breast or at their shoulders in such a way that they should not be dangerous to the persons around them (O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the ancient Irish*, vol. III. p. 163).

As the brooch does not appear in the acropolis graves of Mycenae, and only came comparatively late into use in Attica, we may infer with safety that it was not the invention of the Pelasgians, and that, as it appears along with iron and cremation in late Mycenean tombs, it came in with the Acheans, who used both iron and brooches and burnt their dead in the Homeric age.

This is confirmed by the fact that the fibula was not worn by the Carians, who, as we have shown (p. 193), were identical in race with the oldest inhabitants of the islands and mainland of Greece.

The fibulae of all types of class A (safety-pin) are found in north Italy in the Bronze Age. But it is only when iron appears that we find them in the Mycenean graves.

Now if the fibula had passed into north Italy from the Mycenean area, it could only have done so after iron had come into use in Greece, and we should therefore expect to find it from the first in company with iron in north Italy. But, as we have seen, this is not so.

On the other hand if the fibula was invented in north Italy in the late Bronze Age, it was already diffused in all that area when iron came into use in the Alpine regions, and it would move downwards with the tribes, who were at all times descending into Epirus, or Thrace, and thus it would be brought by them into Greece, and as the Homeric Acheans came with a full knowledge of iron, we can readily understand how it is that occasional fibulae are found in Mycenean remains, which also yield objects of iron.

Let us now return to the fibulae with two or four discs (class B). In Italy this type is almost exclusively met with in the south, rarely in the central region, and never north of the Apennines. It is however common in Greece and the other lands to the east of the Adriatic and, as some four hundred of them were found at Hallstatt, they are often termed the 'Hallstatt' type. They are commonly held to be Greek rather than Italian. But though this type is found in Greece, it is rash to say that it is of Greek origin. For no bronze ornaments consisting either of a single spiral disc or of two or more such, out of which the 'spectacle' fibula could have sprung, have been found at Mycenae, Tiryns, Hissarlik, in Attica, or Cyprus. On the other hand in north Italy and the Danubian region, not only are spiral discs formed of hammered wire such as those found in the pile-dwelling of the Mondsee in the district of Salzburg[1], a characteristic (Fig. 123), but pairs of similar discs (Fig. 124) made of copper are also well known[2]: objects of a similar kind have been found at Glasinatz and Jezerine[3], where, as we saw (p. 437) the spectacle fibula is of common occurrence.

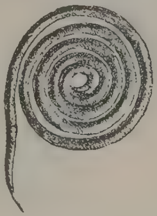

Fig. 123. Bronze Spiral, Pile-dwelling, Mondsee, Salzburg.

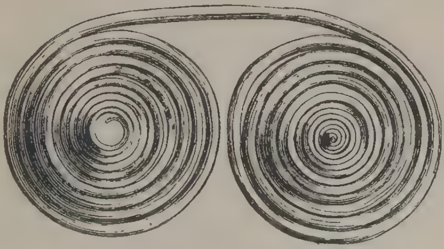

Fig. 124. Double Bronze Spiral; Hungary.

Again, ornaments consisting of four spiral discs have been discovered in Hungary[4] (Fig. 125). Bronze pins with heads formed of one or more spirals (sometimes as many as five) are a regular feature of the antiquities of all this area as well as north Italy (Fig. 104)[1].

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[1] Much, *Kunsthistorischer Atlas*, p. 51, Pl. xvii.

[2] Much, *op. cit.*, p. 53, Pl. xviii.

[3] Truhelka, *Mittheil. aus Bosnien*, Vol. i., p. 99, Fig. 161; *cf.* Vol. iii., p. 67, Fig. 60 (from Jezerine).

[4] Much, p. 89, Pl. xxxvi. (from specimen found at Felso-Dobsza, now at Buda-Pesth).

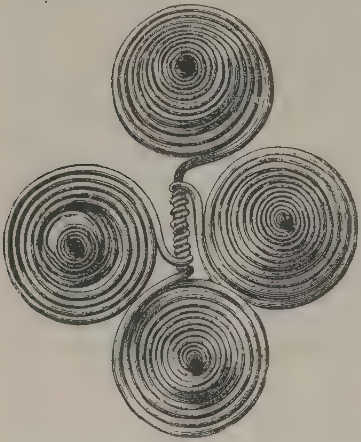

Fig. 125. Quadruple Bronze Spiral; Hungary.

Here then are all the antecedent conditions which led up to the complete evolution not only of the spectacle brooch, but of the primitive safety-pin of the type with the catch in the form of a disc (Fig. 105): here is the bronze pin with a head formed of a single spiral disc, from which in north Italy came the safety-pin; when the principle of the fibula had thus been evolved, it was an easy step to add a pin, spring, and catch to one of the older double spiral ornaments, and thus the 'spectacle brooch' was produced, whilst a similar application of the principle of the fibula to a bronze ornament of four spirals resulted in the brooch with four discs (Fig. 127).

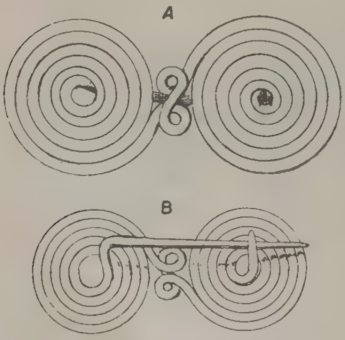

Fig. 126. 'Spectacle' Fibula.

Now if, as we have already concluded from the data afforded by the brooches of class A (safety-pin), the fibula passed down into Greece from the head of the Adriatic, we can readily explain how it is that the fibulae with two or four discs (Figs. 126, 127), such as are found at Hallstatt, at Glasinatz, and generally in

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[1] Much, *op. cit.*, p. 53, Pl. XVIII. gives one of copper with five discs, "aus der Sipka-höhle bei Neutitschein"; p. 61, Pl. XXII., Nos. 6 and 7 (one spiral), No. 5 (two spirals).

Greece, are likewise commonly found in southern Italy, though never in the north of that country. If these brooches were evolved in the Danubian regions after the introduction of the safety-pin, they would pass down with bodies of invaders into Illyria, Epirus or Thrace, and so into Greece, where they would have been domiciled under the Achean domination along with class A. On the Dorian invasion they would pass into southern Italy with the refugees from Greece who planted the Achean colonies of Magna Graecia.

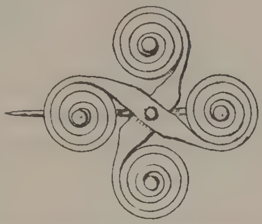
FIG. 127. Fibula with four discs.

They did not make their way into upper Italy, for the peoples of that region had already from before the close of the Bronze Age developed all four series of class A, and were therefore not likely to readily adopt from Magna Graecia new forms in preference to their own invention. Probably it was the same reason which prevented them from adopting these 'spectacle' brooches from the Alpine region where we know that they were commonly employed. On the other hand, if the fibula was really the gift of Greece to north Italy, the peoples of that area would have had no reason for not adopting the 'spectacle' brooch just as readily as they did the safety-pin, on the hypothesis that the latter had come from Greece.

There is therefore a high probability that neither class of fibulae were invented in Greece, but that they passed down the Balkan peninsula from the head of the Adriatic. But if this be so, it is another proof that the brooch-wearing Acheans of Homer had come down from that region.

This is supported by the consideration that the further we advance into the Aegean basin, the rarer becomes the fibula as part of the attire, whereas it becomes practically universal, as we advance towards the Danubian region and upper Italy.

The oldest form of the fibula is found in the land of the Umbrians, who have such close affinities in arms, ornament, and fashion of burial to the Homeric Acheans. It would therefore seem that as the fibula had passed down Italy and into Sicily, so had it similarly descended on the other side of the Adriatic into Greece, Crete, and Cyprus.

This is confirmed by the fact, that as Homer makes no mention of engraved stones, so they are not found in northern Italy and the Danubian regions, whilst in Greece itself, though gems of the Mycenean age are very abundant, stones exhibiting the Dipylon style are very rare.

The use of the fibula spread among the Illyrians, and it was natural that the indigenous tribes of northern Greece should also learn from the Acheans to employ it. Accordingly when the Dorians appeared in Peloponnesus, like the Acheans before them, they wore garments fastened with fibulae.

Nor is this view without a strict parallel in later times. The Celts from the fourth century B.C. wore a brooch commonly called the La Tène type, from the fact that it was the form found in the 'late Celtic' settlement at La Tène on Lake Neuchâtel[1] (Fig. 128). We have seen that this type was a modification of the Certosa brooch (Fig. 111). It passed with the Celts into France where it is constantly found in the graves of Gaulish warriors in the valley of the Marne (Figs. 129—30). These brooches are often found in pairs connected by a chain[2].

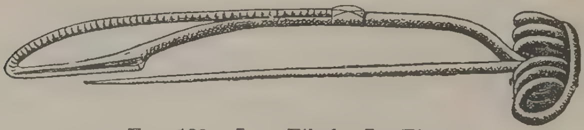

Fig. 128. Iron Fibula, La Tène.

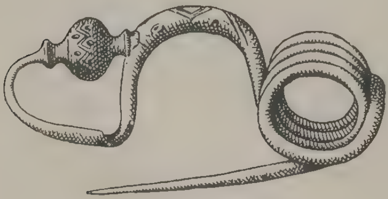

Fig. 129. Bronze Fibula, Marne.

But it is likewise found in Pannonia (p. 437) where the

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[1] Munro, *Lake Dwellings of Europe*, p. 290, Fig. 91.

[2] Morel, *La Champagne Souterraine*, Album, Pl. 13 etc.; Mortillet, *Formation de la Nation francaise*, p. 272, Figs. 126—8.

Celts had settled and dwelt amongst the native tribes (p. 398). This type of fibula had therefore passed from Noricum with the Celts down into the Balkan, just as the older types had descended with the Acheans.

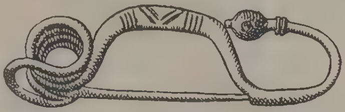

Fig. 130. Bronze Fibula, Marne.

But not only did the La Tène development of the type with bilateral spring travel with the Celts to France, but even in Britain brooches have been found which exhibit the same kind of spring, such as that from Suffolk here engraved (Fig. 131). Moreover, at least one example of a type of fibula closely resembling in outline the long-nosed fibulae of Italy and Hallstatt, which preceded the La Tène type, has been found in England. It is of an open ladder-like pattern[2], but the bilateral spring has now developed into the double hinge (Fig. 132). It was found at Weeting in Norfolk, and is in my own possession[3].

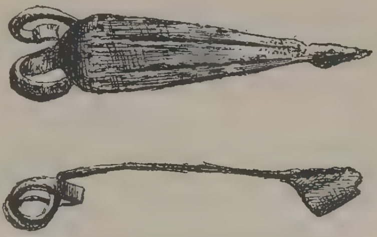

Fig. 131. Celtic Brooch, Suffolk[1].

But even in Ireland both the fibulae with double springs and those with hinges are not unknown. Their localities are as a rule not recorded, but one of those in the Royal Irish Academy Museum is stated to have been dug up in Co. Armagh. (Fig. 133.)

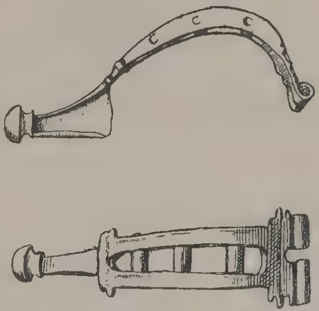

Fig. 132. Bronze Fibula, Weeting, Norfolk.

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[1] In my own possession.

[2] It very closely resembles one from Perugia (Montelius, *Prim. Civ.* Pl. xiii. Fig. 188).

[3] I am indebted for it to the kindness of Mr F. Norgate, the well-known Suffolk naturalist.

It is of the same type as that from Suffolk (Fig. 131)[1]. Another brooch in the Irish Museum is much the same except that it has an elongated nose rudely representing the neck and head of an animal (Fig. 134). Another in the same Museum more closely resembles the La Tène type, for it not only has the bilateral spring, but its flat bow terminates in the neck and head of a serpent bent back so as to touch the bow. (Fig. 135.)

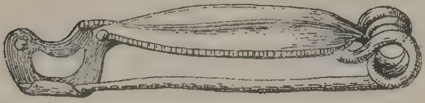

Fig. 133. Bronze Fibula; Navan Rath, Ireland.

That these fibulae which are so very rare in Ireland were introduced by some fair-haired invaders is rendered probable by the very ancient Irish story of Edain, daughter of Etar, an Ulster chief (whose traditional date is about 100 B.C.). As Edain and her maids were bathing in the bay, a horseman came pricking over the plain. He was Midir, the great Tuatha De Danann, chief of Bri Leith in Co. Longford. "He wore a long flowing green cloak gathered around him, and a shirt under that, interwoven with threads of red and gold. A brooch (*eo*)[2] of gold was in his cloak (across), which reached his shoulders at either side. He had a shield of silver with a rim of gold at

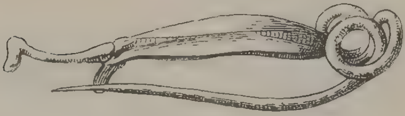

Fig. 134. Bronze Fibula; Ireland.

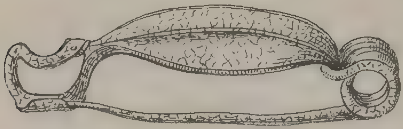

Fig. 135. Bronze Fibula; Ireland.

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[1] I am indebted to my friend Mr George Coffey, keeper of the Royal Irish Academy Museum, for much information about the brooches here discussed.

[2] Both *eo* and *dealg*, the two Irish words for *brooch*, literally mean a *thorn* (*cf.* Germ. *Dorn*, pin of a brooch), and it looks as if the northern peoples had originally used a large thorn to fasten on the cloak.

When Tacitus says that the Germans used a *spina* as a substitute for a fibula, he means a *thorn*, not a backbone, as one recent writer supposes.

his back, with trappings of silver and a boss of gold; and he had in his hand a sharp-pointed spear covered with rings of gold from its socket to its heel. He wore fair yellow hair coming over his forehead, and his forehead was bound with a fillet of gold to keep his hair from disorder[1]."

It is remarkable that a body of fair-haired warriors with brooch-wearing wives, described in another Irish tale cited by O'Curry, are exiles from Scotland seeking refuge in Erin[2].

But the fibula of this type was plainly an exotic and could not thrive on Irish soil.

Nor did its immediate derivatives fare any better. This is shown by three very interesting brooches of undoubted Celtic art here figured. Two of these were found at Navan Rath (apparently along with that figured above, Fig. 133), whilst, though the provenance of the other one is unknown, yet its close resemblance to the two former renders it highly probable that it is of Irish origin.

This last-mentioned specimen (Royal Irish Museum) has its pin attached by the ordinary hinge developed from the bilateral spring (Fig. 136). One of the Navan Rath brooches (which is among the interesting antiquities at St Columba's College, Co. Dublin[3]) is of a very remarkable character. It has neither bilateral spring nor the derived hinge, the pin being attached in a manner apparently peculiar to Ireland. The bronze pin (Fig. 137) had its globular head inserted into the back (Fig. 138) of the broader end of the brooch. It was secured by a strap of metal riveted on to the inside of the brooch. The pin had thus sufficient play

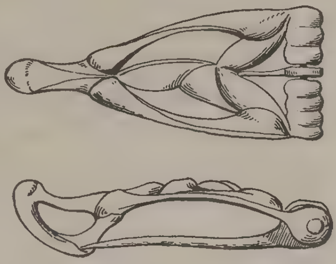

FIG. 136. Bronze Fibula; Ireland.

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[1] O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the ancient Irish*, vol. III. p. 163.

[2] *Op. cit.*, vol. III. p. 164.

[3] I am much indebted to the Rev. Percy Whelan, Warden of St Columba's, for his kindness in allowing me to publish this brooch.

to permit its point to pass through the garment and to be secured in the catch at the smaller end of the brooch.

The very similar brooch (also from Navan Rath, Fig. 139) in the Irish Museum was evidently fitted with a pin on the same ball-and-socket principle. For, although the pin is gone, there is a hole in the back of the brooch to allow the insertion and free play of the head of a bronze pin similar to that in the preceding figure, whilst close to the side of the hole next the smaller end of the brooch are the traces of the metal cross piece (probably of iron) under which the pin played.

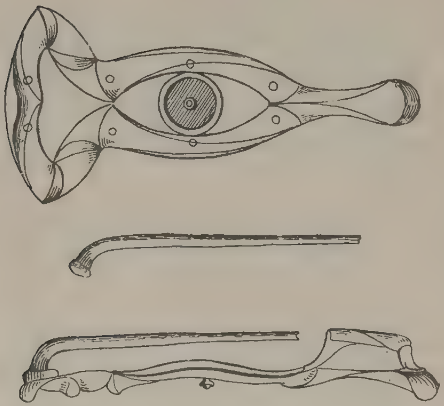
Fig. 137. Bronze Fibula; Navan Rath.

The association at Navan Rath of the bilateral spring with the rude expedient for a hinge just described is important. It is a warning to archaeologists not to be too dogmatic in assigning hard and fast chronological limits to the brooches with the bilateral springs of various kinds, and to those fitted with the later hinge. It also shows that the native Irish were too much wedded to their old simple pin or skewer to adopt the more elaborate mechanism of the La Tène fibula and its derivatives. Indeed the St Columba brooch shows us an effort to combine the ordinary bronze pin with the body of the adventitious

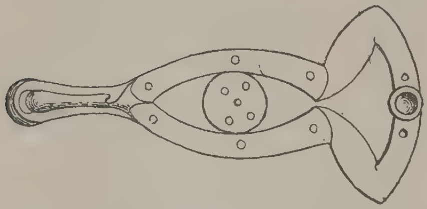
Fig. 138. Bronze Fibula; Navan Rath. (*Underside.*)

fibula, an attempt which, as we shall soon see, was much more successful in another form of fibula.

The occurrence of a few authentic examples of the La Tène brooch, of La Tène swords at Lisnacroghera, Co. Antrim, of an oblong shield (Fig. 100) of the Gaulish type, and the practice of cremation by some chieftain families during a limited period in certain parts of Ireland (p. 505), taken in connection with the stories of fair-haired brooch-wearing immigrants into Ireland, all point to a Celtic invasion of the north of Ireland in the La Tène period. Such an invasion would not have taken place before that of Britain by the Belgic tribes. We may therefore conjecturally place it some time before the Christian era, between 250 B.C. and the time of Christ. After all the legendary date for the meeting of Edain and Midir may not be far wrong.

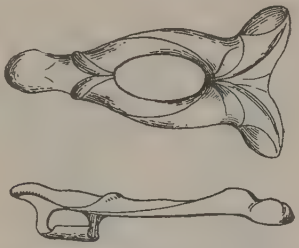

FIG. 139. Bronze Fibula; Navan Rath.

It would then appear that as the fair-haired Acheans brought the brooch into Greece, so others of the same stock carried it even to distant Britain and the still more remote Ireland. It may well be that the fibulae found in the Caucasus are the relics of some of the Cimmerii, who by the eighth century had made their way from the Danube into southern Russia and perhaps into Armenia (p. 396).

But the hinge seen in the Weeting brooch (Fig. 132) was not the only kind which was evolved from the Celtic bilateral spring. As has been already stated, this type was the parent of the Roman provincial fibula, of the T shape, so common in France[1] and Britain (Fig. 140). The latter had in its turn given birth to the cruciform type worn by the Franks and other Germanic peoples in the early centuries of our era, and by the Scandinavians much later.

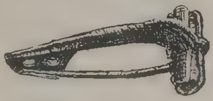

FIG. 140. Romano-British Brooch, Bottisham, Cambridge.

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[1] Morel, *La Champagne Souterraine*, p. 197 (with figure).

When the Angles passed from their own homes in Holstein into England, each of them wore at least two of these cruciform brooches. In the simpler forms their descent from the T-shaped fibula is very evident (Fig. 141), though in the large and highly elaborated specimens all resemblance to the prototype has disappeared (Fig. 142).

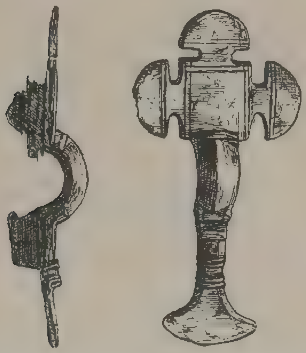

Fig. 141. Anglo-Saxon Brooch (Anglian type), Eriswell, Suffolk[1].

But besides the 'spectacle' fibula the simple spiral of the Bronze Age was the parent of another type of brooch, which has lasted down to our day.

We saw that from the brooches formed of two or more spirals came those where the discs are no longer mere spirals of wire, but are now thin plates of metal (p. 437): it is therefore probable that from the single disc of spiral wire developed the Celtic circular brooches found at Hallstatt and occasionally in England (Fig. 143)[2]. That here figured, like No. 131, is from Suffolk, the land of the Iceni. It resembles the bronze ornaments attached to the horse-trappings found in a tomb with a chariot on which a Gaulish warrior had been seated in death[3].

From the latter perhaps sprung the circular brooch of the Roman period often inlaid with enamel, such as that here engraved[4] (Fig. 144).

We may likewise regard as the progeny of the spiral disc the circular brooches of the Anglo-Saxon period found chiefly in Kent, Isle of Wight, Oxfordshire, Berkshire,

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[1] This brooch (in my own possession) was found with a fine and much larger one in a grave in Suffolk.

[2] This specimen is in my own possession.

[3] Morel, *La Champagne Souterraine*, Pl. x. Nos. 3, 8, 12, 14, p. 46.

[4] This specimen is in my own possession. The whole centre space is filled with red and blue enamel.

Buckinghamshire and Gloucestershire[1]. The Kent and Wight brooches are distinct from the others, for the former are usually adorned with garnets and other precious stones and *cloisonné* work, whilst the latter are very concave and have commonly a small ornament in the centre. As the Jutes colonized Kent and the Isle of Wight, whilst Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Gloucestershire formed part of the kingdom of Wessex, it seems probable that the Jutes and Saxons wore distinctive varieties of the circular brooch, whilst both differed altogether from the cruciform type so common in East Anglia, Mercia and Northumbria, the area occupied by the Angles (Figs. 141, 142). Not unnaturally sporadic examples are found outside the area proper to the type, for if a woman from East Anglia or Mercia married a Jute of Kent, she would bring her jewelry with her to her new home.

Cruciform brooches of types closely akin to the English are found in great abundance in Sweden and Norway, but very rarely in Gothland, and curiously too are also rare in Denmark[2]. They occur in France, Germany, and even in Italy and the Crimea[3], but only sporadically, in fact wherever the

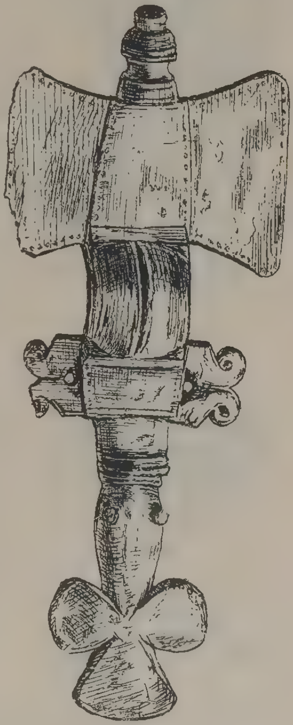

FIG. 142. Anglo-Saxon Brooch (Anglian type), Tuddenham, Suffolk[4].

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[1] Wright, *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, p. 415; Baron J. de Baye, *The Industrial Arts of the Anglo-Saxons*, pp. 37 *sqq*.

[2] Baron J. de Baye, *The Industrial Arts of the Anglo-Saxons*, p. 46.

[3] Lindenschmidt, *Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, Band I. Heft 2, Taf. 8, Heft 5, Taf. 8; Kemble and Franks, *Horae Ferales*, p. 211, Pl. XXVIII.

[4] This specimen (also my own) was found along with another of nearly the same size in Suffolk in the grave of a warrior, as was shown by the presence of the usual iron shield-boss, spear, sword, and knife.

Teutonic peoples wandered. As they are rare in Denmark, it seems probable that the Angles had begun to use them at no long time before they emigrated to England.

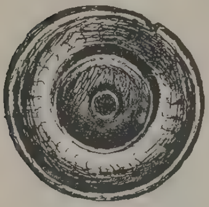

Fig. 143. Bronze Celtic Brooch, Suffolk.

This is confirmed by the fact that among more than 60 fibulae found at Thorsbjerg and nine from the Nydan find there is not a single example of the cruciform type. For with the exception of two disc-shaped brooches all those from Thorsbjerg are of the T-type, while the Nydan examples are all of the long-nosed type with bilateral spring. The deposits of Thorsbjerg and Nydam can be dated with tolerable accuracy from the Roman denarii found at the same time: those from the former place range from 69 A.D. to 194 A.D., whilst those from the latter extend from 69 A.D. to 217 A.D.[1] The cruciform type then was probably not evolved until the fourth century A.D.

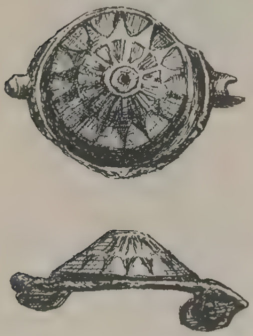

Fig. 144. Bronze enamel Brooch, Weeting, Norfolk.

The cruciform Anglian brooches are of bronze; a few are gilt or plated with silver, a style of decoration not found in the south of England; with the rarest exception they are never garnished with precious stones.

But even in the Anglian area circular brooches of various forms are not uncommon. The specimen here figured is from Suffolk[2]. But as common Romano-British fibulae, such as Fig. 140, and circular brooches are occasionally found in Saxon graves, it is possible that these circular brooches belonged to the conquered Britons.

We have thus seen that from one common centre in north Italy are descended all the manifold variety of brooches found from Syria and the Caucasus to Britain and Scandinavia. Nor is the Celtic brooch of the Tara type any exception, although its genesis differs essentially from that of all those of which we have hitherto spoken.

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[1] Engelhardt, *Denmark in the Early Iron Age*, pp. 41, 65.

[2] This brooch (in my own possession) was found with a smaller and plainer disc-shaped brooch, the clasp of a girdle, a pair of tweezers, etc., from which it is likely that the grave was that of a woman.

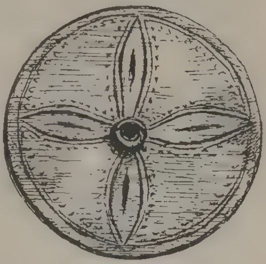

FIG. 145. Anglo-Saxon Brooch, Suffolk.

Now besides the fibulae which can be regarded as simple developments from the primitive safety-pin of the Peschiera type, there is another series well known in the north of Europe, where the principle of the fibula made its appearance at a late epoch. In Ireland it appears very late and the chief form in which it is there found is that of a penanular ring, the extremities of which terminate in knobs or some other form of enlargement. The pin plays on the ring and its point is caught behind one of the knobs. This type is familiar in the large penanular brooches still used by the Highlanders to secure the plaid on the shoulder and in the common shawl-fastener. But as Dr Radimsky[1] in the excavations at Jezerine in Bosnia already cited (p. 439) found a brooch composed of a penanular ring with knobs at its extremities, and fitted with a pin playing on the ring, it is not unlikely that this type of brooch, like the 'spectacle' and disc-shaped brooches, also originated among the Celts of the Danubian region.

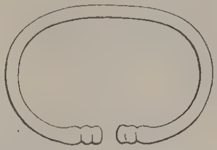

FIG. 146. Bronze Penanular Ring, Cambridgeshire.

Is this one more development pure and simple from the fibulae of central Europe, which are sometimes disc-shaped, or is it rather to be regarded as a distinct type, which has sprung from a combination of the principle of the fibula with an ancient form of fastening for the dress, which was in use over a large part of northern Europe before the introduction there of any type of fibula?

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[1] *Mitth. aus Bosnien*, vol. III. p. 173, Fig. 551.

In the area referred to bronze penanular rings are a well-known class of antiquities dating from the Bronze Age. The extremities of the metal hoop are constantly furnished with knobs. Some of these are very like the manillas still worn and used for money on the west coast of Africa. Others are too small to have served as bracelets, and are equally unadapted for use as finger-rings. Hence it has been held by competent archaeologists that these rings were employed to fasten on a cloak or mantle, for when once the loops or button-holes had been passed over the knobs of the ring, they would not easily slip off except by a deliberate effort on the part of the wearer. Sometimes the ring is not circular but is rudely angular, as is seen in one found near Cambridge, which is in my own possession (Fig. 146)[1].

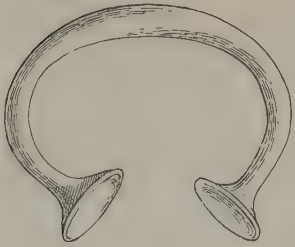

Fig. 147. Penanular Ring, Ireland.

On the advance of the fibulae from the south the penanular ring was fitted with a pin and thus converted into a brooch such as those known in Ireland and Scotland, and as far east as Livonia. The comparatively late date of the Irish brooches is shown by the fact that of the large number in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy only the Tara brooch and one other (from Antrim) are of gold, the rest being of bronze and silver. On the other hand, the ornaments of the Bronze Age, when not of bronze, are always of gold.

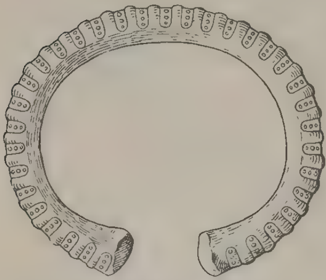

Fig. 148. Penanular Ring, Killimer, Co. Galway.

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[1] A survival of this principle may possibly be seen in the double stud used by the men of the Isle of Marken in the Zuyder Zee for fastening their collars.

We have here figured a series from the collection of the Royal Irish Academy, which shows the plain penanular ring fitted with a pin[1] (Fig. 149), but with its knobs in the shape of animals' heads in the 'late Celtic' style, and another showing the ends now flattened and decorated with animal designs and amber settings (Fig. 150), and also one with the beautiful interlaced work (Fig. 151) similar to the ornament of Irish manuscripts.

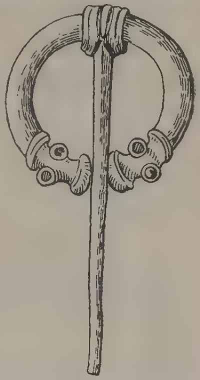

Fig. 149. Bronze Fibula, Ireland.

Having fitted the penanular ring with a pin some forgotten genius conceived the idea of closing the opening of the ring (Fig. 152). This evolution can be well seen in a class of ornaments found in Anglo-Saxon graves, and usually described by archaeologists as 'annular' fibulae.

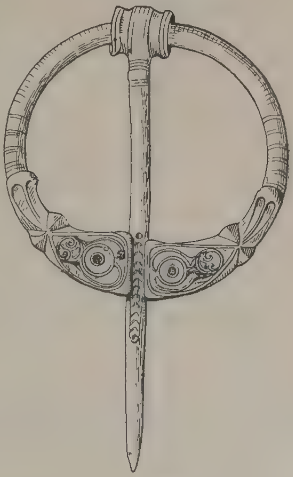

Fig. 150. Bronze Brooch, Togher near Drogheda, Co. Louth.

But the feeling in favour of the simple pin always remained strong in Ireland, and we therefore find numerous examples of what are termed 'ring-pins.' These are large pins with a complete ring through the head. Where the ring is small, it was simply meant for holding a string to attach it to the cloak to prevent its being lost.

There are however many examples where the ring is large and flat like that of the penanular brooches, except that it has no opening, although the survival of the latter is often to be seen in a groove running across the ring; this groove receives the pin. These articles, which are not simple pins nor yet brooches, are really buckles, as the pin falls into a groove in the ring, as is the case with the modern buckle.

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[1] A brooch with a perfectly plain penanular ring from the Lake-dwelling of Ardakillen is figured by Mr W. G. Wood-Martin (*Pagan Ireland*, p. 522).

This may give us the clue to the origin of the buckle, which plays so important a part in the harness and dress of modern times.

It was unknown to the Greeks of the classical period, and only appears in Roman[1] times. In the Bonn Museum is a large plated specimen with an inscription showing that it had been presented to a Roman soldier[2]. But as the buckle first becomes really prominent among Rome's Teutonic conquerors, to them its invention may be ascribed[3].

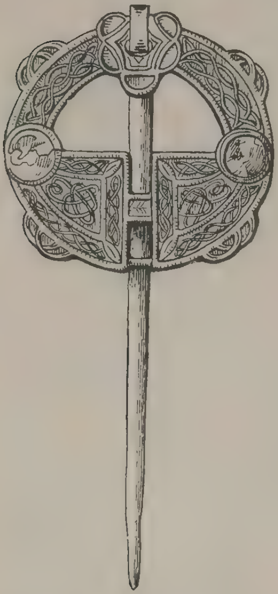

Fig. 151. Bronze Fibula found near Clonmel, Co. Tipperary.

The latter used not only penanular rings fitted with pins[4], the extremities of the metal rod usually being slightly decorated, but also complete rings fitted with pins, which are therefore really buckles, like the large class of Irish 'ring-pins' just described. These are much more common than the regular penanular brooches. They are usually flat and fitted with a pin, but not furnished with any catch into which the pin on being passed through the garment might be secured[5]. The pin therefore simply rested against the ring, as does the tongue of a buckle. This then is a buckle and not a brooch. It is possible that the evolution of the buckle from a complete ring fitted with a pin, and that of the penanular brooch from a penanular ring similarly fitted, may have arisen side by side.

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[1] Lindenschmid, *Alterthümer unserer heidn. Vorzeit*, Band II. Heft 6, Taf. 5.

[2] S. Reinach, 'Fibula' (Daremberg and Saglio).

[3] Lindenschmit, *op. cit.*, Band II. Heft 7, Taf. 6.

[4] J. de Baye, *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 59, Pl. ix. 1 (penanular brooch); Nos. 2—9 are complete rings fitted with pins.

[5] Two in my own possession (from Suffolk) show the hinge-hole for the pin, but they never had any catch.

It is almost certain that the Irish borrowed the penanular brooch and the buckle from their Teutonic neighbours, since not only is there a very close resemblance between the Anglo-Saxon penanular brooches and the ruder Irish specimens, but the round buckles of the Anglo-Saxon graves are identical with known examples of Irish buckles or 'ring-pins' (Fig. 152)[1]. Buckles of this circular type were common in mediaeval times[2]. The buckle having been thus evolved, the next step was to elaborate and beautify it, as had been done centuries before in the case of the fibula. Among the Anglo-Saxons and other Teutonic peoples buckles of most elegant designs, beautifully decorated and at times set with garnets or pastes, were not uncommon[3].

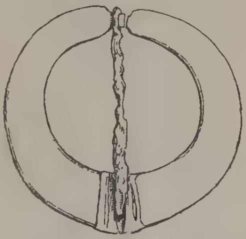

FIG. 152. Buckle or Ring-brooch; Ireland.

It is now clear that not only the fibula, but its important derivatives—the 'spectacle,' circular and penanular brooches, and, above all, the buckle—were not indigenous in the Aegean, but were all evolved in central or upper Europe.

As then the fibula passed down from central Europe into Greece, there is a high probability that the Acheans, with whom it is first found on Greek soil, had likewise come from the same region, for they would bring with them their own method of fastening their garments and their own kind of fasteners, just as the Angles carried with them into England and there continued to wear the cruciform brooches, which they had used in their old home.

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[1] The Irish plain flat circular buckle here figured (my own specimen) is almost identical with the ordinary Anglo-Saxon round buckles just described.

[2] I have three of silver found together in 1895 at Weston Heath near Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk.

[3] I have one of a white metal with a garnet set in the tongue, which was found at Burwell, Cambridgeshire.

CHAPTER IX.

IRON[1].

> Durior et ferro, quod Noricus excoquit ignis.
>
> Ovid, *Met.* XIV. 712.

THE Acheans of Homer are using iron for all the ordinary purposes of life. Did they learn its use on entering Greece, or did they bring weapons and implements of iron with them? To the first question we are constrained to give a negative answer, as the evidence from the tomb sites of the Mycenean period makes it clear that the people who had dwelt in Greece in pre-Homeric days were ignorant of the use of iron. We are therefore reduced to the conclusion that the Acheans arrived in Greece with a full knowledge of iron, or that a knowledge of this metal reached them immediately after their conquest. This leads us to a short inquiry respecting the earliest use of iron in Europe.

It has been commonly assumed that Europe is indebted for iron to either Africa or Asia. Eminent metallurgists have held that the use of iron preceded that of copper, because iron ore can be reduced by a far lower temperature than copper ore[2]. But this is a method of reasoning which can never lead to any but erroneous results, for it imputes to primitive man who had up to that moment no implements except those of stone, wood, horn and bone, the mental attitude of the modern metallurgist, and presupposes that he went deliberately to work to find some metal which would provide him with implements and weapons of a kind superior to any that he possessed. It seems much more likely that man obtained his first knowledge of metal by some accident which placed in his hands not a rude ore, but one already smelted for him by Nature. The question therefore is not one of the relative difficulty of reducing iron and copper ores, but rather the occurrence of these two metals in a native state. In this case the advantage lies altogether on the side of copper, for it is very commonly found native and can thus be readily wrought by people in a rude state of culture, who could by merely hammering it fashion axes and other implements similar to those of stone, which they already possessed. Thus in North America the 'Mound-builders' had learned to employ the copper which they found ready to their hand in all the region round Lake Superior, and the Indians of the North Pacific coast had discovered and learned to use the deposits of native copper in the Chilcat country north of Sitka, and the copper shields made by these people passed right down the coast to Queen Charlotte's Island[1]. In the old world copper is found native in Italy, Hungary, Cornwall and various other places. Thus it lay ready to the hand of man. Again, it is quite probable that the idea of making copper more fusible and improving its temper by alloying it with tin was not the outcome of any deliberate desire to find out a superior material for cutting purposes, but was really the result of a happy accident. Copper and tin are constantly found in the same locality. Thus Cornwall and Hungary supply both. In the Book of Wonderful Stories ascribed to Aristotle[2], it is stated that there is a mountain in Etruria called Poplonion (Populonia), in which various sorts of metals are found near one another. Not very far from Populonia in one of the ancient mines on Monte Valerio opposite the island of Elba, which are proved by scarabs and other objects to have been worked by the Etruscans, M. Blanchard discovered tin-stone in 1876. Not far off are the copper mines of Montieri (*Mons aeris*), which had been worked with bronze picks and wedges, and in which were discovered quantities of pottery, and some coins, including one of Populonia (Pupluna), bearing the head of Vulcan, and a hammer and pincers[1].

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[1] The principles embodied in this chapter were set forth in a paper read before the British Association at Liverpool, September, 1896 (*Report Brit. Ass.* 1896, p. 930).

[2] Percy, *Metallurgy of Iron and Steel*, p. 873; Ledebur, *Manuel de la Métallurgie du Fer* (1895), p. 6. Both cited in Mr W. Gowland's paper "The early Metallurgy of Copper, Tin, and Iron in Europe," *Archaeologia*, vol. LVI. (1899).

Mr Gowland states clearly the counter-claims of the archaeologists and metallurgists without committing himself to either view. He thinks that Italy learned from Egypt how to work iron, whilst central Europe obtained that knowledge from Asia.

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[1] Ridgeway, *Metallic Currency*, p. 17. These shields were only known as 'coppers' when I wrote in 1892, but their true use is now well established.

[2] *De Miris Ausc.* 93.

The fact that these mines were worked with bronze implements shows that the iron mines of Elba were developed only at a comparatively late epoch.

But we can go further than this. As bronze is copper alloyed with tin, so brass is copper alloyed with zinc.

Modern mineralogical researches in India make it highly probable that brass was originally found as a natural alloy. "In several parts of India," says the late Mr V. Ball, C.B., "traces of zinc ores have been met with (chiefly the sulphide or blende) in association with ores of copper and other metals; and to this circumstance may perhaps be attributed the fact that Abdul Fazl, the author of the Ain-i-Akbari, in an enumeration of metals which were obtained in the rivers of the Suban of Lahore, includes brass. It is conceivable that this refers to a metal obtained in smelting and undesigned or natural combination of ores, which was really brass instead of copper, and hence the ridicule with which the statement has been criticized is perhaps not exactly deserved. That brass was discovered first by such an accident appears to be generally admitted. Afterwards it was manufactured by the addition of natural calamine to molten copper, and even, when that was not obtainable, by the addition of artificial calamine scraped from the chimneys of smelting furnaces[2]." An analysis by the late Dr Flight[1] affords information about one Indian manufacture in which zinc is largely used. This is the well-known *Bidri* ware of Beder in Hyderabad. His analysis suggests that the metal is not a specially prepared alloy, but may "result from the reduction of an ore of zinc containing the other metals (copper, lead, gold, and iron)[2]."

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[1] Boyd Dawkins, *Early Man in Britain*, p. 405.

[2] "On Zinc and Zinc ores," *Scientific Proc. of Roy. Dublin Society*, vol. XXVII., p. 322.

It is therefore more probable that the art of alloying copper with tin was the result of a lucky accident which had blended the two metals, than that it was the outcome of a deliberate desire to make copper harder, and consequent on experiments made to that end. Thus some man of the Copper Age found that this mixed material gave better results than the ordinary copper which he was in the habit of using.

To suppose that primitive man who was only acquainted with copper and gold should have conceived deliberately the design of hardening copper by mixing another ingredient, is to read the ideas of our modern scientific world into the life of men who had not yet emerged from savagery. On the other hand there is no difficulty in supposing that in one of the areas where both copper and tin are found these two metals were found occasionally intermixed, as seems to have been the case with copper and zinc in Hyderabad.

It is therefore not unreasonable to suggest that as the art of alloying copper with zinc and tin was in the one case

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[1] *Ibid.* p. 325. The name *bidri*, zinc, is probably nothing more than the place-name, Beder in Hyderabad, where the metal was found or manufactured. The proportions were: in two objects, I. a box, and II. a bottle:

	I.	II.
Zinc, by difference . . .	94·552	93·516
Copper	3·920	3·278
Lead	1·400	2·171
Gold	——	0·690
Iron	0·128	0·345

[2] Another good illustration of the principle that discoveries in metallurgy are due to the natural juxtaposition of two different elements, is afforded by quicksilver. Callias, an Athenian, who worked silver mines at his own expense in the Laurium district, found a shining sand of the colour of scarlet or cochineal (κόκκος). He ordered it to be collected, thinking from its shining appearance that it contained gold. Though disappointed in this, he yet hit upon a method of preparing cinnabar from this substance (B.C. 405), which was distinctly quicksilver ore. Boeckh, *Pub. Econ.* pp. 629—30 (Eng. transl.).

certainly, and in the other probably, the outcome of chance, so too the discovery of the use of copper itself was due to a similar cause.

The same almost certainly holds true of iron.

The discovery of that metal according to the latest views of the metallurgists "doubtless arose either from pieces of rich iron ore becoming accidentally embedded in the domestic fire, the burning embers of which would easily reduce them to the metallic state, or it may be from primitive man, having already obtained the metal copper from certain stones, experimenting with others in the same manner in his rude furnace, when, if these consisted of iron ore, metallic iron ore would be produced[1]."

But the metallurgists have overlooked another possibility, which is not merely hypothetical, but can be proved to have taken place, and which does not involve any reduction of the iron ores by man. Unlike copper, iron is hardly ever found native except in the case of meteoric iron, which has been smelted by Nature. Hence it has been supposed that mankind first became acquainted with the use of iron through meteorites. Accordingly Lenormant suggested that *σίδηρος* is connected with Latin *sidus*, and that it meant originally 'sidereal' iron. Others again have supposed that the 'self-smelted mass' of iron (p. 294) given as a prize by Achilles was a mass of meteoric iron. Tempting as this suggestion is, we must bear in mind that meteoric stones have in many parts of the world, both ancient and modern, been regarded with awe and veneration. Thus in the Greek lands and those bordering on them, meteoric stones were among the earliest objects of veneration. They were termed *βαίτυλοι*, were usually dedicated to Cronus or to Zeus (as we shall see later on), and were anointed with oil by devout persons, such as the Superstitious Man in the *Characters* of Theophrastus. It is not easy to suppose that people who invested meteorites with such sanctity would commit so sacrilegious an act as to use them for metal.

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[1] Gowland, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

It is therefore much more probable that in all parts of the globe where both iron and copper are produced man began to work copper before he discovered iron.

On the other hand, many savage peoples have in modern times passed at a bound from the Stone Age into the Iron, as has been the case with the inhabitants of the Pacific Islands, Australia, and New Guinea, from the fact that iron was brought there by traders before they had as yet discovered any metal for themselves. Probably from a similar cause the negroes of Africa have had no Copper or Bronze Age, but passed at once into that of Iron, because they learned the art of working in iron from Egypt before they knew any other metal except gold. Proof of this will soon be given.

But although in almost all cases where man has passed direct from stone to iron, it can be shown that he has learned the use of that metal from external races, yet in at least one case, man in the Stone Age has taught himself the use of iron. Furthermore the same case proves that it is possible for man to find iron ready to hand without having to resort to 'the all-dreaded thunderstone.'

If it can be shown that iron of exactly the same character as that known in meteorites has been occasionally found protruding in volcanic regions from the earth herself, who has thus wrought pig-iron ready for man to use, and if furthermore it can be proved that in the only instance where modern savages can be shown to have learned to use iron independently they worked

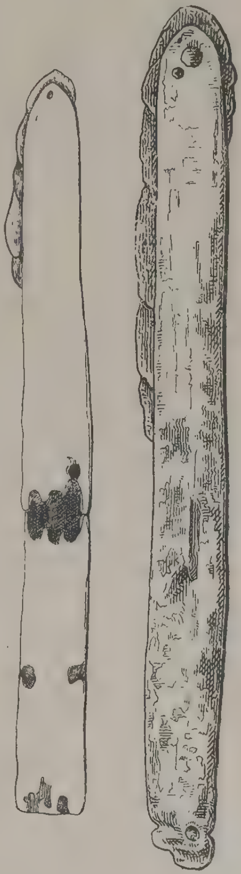

Fig. 153. Knives of Telluric iron, Greenland.

masses of telluric iron which lay ready to hand 'self-smelted' on the surface, there will be some probability that mankind originally learned to use iron under similar conditions. I here figure two knives made of walrus ivory and edged with iron. These were obtained from the Eskimos of Regent's Bay in North Greenland by Sir J. Ross in 1818, and are now in the National Museum of Mineralogy.

When one of the Eskimos was interrogated respecting "the iron with which his knife was edged, he told Ross that it was found in the mountain before mentioned (Sowallick); that it was in several large masses, of which one in particular, which was harder than the rest, was a part of the mountain; that the others were in large pieces above ground, and not of so hard a nature; that they cut it off with a hard stone, and then beat it flat into pieces of the size of a sixpence, but of an oval shape[1]."

The Eskimos cut off the iron with stones from the headland of Inwallick. Ross procured one of the stones from them, and it appeared to be basalt[2].

Though Ross made every effort to induce the Eskimos to bring him portions of the iron mass from which they obtained the pieces fitted into their knives, he was obliged by stress of weather to leave before the natives returned. His suspicion that the masses of iron at Sowallick were meteoric was confirmed by the analysis made by Dr Wollaston, who found that this iron contained nickel. But the discovery of telluric iron in considerable quantity in Greenland, makes it almost certain that the Sowallick iron was not meteoric but terrestrial.

In 1870 Nordenskjöld discovered a great quantity of telluric iron at Ovifak on Disco Island off West Greenland. Similar deposits are found at several other spots on the same island and also on the shore of Disco Bay. At Ovifak it is found embedded in basalt in masses, some of which weigh upwards of twenty tons. This iron must have come forth from the earth either in a pure state or, what is more probable, it was reduced in its passage upwards through carbonaceous shales. Unless it be supposed that at the very time that the basalt in which the iron is lodged was flowing out from the volcano, a shower of meteoric stones fell upon it from the sky, a most improbable coincidence, this iron must be held to be telluric and not meteoric[1].

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[1] *A Voyage of Discovery to Baffin's Bay* (1819), p. 114. One of the knives is figured by Ross at p. 102. My illustration is from a photograph taken by Mr Antony Gepp of the Botanical Department. The actual lengths of the knives are 13½ and 12 inches respectively. I am indebted to my friend Mr L. Fletcher, the head of the Mineralogical Department, for making these measurements and procuring me the photograph. The knives are given under the head of Telluric Iron in Mr Fletcher's admirable *Catalogue of the Meteorites* in the National Collection. As a good deal of the iron edging has at one time or another been taken from the knives for the purpose of analysis, I have had the photograph of the knife figured in Ross rectified from Ross's drawing, which shows much more iron.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 112.

The Ovifak "iron varies in character from the exterior or oxidized crust, to that which is compact and malleable."

According to the view of Sir R. S. Ball[2] meteorites are simply masses of iron and other substances discharged in the terrific explosions of primaeval craters, of which the great eruption at Krakatoa in our day enables us to form a faint conception. Earth ejected from her womb these masses with such stupendous velocity that they passed into space, and when after aeons of time they chance to come within the attraction of their ancient mother, they fall upon her broad bosom. This explains the fact that there is no difference between meteoric and telluric iron, both alike are distinguished by containing nickel.

Nor is it only in Greenland that such native iron has been discovered. The native iron found in 1875 at Santa Catarina in Brazil, seems without doubt to be also telluric and not meteoric[3].

It is then probable that man first became acquainted with iron as did the Eskimos, by finding deposits of telluric iron smelted in one of Nature's great furnaces and rendered malleable and thus easily worked.

But it may be objected that, though we have sure instances of telluric iron in the New World, yet nowhere in the Old

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[1] Dana, *Text-book of Mineralogy*, p. 28 (new ed., 1894).

[2] *Starland*, p. 294.

[3] Dana, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

World have we been able to point to a single spot where such native iron is found. The answer to this is simple. Does any one suppose that if the Eskimos had not been visited by whalers from whom they could procure hoop-iron, and had been left to their own devices, they would have sought for iron ore and proceeded to reduce it and thus obtain a supply of the metal, so long as a single scrap of the masses of telluric iron was left? Does any one suppose that primitive man either in Europe or Asia would have acted otherwise under similar conditions? So far from our being surprised at the absence of telluric iron in the Old World, it would be much more astounding if such a deposit as those of Ovifak still remained untouched in any region where man has been a constant denizen for the last two thousand years.

If our argument is sound, mankind could obtain iron in any volcanic region where there happened to be an outcrop of the mineral as at Sowallick and Ovifak. Such conditions can be found in the Alps of Noricum, in the Caucasus and other chains of mountains.

Our next step must be to examine the earliest appearance of iron in Europe, and if possible to ascertain the point or points from which it spread over our continent. If we can discover the centre of diffusion, there still will remain the problem, Whence came to Europe the knowledge of iron, or was it of home growth and not imported?

Once more let us work backward from the known to the unknown.

Iron does not make its appearance in Scandinavia until long after its development in central and southern Europe, nor can its first appearance there even sporadically be placed earlier than 500 B.C. At the same time it is very doubtful if the Iron Age can be really said to have commenced in that region at so early a date[1], for in the time of Tacitus there was a great scarcity of iron among the tribes of east Germany, for he tells us that the Fenni (Finns) used arrowheads of bone owing to the scarcity of iron (*inopia ferri*). It cannot thus be held that the Iron Age of Europe began in the North. Nor again can it be asserted that it was from the eastern side of upper Europe that the metal advanced, for Pausanias[1], writing in the second century of our era, says that the Sarmatians 'neither dig nor import iron,' and that their spears were tipped with bone instead of iron.

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[1] Montelius places the beginning of the Iron Age in Sweden at about 500 B.C. His reason for so doing is that certain round brooches found in Swedish graves "are copies of a kind of brooch, which is often found in Celtic graves of the Hallstatt period. The material of which they are made is certainly of the nature of bronze, but of a different mixture from that usual during the Bronze Age; it contains both lead and zinc, and is therefore

The Iron Age therefore did not originate in the North.

Now wherever iron implements are found in Switzerland, France, Britain, Ireland, and Italy, they may be likewise said to have come in *per saltum*. Thus in the older Lake-dwellings of Switzerland, bronze only is found, but when we come to the now famous settlement of La Tène on the north end of Lake Neuchâtel, we find a culture altogether differing from that in the older habitations. At La Tène there are weapons of iron, articles of ornament of a well-known and definite kind, and in their company, gold coins. There can be little doubt that these coins belonged to the Helvetii. Remains similar to those at La Tène have been found in Gaulish graves in northern France in the valleys of the Marne and the Aube, on the battlefields where Caesar overthrew the Helvetii and their allies the Boii, in Savoy, in the Alpine passes, and in the Po valley[2].

In the museums of Bologna, Este, and Milan are the contents of many warriors' graves, which show unmistakable examples of the characteristic swords and scabbards. There is an agreement amongst scholars that they are the relics of the Celtic tribes who at one time or another occupied all these places.

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properly speaking brass. That they do not belong to the Bronze Age, but to a time when iron was in use, is further proved from the fact that the pins are always of iron" (*The Civilization of Sweden in Heathen Times*, 1888, pp. 91—4). The evidence seems very insufficient, and not to warrant the conclusion. The fact that the brooches on which he relies are made of brass and not bronze at once raises grave doubts as to their age. Brass does not make its appearance in southern Europe until Roman times, and it seems difficult to believe that the Swedes were employing zinc to alloy copper some centuries before the Romans had learned to employ it.

[1] I. 21, 5.

[2] It is probable that the Celts introduced iron into Spain (Diod. Sic. v. 33, 3).

Dr Munro has well remarked: "There are in reality no lake-dwellings of the early Iron Age in Central Europe, showing a Transition period, as we have seen to have been the case between the Stone and Bronze Ages; nor indeed, any which can be said to have a continued sequence to the great system of pile-dwellings which prevailed so extensively in earlier times. No doubt iron shows itself in a few objects characteristic of the Bronze Age, such as a few swords and bracelets encrusted with ornamental bands of this material, but there are no tools or weapons made of iron at all analogous to those which characterize the Bronze Age. No Transition period such as we find in the relics from the graves at Hallstadt, where iron is seen, as it were, competing with bronze. On the contrary, in the Swiss lake-dwellings iron-working appears in a state of great perfection. The few objects found on their sites are mostly of the La Tène type, which we have seen to be entirely different in character, manufacture, and style of ornamentation, from anything known in the previous ages[1]."

There can be no doubt that the Celts of La Tène (p. 410) obtained their iron from the Bernese Jura, on the north-west of Neuchâtel. M. Quiquerez has discovered the sites of more than 400 iron mines and metallurgical works. All the remains are not of the same age, but it is not difficult to separate the earlier from those of a later date. Ten of the sites are those of rude mining excavations to obtain the iron ore, evidently of a very early period, for in them were found tools of flint and jasper only. On twelve of them were *débris* of furnaces associated with stone implements and Gaulish pottery, and thirty-nine others yielded relics all of pre-Roman date[2].

It is a very significant fact that the two chief iron mines in the west of Europe of which notices have been left us, were both in the hands of the Celts.

There was an iron mine of some importance in the territory of the Bituriges, a Celtic tribe in central Gaul, whose memory survives in Berri, and of whose invasion of Italy in the fifth century B.C. we have already spoken (p. 394).

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[1] *Lake-dwellings of Europe*, p. 542.

[2] W. Gowland, "The early Metallurgy of Copper, Tin, and Iron in Europe" (*Archaeologia*, vol. LVI. 316—8).

In Caesar's time the Belgic tribes had already commenced ironworking in Kent, which continued to be the seat of English ironwork until the invention of the blast-furnace and the consequent employment of mineral coal for smelting purposes finally changed the seat of the iron industry from the Weald to the North.

A passage of Herodian[1] renders it probable that the pre-Belgic inhabitants of Britain, such as the natives of the Fens, had but recently learned the use of iron. "Many parts of Britain being constantly flooded by the tides of the Ocean become marshy. In these the natives are accustomed to swim and traverse about immersed to the waist, going almost naked; indeed they know not the use of clothing, but encircle their loins and necks with iron[2], deeming this an ornament, and an evidence of opulence, just as other barbarians esteem gold. They puncture their bodies with pictured forms of every sort of animal, and accordingly wear no clothing, that they may not hide the pictures on their bodies." They were a warlike race, carrying only a small shield, a spear, and a sword girded to their naked bodies, using neither helmet nor breastplate, which they held to be only impediments. This people had been using bronze weapons for many centuries (*cf.* p. 501).

At Aylesford in Kent iron makes its appearance in a 'late Celtic' cemetery in company with pottery of the well-known shapes and decoration, and with gold coins imitated from the Philippus.

Wherever then we see iron weapons appearing in the area just mentioned, that metal is seen supplanting implements of bronze not by a natural process of local evolution, but by a single bound, and further, in every case the Celts are the people who brought it into use.

Again, in the time of Tacitus the only district of eastern Europe which he refers to as yielding iron is that of the Gotini, a Celtic tribe, who dwelt in Transylvania, who, he says, were subjects of the neighbouring tribes to their shame, as they mined iron[1]. To this tribe we may perhaps ascribe the ancient furnace with a block of iron in it, recently found at Gyalar in Transylvania: it is of the same type as the furnaces of the Jura[2]. Thus both to the extreme West and to the East the Celts are the workers of iron.

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[1] III. 82.

[2] These are probably the tribes who according to Caesar used iron rods for money (*B. G.* v. 12, utuntur aut aere aut numo aureo aut *taleis ferris*, etc.).

Now let us turn to the southern peninsulas. There is no reason for believing that in Spain iron was a slow and gradual development from bronze, but on the contrary it seems here as elsewhere to have come in *per saltum*. The same holds true of Italy. In the Terramare culture can be traced the gradual transition from stone to copper and bronze, as in Switzerland, but the Lake-dwellings of the plain of Lombardy yield no traces of iron.

To this succeeds a culture so different that it has been described as following *longo intervallo*.

The remains of this culture ('Villano') extend over the whole of the Po valley and Etruria, especially the neighbourhood of Corneto; in other words it is coextensive with the area which from literary tradition we know to have been occupied by the Umbrians.

Its chief characteristics are the use of iron and the cremation of the dead. Archaeologists are agreed in placing the beginning of the Iron Age in upper Italy at least as early as 1000 B.C., that is about the same time that it appears from the evidence of the Homeric poems in Greece. But the Achean culture differed *toto caelo* from that of the Mycenean Bronze Age. Thus in Italy and Greece as in upper Europe iron appears at a bound.

From what point did iron thus advance to all parts of Europe? Can any spot in Europe be found where the later metal can be seen gradually asserting itself?

First let me point out that it by no means follows that even if the method of employing copper for implements was learned from the south side of the Alps the knowledge of iron came likewise from that quarter. Two obvious cases will suffice. Even if the use of copper and the earliest form of the celt passed upwards from the Aegean, nevertheless the flanged, stopped and socketed celts are all the inventions of the peoples of central Europe. Again, though every one will admit that the art of writing is the gift of the Mediterranean to the North, whether the Runes are derived from Greek directly, or indirectly through Latin, yet the most important of all human inventions—the art of printing—was carried down to Italy by Sweynheim and Pannartz, who in the colophon to their *Lactantius*, the first book printed south of the Alps (1465), set forth their Teutonic nationality with a just patriotism.

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[1] *Germ.* 43.

[2] W. Gowland, *op. cit.*, p. 52, Fig. 25.

But it is even questionable whether the knowledge of copper reached central Europe from the Mediterranean, or from Asia, as is generally held.

Cyprus was the chief source for copper in the Aegean, and from its name are derived the various terms for copper in modern European languages. It has therefore been maintained by some writers that to it the Danubian regions owe their knowledge of that metal[1]. Yet it is significant that the early copper axes of Hungary[2] (Fig. 154) come closer in form to the stone celts than does the earliest form of copper axe yet found in Cyprus or in any other part of the Aegean (Figs. 30—3).

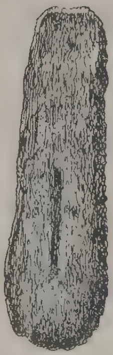

FIG. 154. Copper Celt; Hungary.

On the other hand, certain flat celts found in India, which have been put forward as evidence that the knowledge of copper came from Asia, are found associated with objects of silver, a fact which demonstrates their comparatively late date[3].

Nor can it be maintained that the copper articles found in the Lake-dwellings of central Europe were either imported or made of imported metal, for that eminent archaeologist Dr Much[1] found on the Mitterberg Alp near Bischofshöfen in Salzburg, and within reach of the Lake-dwellers of the Mondsee and Attersee, rude mining excavations and heaps of slag. The occurrence in them of some implements and pottery having close affinity with those found in the pile-dwellings of the Mondsee, proves that the earliest smelting and mining there were conducted by people contemporary with the occupants of the lacustrine habitations of the Mondsee.

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[1] J. L. Myres, *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* XXVII., p. 172.

[2] J. Hampel, *Neuere Studien über die Kupferzeit*, p. 60, Fig. 1 (here reproduced).

[3] Evans, *Bronze Implements*, p. 2.

Hence, as the evidence stands at present, there is nothing to show that central Europe is indebted to Cyprus or Asia for its knowledge of copper.

If such be the case with copper, it is still more questionable whether bronze, the alloy of copper and tin, came into central Europe from the Mediterranean, as has been commonly assumed. Indeed a little consideration of the facts will show that the balance of probabilities points rather the other way.

Bronze does not appear in the Aegean area before the full Mycenean period; for the earlier celts, spears, and daggers, such as those from Cyprus, Amorgus, and elsewhere, seem to be copper and not true bronze.

Moreover, there seems to be no evidence that bronze was used in Egypt before the XVIIIth Dynasty, although objects probably of copper, which belong to earlier epochs, are conventionally spoken of as bronze[2].

As bronze could not have been made without tin, it is possible to narrow down the area within which arose the art of alloying copper with that metal.

In historical times all the tin supply of the Aegean people came from Europe. The Phoenicians in the time of Ezekiel

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[1] *Die Kupferzeit in Europa*, pp. 249—50.

[2] De Morgan (*Recherches*, 1896, p. 209, Figs. 565—6) assigns to XIIth Dynasty a spearhead with a tang, and fitted into the handle like those of flint, and those of copper from Amorgus. This spearhead he calls *bronze*.

From the Middle Empire spears with sockets appear, and bronze lance-heads similar to those of the European Bronze Age.

As the socket arose in central Europe, it is significant to find bronze first appearing in Egypt along with the socket under the XVIIIth Dynasty.

(B.C. 600) imported it from Tartessus (Tarshish) in Spain, that is, from the people of Gades, who in their turn procured it from the Cassiterides, a group of small islands off the north-west coast of Spain. The Gaditani carefully kept secret the position of these islands from the Romans, until P. Crassus, Caesar's lieutenant, crossed over to the islands and examined the mines[1]. Tin was also obtained on the mainland of Spain in the parts lying 'beyond Lusitania.'

There was likewise the tin of Cornwall, which had been worked and exported for a considerable time before the voyage of Pytheas (*circ.* B.C. 350).

But there is a third stanniferous region in Europe, that of Saxony, Bohemia, and Hungary.

Now it is most improbable that the art of making bronze would have been discovered in any region except one in which copper and tin were produced side by side. For it is ridiculous to suppose that some one in Egypt or Phoenicia, wishing to improve the quality of his copper, would have sent to Spain or Cornwall for another metal, in order that he might make experiments in metallurgy.

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[1] Ridgeway, "Greek Trade Routes to Britain" (*Folk-lore Journal*, vol. I.), pp. 10—11. Mr S. Reinach holds that the Cassiterides are the British Isles, and he derives from them the Greek name for tin, "le nom grec de l'étain, κασσίτερος, était celtique et qu'il dérivait du nom des îles Cassiterides (îles Britanniques), comme celui du cuivre de l'île de Chypre et celui du bronze de Brundisium en Italie" (Bertrand and Reinach, *Les Celtes*, p. 35; S. Reinach, *La Gaule avant les Gaulois*, 2e éd. p. 301).

I cannot follow this brilliant suggestion, for (1) Strabo clearly distinguishes between the tin supply from the Cassiterides and that from Britain; (2) to derive κασσίτερος from Κασσιτερίς, a place-name, is not according to Greek analogy, for no one holds that the metal χαλκός, copper, is derived from Χαλκίς, Chalcis in Euboea, or that ἤλεκτρον, amber, is derived from 'Ηλεκτρίς ('Ηλεκτρίδες), the Amber islands in the Northern Ocean, called in Latin *Glaesariae* from *glaesum*, amber. Just as the Electrides got their name from *electron*, so the Cassiterides earned theirs from *kassiteros*, because they produced a metal already known under the name *kassiteros*.

Indeed the fact that the Pseudo-Aristotle (*De Miris Ausc.* 834 A, 6) speaks of the 'Celtic tin' (τὸν κασσίτερον τὸν Κελτικόν) indicates that the Greeks knew of another *kassiteros* before that from Spain or Britain. As the tin supply always came from the west to the Aegean, it is probable that the Greeks knew of tin from the head of the Adriatic, which was in communication, as we have seen, with central Europe from very early times.

Furthermore, it is likely that if the Greeks had got their name for tin from the Cassiterides, the Italians would have done the same. But the Romans in Caesar's time had no name for tin except *plumbum album* (or *candidum*), though afterwards they adopted the Celtic name for it, *stannum* (or *stagnum*), which is seen in the Irish *sdan*, and the Cornish *Stanneries*.

It therefore follows that one of the three tin-bearing districts just enumerated was the mother of bronze.

It can hardly have been Cornwall, for although copper is now found there, yet in Caesar's time the Britons were importing bronze[1].

Again, north-western Spain has plenty of copper, yet it cannot be maintained that the bronze swords of Mycenae, central and northern Europe are derived from any known Spanish types.

Central Europe alone remains, and here the necessary conditions are all fulfilled, for there were copper workings of a very early date in Austria, and tin was also worked at a very early period, for it is far more probable that the pieces of tin found in the pile-dwellings of Switzerland were derived from Germany than from either Spain or Cornwall.

It is therefore not improbable that Nature had brought together copper and tin, and thus presented man with a natural bronze, just as she has supplied him with ready-made brass in India.

We must then not rashly assume that central Europe owed its iron, its cremation, or its fibulae to Greece, any more than it did its round bossed shields and socketed celts.

We saw that in the cemeteries of Halstatt there was evidence of the gradual supersession of bronze by iron, for the same types are found in both metals. This indicates that iron had not been brought in at a single stroke by a new stratum of population, but that its use had been gradually developed on the spot by the same race. When then it is remembered that at Noreia within less than forty miles of Halstatt were the most famous iron mines of the ancient world, we can understand the secret of the irresistible power of the Celts. Here at Noreia was one of the few veins of iron which even in Pliny's time afforded a good steel adapted for the most important purposes. By that time the steel from Asia was imported by the Romans, and Pliny accordingly awards the first prize to the Chinese (Sericum) iron, the second to the Parthian (Parthicum). The superior hardness of the Noric iron made it proverbial among the writers of the Augustan epoch.

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[1] *B. G.* v. 12: aere utuntur importato.

This hardness, as we learn from Pliny[1], was natural and not the result of any art: "in nostro orbe aliubi uena bonitatem hanc praestat ut in Noricis, aliubi factura ut Sulmone." Thus Nature herself had provided at Noreia an iron which required no artificial tempering.

Nature furnished the Eskimos with pig-iron, and they thus without extraneous instruction taught themselves to use the metal. She had certainly provided for the Celts of Noricum a 'vein' of iron which needed no tempering, and it is quite possible that here, as in Greenland, was an outcrop of telluric iron.

Such an outcrop might be found at any spot along the volcanic system of the Alps.

If it is said that no such deposit of iron has been discovered in Noricum in modern times, the answer is that no one can suppose that if the Eskimos had been left quietly to themselves they would have ever dreamed of seeking to obtain iron by smelting so long as a single scrap of the iron of Inwallick and Ovifak was obtainable, and that it is just as unlikely that people in Noricum or anywhere else would have done otherwise.

A striking analogy is presented by the once famous quarry of Barnack in Northamptonshire, which supplied the stone for the great churches over a large area in the east of England. This deposit of fine oolitic limestone was worked out by the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Again, in the bank of the Blackwater near Mallow, Co. Cork, was found a mineral named Cotterite[2]. As soon as attention was called to it, there was a general desire to obtain specimens, and as the deposit proved to be extremely limited, not a single particle can now be obtained on the spot.

[1] *H. N.* xxxiv. 145.

[2] So called after its discoverer, Miss Kate Cotter.

The mass of pig-iron given as a prize by Achilles is termed 'self-smelted' or 'naturally-smelted' (*αὐτοχόωνος*). It therefore must have been either meteoric or some form of terrestrial iron. But as we have seen the strong objection to the prior alternative, the latter holds the field.

Men having once learned the use of iron from having found it ready to hand in a malleable condition, on the failure of that supply would readily seek the metal by reducing less tractable ores.

That Noricum was the seat of iron mining and smelting from a very remote date is demonstrated by the fact that in that region are situated "two of the earliest sites in Europe for the extraction of iron from its ores[1]," both of which are within reach of Hallstatt. One is in Styria on the Mur, the other in Carinthia on the upper Drave. There are also considerable remains of pre-Roman iron-workings at Vordernberg in Styria, as well as at Radmannsdorf in Carniola.

The most important sites in Carinthia are those in the vicinity of Huttenburg, and are indicated by heaps of slag and the *débris* of furnaces, which are without doubt long prior to the Roman conquest.

The earliest furnaces are vertical holes excavated near the face of a steep bank with a lateral hole near their base, to which the wind was admitted by a horizontal channel lined with stone. The blast was obtained from the natural wind alone. Others of a later form consist of a small cylindrical shaft three to four feet high also built in banks of earth, to which an artificial blast was admitted through short clay tubes. The furnaces of this region are similar to those of the Jura and Gyalar.

Northwards there was another seat of the ancient iron industry extending from the lower grounds of Moravia, near Brunn, to the range of hills which separate that country from Bohemia (the land of the Boii).

Thus the earliest remains of iron-working and the earliest form of iron furnace known in Europe are found in the region in which the Celts had long been domiciled at the dawn of history.

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[1] Gowland, *op. cit.*, pp. 49—50; Münichsdörfer, *Der Hüttenberger Erzberg*, p. 10.

When therefore we see that the fair-haired people of central Europe had spread into the lower parts of the continent and into Asia from Noricum (p. 390) and that their fine long swords of iron or steel gave them the same superiority over their antagonists that the modern rifle has over the old musket, and when we further consider that the Acheans of Homer are especially supplied with this metal and that they use long cutting swords, as did the Celts in historical times, the natural inference is that they brought the iron with them.

Whence otherwise could this iron come at a jump into Greece at the same time that the Acheans first appear on the horizon? Some will at once say that Egypt was its source, for the Egyptians have been credited with possessing a knowledge of this metal from 3500 B.C. Lepsius thought that he traced iron under the name of *men* in the oldest Egyptian inscriptions, and that he could recognize it in pictures by its bluish tint as employed in the earliest times for vessels and weapons. But it is admitted by those who believe in its very early use in Egypt that copper was prior to iron, as the word for iron has the sign for copper as its determinative[1]. But the historical and archaeological evidence makes it clear not only that copper long preceded iron in Egypt, but also that the latter came into use in that country at a relatively late period.

Agatharchides[2] states that in his own day (about B.C. 100) in the Egyptian gold-mines, which had been worked under 'the first kings' (though their activity had been suspended both under the Ethiopian domination, and later under the Persian), were found in the workings dug by the former (*i.e.* the old Egyptian kings) chisels made of bronze (λατομίδες χαλκαῖ), "because the use of iron was not yet known at that epoch."

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[1] Lepsius, *Die Metalle in den ägypt. Inschriften*, p. 103; Schrader, *Prehist. Antiq. of Aryans*, pp. 202—3. As iron vessels have come into use only at a late period in all countries, it is not at all likely that the Egyptians would have made iron vessels at a remote period. The vessels which Lepsius took from their colour to be iron, may well be some kind of painted pottery.

[2] Fragm. 29 (*Geographi Minores*, vol. I., p. 128).

Agatharchides' veracity is amply supported by similar discoveries of archaic tools in the workings of ancient mines at various places in modern times.

This has been abundantly confirmed in our own time, for the excavations of Prof. Flinders Petrie have shown that iron only appears in Egypt at a comparatively late date, not much earlier than 800 B.C. Nor can the upholders of the doctrine of Lepsius resort to the explanation that iron above all metals suffers most from the tooth of Time, for there is no reason why in the dry soil of Egypt articles of iron should not have survived perfectly intact, especially in the light of the fact that in central Europe weapons and implements of iron have survived in a fair state of preservation from a date not less than 1000 B.C.

Of the introduction of iron into Egypt so good an authority as Prof. Petrie says, "there is no satisfactory evidence until about 800 B.C. Iron may perhaps have been known as a curiosity, just as one example of bronze occurs two thousand years before it came into actual use; but it had no effect on the arts[1]." Again, the same writer when speaking of the discoveries made at the Greek settlement of Naucratis says, "the most interesting matter was the history of tools, shown by the variety of iron tools; here we meet, for the first time, what may be looked on as practically our modern forms of chisel, etc.; and we see what a debt we owe to European invention, when we compare these with the bronze tools of the Egyptians which preceded them[2]." On the site of Daphnae (Tahpanhes), the other great Greek settlement in Egypt, hundreds of iron arrowheads, bits of iron scale armour, etc. were found[3].

It then appears that Greece is not indebted to Egypt for iron, but on the contrary Egypt only learned the true and full use of iron under European influences.

Egypt does not seem to have ever had much of an iron supply herself, though there seems to have been an iron mine at Hamami between the Nile and the Red Sea, which was worked in antiquity. Her supply therefore was imported, and Assyria seems to have been one of the chief seats from whence she drew it. It was not from the African side, for it seems absolutely certain that the negroes learned to work iron from

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[1] *Ten Years' Digging in Egypt*, p. 152.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 46.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 58.

Egypt, and not the reverse, and it is also clear that she did not learn its use from the Libyans.

This is demonstrated by the fact that the Libyans in Xerxes' host "wore a dress of leather and carried javelins made hard in the fire[1]," whilst the western Ethiopians, from above Egypt, who served in the same army, not only had stone arrow-heads (a thing quite compatible with the use of iron for cutting weapons), but also had lances with heads formed of antelopes' horns sharpened[2].

Nor on the other hand could the Egyptians have got iron from the Indian Ocean, or Persian Gulf. For not only shall we presently see that the coast tribes of Beluchistan had no iron in the time of Alexander, but Procopius[3] (sixth century A.D.), speaking of the Erythrean Sea and the regions on either side of it, tells us that the fashion of building ships without iron was due to the fact that neither the Indians nor Ethiopians possessed iron, nor could they purchase it from the Romans, for this was explicitly forbidden by a law, and death was the penalty for the trader who contravened it.

From this it is plain that even to late times the peoples of those regions, so far from supplying Egypt with iron, had themselves to obtain that metal from their more westerly neighbours.

Let us now turn to Assyria. The earliest reference in the documents of that country as yet known is in the Tel-el-Amarna tablets (*circa* B.C. 1400), where rings of iron covered (plated?) with gold occur. These may be armlets, and their treatment probably shows the value set on iron. Although *iron* is here written with the same ideogram as that of the god Ninip, yet there seems to be no question that iron is meant[4].

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[1] Herod. vii. 71.

[2] *Id.* vii. 67.

[3] *De Bello Persico*, i. 19: *ἀλλ' ὅτι οὔτε σίδηρον οὔτε ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐς τοῦτο ἐπιτηδείων Ἰνδοὶ ἢ Αἰθίοπες ἔχουσιν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ὠνεῖσθαι τούτων τι οἷοί τέ εἰσιν, νόμῳ ἅπασι διαρρήδην ἀπειρημένον. θάνατος γὰρ τῷ ἁλόντι ἡ ζημία ἐστί.*

[4] 'Tel-el-Amarna Tablets,' Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, Bd. v., No. 295; ii. 28, p. 396. *Cf.* H. Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, No. vi., Series i., p. 158 *sq.*

For this reference and the extracts quoted from Assyrian tablets I am indebted to my friend the Rev. C. H. W. Johns, M.A., Queens' Coll., Camb., editor of *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*.

Perhaps these rings were of magnetic iron, and were regarded as possessed of talismanic virtue. At an earlier page (20) we saw that at Mycenae iron first makes its appearance in the form of rings.

In Assyria itself Layard found many remains of iron objects, such as picks, axes, helmets inlaid with copper, and portions of scale armour[1]. On the tablets the earliest mention of iron occurs about B.C. 860.

The earliest ascertained date for the use of iron by the Assyrians is in the reign of Asur-nasir-pal (B.C. 885—860). In his fourth year (B.C. 881) he says that in making an attack on Mount Lara, a district difficult for the evolutions of chariots and troops, he cut a way with axes of iron and picks of bronze (*ina kalabati parzilli, ina aggulli ere*). Iron is *parzillu*, and bronze is *eru*, in Assyrian.

Tiglath Pileser I. (*circa* B.C. 1100) gives a similar account of having to make a road through a difficult country, which was impassable (or difficult for chariots to pass), but he names only *aggulati ere*, *i.e.* 'bronze picks.'

Asur-nasir-pal mentions an iron dagger or sword, but in a passage which does not admit of a certain dating, although of course it must be earlier than B.C. 860.

Whence this iron came, is questionable. It is probable that it came by trade routes, but the tablets do not say so. Asur-nasir-pal mentions it as tribute from the Mesopotamian state Bit-Hallupi on the Chabur; from Bit-Zamani, which lay between Tigris and Euphrates above Diarbekir; and from

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[1] The earliest possible Assyrian mention of iron known is by Tiglath Pileser about B.C. 1300: "Four wild oxen, great and mighty, in the waste land, in the land of Mitauni near by Araziki, which lies before the Hatti-land, I slew with mighty bows (*sukuth parzilli*)." The last two words are taken to mean 'with arrows of iron,' or 'tipped with iron.' It may be that the bows were of iron, but this is very doubtful. The doubt about this passage lies in the fact that *parzillu* is written ideographically, and its ideogram is the same as that of the god Ninip, who was god of war and hunting. Moreover, *sukuthe* is generally used to denote 'property'; so that a very likely rendering would be, "mighty bows, the property (*i.e.* ideal weapons) of Ninip." It is common to find, as a penalty for breach of contract, that the defaulter should dedicate a bow to Ninip. It is therefore quite likely that this is not a case of iron at all (C. H. W. Johns).

Tur-abdue and the land Subria north of it, and also from Carchemish. Later on the Assyrians name iron as tribute from Syria, the Amanus, and often Carchemish. Sargon seems to have been the first who got it from Armenia (*cf.* p. 625) towards the end of the eighth century, B.C. Shalmaneser II. got as much as five thousand talents of iron from Damascus. Thus Damascus had already a reputation for its steel. There was probably a native source in Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. Whether the Hittites of Carchemish supplied it to Asia Minor is uncertain.

As Palestine formed the highway between Assyria and Egypt, and as Syria with its capital Damascus had yielded large supplies of iron to the kings of Assyria in the later days of the Assyrian empire, it is worth while to investigate the evidence for the earliest use of iron in Coele-Syria. Iron is mentioned but four times in the first four books of the Pentateuch.

From the statement in Genesis that Tubal Cain "was an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron," we may perhaps infer that the Hebrews held that the knowledge of bronze had preceded that of iron.

Og, the giant king of Bashan, who fought against Moses and the Israelites, is said to have had a bedstead of iron of nine cubits: "Behold, his bedstead was a bedstead of iron; is it not in Rabbath of the children of Ammon? nine cubits was the length thereof, and four cubits the breadth of it, after the cubit of a man[1]." But as this verse seems to be an archaeological gloss inserted into the recapitulation placed in the mouth of Moses, it would be rash to conclude from it alone that when the Israelites came out of Egypt into Canaan, the people of that land were working iron.

According to the *Book of Joshua* the Canaanites at the time of the invasion of the Israelites had chariots of iron. For "the children of Joseph said, The hill is not enough for us: and all the Canaanites that dwell in the land of the valley have chariots of iron[2]." Again in *Judges* we read that Judah "could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley because they had chariots of iron[1]." Jabin king of Canaan "had nine hundred chariots of iron[2]."

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[1] Deut. iii. 11.

[2] Joshua xvii. 16 and 18.

The mention of the metal of which the chariot fittings were made is an indication that iron was not a usual feature in their construction. The fact that the Canaanites had so marked a superiority in metal over the Israelites when the latter came from Egypt, confirms our belief that iron did not come into use in Egypt until about 800 B.C. At the time of the Exodus the Philistines dwelt on the border of Egypt, and through fear of their prowess Moses led the Israelites by a longer route. This dread was probably due to the fact that the Philistines, like the Canaanites, whom they had previously partially conquered, possessed iron, for which metal the Philistines were noted later on. In the time of David (*circa* B.C. 950) the inhabitants of Palestine are in the full Iron Age, for, as has been already pointed out, Goliath's equipment resembles that of a Homeric warrior, his defensive armour being of bronze, his spear of iron[3].

It is hard to place the beginning of the Iron Age in Coele-Syria before 1300 B.C., especially in view of the facts just quoted regarding the earliest appearance of that metal in Assyria and Egypt.

The Philistines during their domination over Israel are said not to have allowed the Hebrews to use any iron except for agricultural purposes.

If then the appearance of iron for weapons is coeval with that of the Philistines in Palestine, it is worth inquiring whence the latter had come. The Biblical tradition is overwhelming in favour of a land called Caphtor. According to the Targums, Septuagint, the Vulgate, and the ancient commentators followed by Bochart and Gesenius, this is Cappadocia. Nor is this evidence to be set at nought, because in the cuneiform inscriptions a country called Katapatuka has been identified with Cappadocia[4].

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[1] Judges i. 19.

[2] *Ibid.* iv. 3.

[3] Ridgeway, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, 1896, p. 114.

[4] Crete has been regarded by many as Caphtor. In support of this view it is pointed out that the Kretim are in several places identified with the

It is possible that the Philistines had descended from the north of Asia Minor and reached Palestine, as did the Gauls in after time. The fact that they did not circumcise is strong evidence that they were not Hamitic or Semitic. But, as we have seen that the stories in Greece and Italy respecting giants, such as Laestrygones, Cyclopes, and the giants in Thrace and Thessaly (p. 398 *n.*), probably arose from the huge frames of the invaders from central Europe, it may not be too rash to suggest that in the great stature of the Philistine chieftains we have a further indication that that people had come down from the south shores of the Euxine, and possibly from still further north.

It must also be remembered that all the giants of Palestine seem to be of the Philistine race. For though Og king of Bashan was one of the Rephaim, and Goliath was of the Anakim, yet the Philistine giants Ishbi-Benob, Saph, and a third Philistine of great stature slain by David's nephew, are all described as Rephaim.

Nor must the resemblance between the equipment of Goliath and that of the Homeric Achean be overlooked. Of course it will be said that this is merely superficial, as doubtless a similar armature was universal in Egypt and Asia Minor at that epoch. But this is very far from being the case even in the fifth century B.C., as will be plain to any one who will examine the equipment of the contingents furnished by the various nations to the host of Xerxes[1]. It will be found that the helmet, the shirt of mail, and greaves of bronze are but rare features, whilst with but a single exception all the nations of Asia Minor and Africa carried only short spears or javelins, in some cases not even pointed with iron, a fact in strong contrast to the great spear of Goliath, with its staff "like a weaver's beam, and his spear's head weighed six hundred shekels of iron[2]."

Philistines, and that the Krethim, who constituted David's body-guard, may have been formed after the model of the skilled Philistine archers. Tacitus perhaps confounding the Jews with the Philistines says the Jews fled from Crete. Against this it has been urged that Crethi in the Bible hardly means anything else but a Carian. Others take Caphtor to be a part of Egypt, identifying it with Koptos and *-guptos* in *Aiguptos*.

[1] Herod. VII. 61 *sqq.*

[2] 1 Sam. xvii. 5—7.

If this were so in the later period, it holds *a fortiori* for the earlier.

The Philistines appear to have entered Palestine shortly before the Exodus. We may therefore place their coming somewhere in the fourteenth century B.C., a date which coincides with that of the appearance of the Acheans in northern Greece (p. 263). This circumstance coupled with the fact that in both areas iron weapons and a peculiar armature make their appearance along with men of large stature, who in each case according to tradition had come from homes farther north, points to the suggestion that as in later times one body of Celts passed down into Greece, whilst almost contemporaneously others of them crossed into Asia, and advanced even into Syria (p. 385, *cf.* p. 403), so similar parallel movements may have taken place at an earlier period.

A people who had arrived in Syria from the north with a knowledge of iron, would soon discover and work the iron ores of the Lebanon, the forests of which, like those of Noricum and the Weald of Kent, would supply abundant fuel for smelting.

Whence did the supply of iron used in Palestine come in historical times? Ezekiel[1] tells us that Tyre obtained 'bright iron' from the merchants of Dan and Javan (Ionia). Thus, about 600 B.C., one of the chief sources of supply was in upper Asia Minor.

It is certainly interesting to hear of the Phoenicians importing iron from Javan as well as from Dan, for it shows that at all events in the seventh century B.C., so far from the Greeks of Asia Minor and the Islands obtaining supplies of iron from Tyre, on the contrary that great city drew that metal from Greece. But it may be said by those who ascribe the beginnings of all the arts of Europe to the Phoenicians, that this people had originally introduced it into Greece after the Achean conquest. Yet, although there are several early legends connected with the first working and trading in iron, none of these give the slightest colour to the suggestion of a Phoenician source. Thus, though Cadmus is regarded by the Greek traditions as the introducer of the Phoenician letters into Greece, and though the arts of dyeing with purple, and of making glass, are ascribed by the Greeks to Phoenicia, there is no hint that the knowledge of iron came from thence to Greece. Furthermore, although the Homeric poems give us many references to the articles brought by the Phoenician traders, such as the fine fabrics wrought by the Sidonian women, vessels of silver, and necklaces of gold and amber beads, nowhere do we hear of iron as part of their wares. On the contrary when that metal is mentioned as employed in barter, it is the Acheans who give it in exchange for wine, not indeed to Phoenician shipmen (such as those who had brought from Sidon the great silver crater, given by Evenus king of Lemnos to Patroclus as the price of Lycaon, son of Priam)[1], but to traders from Lemnos. But it is highly probable that the Acheans purchased the wares of Sidon with precisely the same kind of objects as those with which they bought wine. From this it is not improbable that already by B.C. 1200 the Phoenicians were importing iron from the Greeks just as they were doing in the days of Ezekiel.

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[1] xxvii. 19.

Though "Cyprus has considerable masses of iron ore of fair quality, and there is evidence that they were discovered and worked as soon as the knowledge of the metal extended[2]," there is no evidence that this was very early. Some iron has been found in tombs containing two scarabs of Amenophis and Taia, and also pottery of Mycenean character[3]. But we have already seen that such isolated scarabs give us no sure date for the tombs and other objects in which, or with which, they are found, and also that the Mycenean pottery appears in Cyprus only at the close of that period, or in other words, after the Achean conquest.

The same holds true for Crete, since Mr A. J. Evans has found at Cnossus no iron objects save one ornamented nail of that metal[4].

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[1] *Il.* XXIII. 70 *sqq.*

[2] J. L. Myres, *Cat. of the Cyprus Museum*, p. 22.

[3] H. B. Walters, *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Bronzes*, p. xx.

[4] I owe this information to the kindness of my friend Mr Evans.

On the other hand Miss Boyd[1], whilst conducting excavations for the American School at Athens, has quite lately discovered at Kavusi a vase of the Dipylon period adorned with human figures and a chariot, and along with it iron swords of the Hallstatt and Glasinatz type, two of which are well preserved, the others being fragmentary. She found iron swords of a similar type in the ruins of a house at Bronta, as well as a portion of a large curved knife, recalling similar knives found at Glasinatz. The sword handles from both Kavusi and Bronta resemble those of Glasinatz more closely than those from Hallstatt itself. Miss Boyd likewise found in a necropolis at Bronta several bowed fibulae resembling types found in north Italy and in the Danubian area, and like several found in Mycenean graves in Salamis (p. 563). These brooches were associated with very late Mycenean pottery.

These most important discoveries render it highly probable that Crete owed its knowledge of iron to Europe, and not to Egypt or Palestine, for who can point to the prototype of the great iron Danubian swords as indigenous in either Asia Minor or Egypt?

Iron must then have either crossed with the Achean settlers from the mainland of Greece, or have come there from the Troad, as is shadowed forth in the legend of the Idaean Dactyli. But, as we shall soon see that the great iron swords were imported into the Troad from Thrace, it follows that iron reached Crete either directly or indirectly from Europe.

Since then in Homeric times it is the Acheans and not the Phoenicians who are the holders of supplies of iron, there is a presumption that the Acheans were not indebted to the people of Coele-Syria for their knowledge of iron.

We may now even go a step further and show that neither had they obtained a knowledge of that metal from upper Asia Minor. In the sixth century B.C. the Chalybes were famous for their iron. Thus Aeschylus not only describes them as

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[1] I must express my deep obligations to Miss Boyd for her kindness in giving me photographs of the objects discovered by her, and for permitting me to make use of her discoveries, still unpublished.

Siderotektones[1], but he also speaks of the sword as "the Chalybian stranger, emigrant from Scythia[2]."

But although the Homeric poems exhibit a wide acquaintance with the various tribes who dwelt along the south of the Euxine, the Chalybes nowhere are mentioned. But, as Alybe is described as 'the mother of silver,' it would be indeed strange that all mention of the famous iron-works of the Chalybes should have been omitted, had they as yet existed. Of course too much stress must not be laid on the *argumentum ex silentio*, but as the tribes enumerated among the allies of Priam extend over the region in which the Chalybes dwelt in later days, there was every reason for mentioning them, if they were already a tribe of any importance. But if their metallurgical skill made them so famous in later days, *à fortiori* it would have made them still more prominent in the infancy of iron.

Two lumps of unwrought iron were found in the Burnt City at Hissarlik. The Dactyli of Ida in the Troad are said to have been the first to work iron. From the Troad they brought their art to Crete. This indicates that the early Greeks thought that the knowledge of iron spread from the north to the south of the Aegean. But it may be said that these Dactyli were Asiatics, and that as they are held to have dwelt near the Hellespont, we have here an indication of how the knowledge of iron reached if not Greece in general, at least the Balkan and Danubian regions. Now if Asia Minor had a knowledge of iron earlier than the lands to the north of the Hellespont, any iron swords in use in the north-west of Asia Minor would probably be described by some epithet derived from some famous seat of iron-working, just as in the time of Aeschylus the best swords were called Chalybian. Fortunately on this point the *Iliad* furnishes us with at least two passages of great importance, both of which have already been cited (p. 445). The Trojan Helenus slew Deipyrus with a large *Thracian* sword, and Achilles also took a handsome *Thracian* sword from Asteropaeus, the chieftain of the Paeonians. So then instead of finding that the Trojans valued especially swords from the Chalybes or some other place in Asia, on the contrary it was evidently from Europe that they obtained the best weapons, and it is still more significant to find that the Thracian swords were in use among the Paeonians, or in other words, in the Danubian region.

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[1] *Pr. Vinc.* 734.

[2] *Sept.* 725, ξένος δὲ κλήρους ἐπινωμᾷ
Χάλυβος Σκυθῶν ἄποικος.

As Damascus, Toledo, and Ferrara sword-blades were made at the places from which they were named, so we may assume that Thracian swords were made in Thrace or came through Thrace into the Asiatic markets. It may then be concluded that the Thracian iron-working is of a date earlier than that of the Chalybes in Asia Minor, and that accordingly the Balkan and Danubian area were not indebted to Asia Minor for the knowledge of iron.

The evidence is in favour of the movement of iron from the Balkan into Asia Minor rather than the other way. The sword of the Trojan Helenus came from Thrace, and axes of a regular Danubian type are found at Troy. There is therefore no reason why the two pieces of unworked iron found in the second or Burnt City should not likewise have come from the same quarter. As the Troad was the landing place in Asia for the tribes who crossed from Europe, it was just the very spot where, if the art of working iron came from Europe, people on the Asiatic side would first learn to work it. The story of the Dactyli is then clear, and the tale of their migration southwards indicates the way in which the use of iron spread in the Aegean. It is quite possible from what we have seen above (p. 388) that the Chalybes, like the Phryges, Cimmerians, and Gauls, were a tribe who had crossed from Europe into Asia Minor in post-Homeric days and had brought with them the art of manufacturing iron[1].

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[1] Aeschylus by the phrase *Χάλυβος Σκυθῶν ἄποικος* seems to have regarded the Chalybes as emigrants from Scythia, which he terms the 'mother of iron' (*σιδηρομήτωρ Pr. V.* 309). This is confirmed by the fact that in *Pr. V.* (730 *sqq.*) he represents the Chalybes as dwelling on the north side of the Euxine in the remote epoch, when Prometheus was bound on the Caucasus. There is thus no need to suppose with all the editors that Aeschylus was utterly ignorant of the geography of the Euxine, a view which led some to change into the absurd

This gains some support from the fact that, whilst all the other peoples of Asia Minor carried short spears or javelins[1], the Chalybes bore spears fifteen cubits long[2]. It will be remembered that the Paeonians carried long spears, probably the prototypes of the Macedonian *sarissa*, that Ajax wielded a pike of great length in the battle at the ships, whilst the large spear was an essential part of the equipment of the warriors of Glasinatz and Hallstatt. The long spear then seems to have belonged to the Danubian region, and its isolated appearance on the south of the Euxine may indicate that the Chalybes had come there from Europe, and had brought with them a full knowledge of iron, which passed with them into Armenia[3] (*cf.* p. 617).

It seems then that Greece did not owe this metal to either Egypt, Phoenicia, or Asia Minor. Could its knowledge have passed into the Balkan from Scythia? It is not in itself probable that the children of the treeless steppes would have learned to work iron at an early date, for the scarcity of fuel already mentioned (p. 523) would have been a great hindrance to the smelting of iron ore. There is no evidence that the tribes of southern Russia possessed a knowledge of iron at a very early period. On the contrary the facts show quite the reverse to have been the case. The Scythians had been driven from their homes east of the Caspian by the Massagetae (p. 402). If they had a full knowledge of iron in that region before they advanced upon the Cimmerians, it would be strange if the Massagetae did not possess iron weapons at a later date. Yet this is proved to be the case, for Herodotus says that "in their dress and mode of living the Massagetae resemble the Scythians. They fight both on horseback and on foot, neither method is strange to them: they use bows and lances, but their favourite weapon is the battle-axe (*σάγαρις*[4]). Their

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Ἀβαρίας, the Ἀραβίας (*Pr. V.* 427), which I have shown to be perfectly correct (*Camb. Phil. Trans.*, vol. II. p. 179).

[1] Herod. VII. 61—80.

[2] Xen. *Anab.* IV. 7, 16.

[3] The Chalybes held part of Lesser Armenia until deprived of it by the Armenians (Strabo, 527).

[4] The *sagaris* was most probably an axe of some kind, for Herodotus (VII. 64) speaks of *ἀξίνας σαγάρις*. It cannot be the same as the *acinaces*, which H. (IV. 70) regards as a separate weapon.

arms are all either of gold or bronze. For their spear-points, and arrowheads, and for their battle-axes, they make use of bronze; for head-gear, belts, and girdles, of gold. So too with the caparisons of their horses; they give them breastplates of bronze, but employ gold about the reins, the bit and the cheek-plates. They use neither iron nor silver, having none in their country; but they have bronze (copper) and gold in abundance[1]."

The Scythians must have experienced the same want of iron in that country before their expulsion by the Massagetae, and accordingly it may be assumed that they were using only bronze until they invaded the land of the Cimmerians in the seventh century B.C. (p. 387).

This is fully confirmed by the fact that the swords found in Scythian tombs are usually of bronze, though the sword in the great tomb at Kertch was of iron[2]. The fact that the Scythians worshipped as their war-god an old iron *acinaces*[3] does not at all indicate that they had been employing iron for a very long time, although it is quite true that iron was long excluded from sacred uses by the Romans (who compelled the Flamen Dialis to shave with a bronze razor), and by the oldest stratum of the population of Greece, whose superstitions are preserved by Hesiod[4]. But as the iron weapon was much the best instrument for war, the Scythians on learning to use iron would have had no hesitation in worshipping an iron sword as the embodiment of the spirit of slaughter, although for other sacred purposes they would have avoided it just as much as other peoples.

As the Scythians then were using bronze swords in the seventh century B.C., the iron swords of Hallstatt and Glasinatz cannot have been derived from the short straight *acinaces*.

Nor indeed can it be shown that the knowledge of iron at an early date was spread over western Asia, though from the fact that several Iranian tribes (Beluchi, Afghan, Pamir, Kurd, and Ossete) have a common name for the metal, Schrader[5]

[1] Herod. I. 215.

[2] The fact that the Scythians used bronze arrowheads (proved by Herod. IV. 81 and numerous specimens from tombs) shows that copper was far more plentiful with them than iron.

[3] Herod. IV. 62.

[4] *Works*, 741. Pythagoras forbade the poking of the fire with iron.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 203.

infers that these peoples had long been acquainted with it. But there is very distinct evidence that down to the time of Alexander the coast tribes of Beluchistan not only were ignorant of it, but even of bronze. For in his account of the voyage of Nearchus Arrian tells us that, when the Greeks attempted to land at the mouth of the river Tomerus (the modern *Muklow* or *Hingul*) in the land of the Oreitae, the natives "carried stout lances about six cubits long, not pointed with iron, but with sharpened ends hardened in the fire. These men had hairy bodies and long nails like beasts, which they used instead of iron to split their fish and the softer kinds of wood. Everything else they cut with sharp stones, for they had no iron. For clothing they wore skins[1]."

Such a case is sufficient to make us hesitate to accept Schrader's view that because "the Semitic languages possess a common expression for iron, they had a primeval acquaintance with this metal[2]."

But, as the Hebrew *barzel*, Syriac *parzela*, Assyrian *parzillu*, and Arabic *firzil* ('iron point') show not the ordinary Semitic triliteral, but a quadriliteral root, the original seems to have been borrowed from a non-Semitic people, perhaps at no very remote period[3].

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[1] *Indica*, 24: *τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τοῖσι λίθοισι τοῖσιν ὀξέσιν ἔκοπτον· σίδηρος γὰρ αὐτοῖσιν οὐκ ἦν.*

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 202. I have shown elsewhere (*Metallic Currency*, p. 60) in treating of gold the futility of any historical arguments based on 'Linguistic Palaeontology.'

[3] My friend Mr F. C. Burkitt, the distinguished Orientalist, has kindly given me the following valuable note on these Semitic words.

"The only word for *iron* which appears in more than one Semitic language, and so might have a *prima facie* claim to being a native word, is the word which appears as *parzillu* in Assyrian, *parzĕlâ* in Aramaic, *barzel* in Hebrew. But the word can hardly be native in any one of the three languages. (i) It cannot be referred to any triliteral root, nor is there any verb in either language connected with it. (ii) *parzĕlâ* (in some dialects *purzĕlâ*, but always with one *l*) is not quite the regular equivalent for Assyrian *parzillu*. We should expect *parzillâ* on the analogy of *pĕrakkâ* (ܦܪܟܐ), or *pĕrazzĕlâ* on the analogy of ʿ*eqarrĕbâ* (ܥܩܪܒܐ) for common Semitic *aqrab*. (iii) The Hebrew *barzel* has indeed the doubled *l*, as is seen from the name *Barzillai* the Gileadite (2 Sam. xix. 31 ff.), but the change of initial *p* into *b* is quite irregular in true

We have already seen that the Sarmatae were very badly off for iron even as late as the second century A.D. It is plain then that Scythia no more than Asia Minor or Egypt taught the use of iron to central Europe, Greece and Italy.

It is therefore probable that iron entered Greece from central Europe, and therefore, as it appears along with the Acheans in Homer, it follows that the Acheans had come from central Europe.

This probability would be confirmed, if it could be shown that the Greeks had any tradition that iron had come with a fair-haired people.

Hesiod, the Boeotian poet, who cannot have lived later than the seventh century B.C., after describing the Golden, Silver and Bronze Ages depicts the men of the Iron Age, in which he himself was living. The iron in truth had entered into his soul, for he imputes to them every form of lawlessness and iniquity. He adds that their children are born with white hair:

εὖτ᾽ ἂν γεινόμενοι πολιοκρόταφοι τελέθωσιν[1].

Goettling[2] long ago suggested that this was some sort of oracular utterance referring to fair-haired invaders of some Teutonic stock.

Now Diodorus Siculus in his valuable account of the peoples of upper Europe from the Pyrenees to Scythia, already quoted (p. 369), tells us that among all the tribes occupying the region between the Northern Ocean, the Hercynian mountains, and as far as Scythia, the women were as tall as the men and their rivals in courage. But moreover the children from their birth are as a rule white-haired (*πολιά*),

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Semitic words. On the other hand the Assyrio-Babylonian word may be read either *parzillu*(*m*) or *barzillu*(*m*).

"On purely philological grounds therefore there are strong reasons for considering this term for *iron* to be a loan-word in Hebrew and Aramaic from Assyrio-Babylonian, and it may be suspected of being a loan-word in Assyrian from some non-Semitic language. The *u* in the Assyrian and the *â* in Syriac at the end of the word are grammatical forms derived from old case-endings, and no part of the root."

[1] *Works*, 181.

[2] *Ad loc.*

but as they grow older they change to their fathers' complexion[1].

Yet it may be objected that there is not the slightest evidence that there were any xanthochrous people in Boeotia in the time of Hesiod or at any time before or after his date. But we have the witness of one of the valuable fragments which pass under the name of Dicaearchus the Messenian to show that in at least one place in Boeotia, and that too the city which had long been the dominant power in that country, there was a large fair-haired element in the population at a date posterior to 164 B.C. He says that the Theban women "are the *tallest*, prettiest, and most graceful in all Greece. Their faces are muffled up so that only the eyes are seen. All of them dress in white, and wear low purple shoes laced so as to show their bare feet. Their *yellow* (ξανθόν) hair is tied up in a knot on the top of their head. In society their manners are Sicyonian rather than Boeotian. They have pleasing voices, while the voices of the men are harsh and deep[2]."

We are now sure that the Thebans, who were the master race of Boeotia, were fair-haired[3]. If this was their physical distinction in the fourth and fifth centuries B.C., we may assume that such was it also in the days of Hesiod, unless it can be shown that in the interval there had been a resettling of Thebes by a fair-haired people. But we know from Thucydides that the last large settlement of Boeotia had taken place when those who were in his day called Boeotians were driven out of Arne in Thessaly by the invasion of the Illyrian tribe of Thessalians. The new settlers in Boeotia were therefore part of the Achaeans of Phthiotis, and we need not then be surprised to find fair hair still a characteristic of their descendants at Thebes.

The description given by the Pseudo-Dicaearchus of the Theban men tallies with the words in which Hesiod refers to the men of the Iron Age, among whom it was his lot to live. The former says the Thebans "are high-spirited and wonderfully sanguine, but rash, insolent and overbearing, ready to come to blows with any man, be he citizen or stranger. As for justice they set their face against it. Business disputes are settled not by reason but by fisticuffs, and the methods of the prize-ring are transferred to courts of justice." These characteristics are in notable contrast to the description given by the same writer of the people of Tanagra, quiet industrious agriculturists like Hesiod himself. "The people are well-to-do, but simple in their way of life. All are farmers, not artisans. They practise justice, good faith, and hospitality."

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[1] v. 32, 2: τὰ δὲ παιδία παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐκ γενετῆς ὑπάρχει πολιὰ κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον· προβαίνοντα δὲ ταῖς ἡλικίαις εἰς τὸ τῶν πατέρων χρῶμα ταῖς χρόαις μετασχηματίζεται.

[2] *Geogr. Minores*, I. p. 103; *Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, II. p. 258 *sq*. (Frazer's trans.).

[3] It is doubtless in allusion to this well-known feature of the Theban women that Harmonia, daughter of Thracian Ares, is represented as fair-haired (ξανθός) by Euripides (*Med.* 834).

It is probable that the emigrants from Thessaly found Thebes in the possession of the Cadmeans. On a later page some reasons will be given for the belief that the Cadmeans had come down from Thrace, and it is quite possible that to their blood may be due some of the light-haired people of Thebes.

We have now examined the evidence derived from the round shield, the practice of cremation, the brooch, and the use of iron. All have descended into Greece from central Europe; but as they all appear in Greece along with the Acheans, it follows that the fair-haired Acheans had come from that region, the home of the xanthochrous races.

Now the art of making bronze passed south from central Europe; the stages in the evolution of the flat into the socketed celt, which are absent in the Aegean, are palpable in central Europe; the bronze swords of Mycenae show a great advance upon the daggers of the Island culture (p. 50), and the legends of Perseus and Heracles point to intercourse in the Bronze Age between Greece and central Europe. But as the bronze swords found at Mycenae and in Egypt closely resemble types of upper Europe, and as such swords are extremely rare in Egypt and rare in Greece as compared with central and northern Europe, it would seem that towards the close of the Bronze Age and before the Achean conquest swords and socketed spears had made their way from central Europe into Greece and the Aegean rather than from Greece into central Europe, as is commonly held.

CHAPTER X.[1]

THE HOMERIC DIALECT.

Οὗτοι Αἰολιστὶ διελέχθησαν.

Strabo, 334.

In an investigation which is so closely connected with the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the chief sources from which we have obtained both our knowledge of the Acheans and their culture, and also many glimpses of an older age, which are invaluable to the historical inquirer, it is necessary to deal in some measure with the origin of the two great epics.

It has recently been held somewhat unreasonably that these poems are in every way Achean, that is, the work of an Achean poet, and composed in the Achean language, which is held to be identical with Aeolic. Next, there is the question whether these poems were composed on the mainland of Greece or on the west coast of Asia Minor.

These are the two main questions with which we shall concern ourselves in the present chapter.

The controversies touching the structure of the poems, which have raged incessantly ever since the publication of Wolf's *Prolegomena* in 1788, do not come within the scope of this work. It is undoubtedly of great literary interest to debate whether the *Iliad* is made up of 17 separate poems, or of an original nucleus called the Wrath of Achilles subsequently expanded either by the poet who made this Achilleid, or by some other long-forgotten troubadour, or by the author of the

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[1] The doctrine concerning the Pelasgian language maintained in this chapter was put forward in my paper "What People made the Objects called Mycenean?" (*Jour. Hell. Stud.*, vol. xvi. (1896), p. 119.)

Odyssey, who, according to Sir W. Geddes, reveals himself by his love for the dog in preference to the horse; or whether there is a threefold stratification consisting of the Wrath of Achilles, the parts which describe the exploits of minor heroes, such as Diomede, and thirdly such portions as the Shield of Achilles and the Catalogue of the Ships, a view very prevalent at the present day. Critics of this school form an ideal of the poet of the original kernel. They picture him to themselves as incapable of writing a single line which is not of the highest order according to their own notions of perfection. Any passages which do not attain to this standard and do not deal directly with the subject of the original Menis, at once come under their ban. And yet all agree that some of the noblest poetry in the *Iliad* is in the so-called later portions of the poem.

The chief characteristics of these critics are a want of literary appreciation and inability to project themselves into the past and place themselves at the standpoint of men who lived under conditions far removed from our own. Thus Dr Leaf stigmatizes as an interpolation "the long didactic speech of Nestor to Antilochus (XXIII. 303—350). The unskilful manner in which this is thrust into the list of competitors is obvious. It is full of difficulties and obscurities of the most unepic sort; it bears no relation to the subsequent incidents of the race, and is quite of the stamp of the other didactic prosings put into Nestor's mouth, always with unfortunate results to the context."

Let us suppose all Nestor's 'didactic prosings' removed, and the immortal picture of the garrulous old man, the *laudator temporis acti se puero*, is gone. We should only know that Nestor was the chief of the Pylians, and one of the most striking pieces of ἦθος in all literature is swept from us[1].

It is obvious then that *a priori* arguments against the unity of the poems which are based on the critics' ideal of what an epic ought to be can have very little weight with any one who believes as I still venture to do that none but a third-rate poet would have made Nestor speak like a man in the prime of life.

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[1] W. Ridgeway, *Class. Rev.* 1890, p. 20 (Rev. of Leaf's *Iliad*, vol. II.).

The Catalogue of the Ships is branded as one of the latest additions to the *Iliad*. Yet if it be taken away from the poem, the long series of incidents which take place in the *Iliad* would be in many cases unintelligible. In a work which narrates any great war it is necessary to enumerate the various peoples and forces who took part in its operations. Thus Herodotus at an early stage of his great prose epic of the Persian invasion recounts all the nations who marched with Xerxes into Greece, and when the Greek forces assemble to oppose the Persians he likewise enumerates the various communities, and the forces supplied by each. Again, Thucydides, at an early stage in his narrative, sets forth all the allies, and the numbers arrayed on either side.

The two great historians by their preliminary enumeration of the combatants made the subsequent events clear to the reader. The same principle is equally essential for a narrative in verse. If the Catalogue was a later addition, all we can say is that if it did not stand in the original *Iliad*, it was a great defect, and posterity has every reason to be grateful to the clever hand who by its insertion gave unity to the poem and precision to the narrative as a whole, and left us a complete picture of the opposing hosts.

If, then, after all these controversies the critics[1] themselves admit that the later portions of the *Iliad* contain poetry not inferior to the older portions, and also that after all the rigid scrutiny applied to the *Iliad* by the philologists, the latter (like the archaeologists) have failed to show us any distinct stratification of language, these theorizings about the *Iliad* are equally futile for literature, linguistic, and history.

The *Odyssey* has likewise been placed on the dissecting table, and the microscope of the critic has detected certain sutures, which are thought to indicate that it, like the *Iliad* (say they), is really not a single work, but rather a conglomerate.

Though the older scholars saw in the *Iliad* a composite work, nevertheless Wolf and Grote were full of admiration for the unity of the *Odyssey*. It was left for the modern German critics to brand the latter as the clumsy compilation of a second-rate poetaster. Kirchhoff, Niese, and Wilamowitz von Moellendorff, have all dissected it into what they conceive to be its components, but the views of these critics are in a great degree mutually destructive.

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[1] Leaf, Homer, *Iliad*, Bks. I.—XII. (Leaf and Bayfield, p. xx.).

Thus Kirchhoff thinks the *Odyssey*, as we have it, is not the creation of a single poet, nor a collection of ancient independent lays belonging to different periods, and the work of divers authors, but the deliberate and systematic expansion at a relatively late period of an old and originally single 'kernel.' This 'old redaction,' as he calls it, was the form in which the *Odyssey* was known until the thirtieth Olympiad, and even partly to the middle of the sixth century B.C. The kernel however was not single, but in its turn was made up of an older and a later part. The latter is a composition of different ages and different poets, and probably its elements were originally composed in various districts of the coast of Asia Minor before 776 B.C. The older part is simple in itself and defies further analysis.

Niese thinks that the episode of the Cows of Helios was part of the original kernel, whilst Kirchhoff regards it as an interpolation. Wilamowitz von Moellendorff holds that the present *Odyssey*, as we know it, is the production of 'a slenderly gifted botcher' who lived in continental Greece about the second half of the seventh century B.C., and his work is later than Hesiod[1]. The compiler is responsible for about one-sixth of the *Odyssey* (including some of its most beautiful passages). He is supposed to have used three epics in his compilation, which were themselves already rather mixed. The latest is supposed to have been made in Greece, and not to be much earlier than the general compilation. This contains the recognition of Odysseus by Penelope, but this the critic thinks must have been borrowed from another more ancient source. The other two epics used by the compiler are older than the last mentioned, but not earlier than the eighth century B.C., and are supposed to have been composed in Ionia. On the other hand, Kirchhoff considers that the latest portion of the old epics is not later than 776 B.C.

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[1] *Homerische Untersuchungen*, p. 228.

Mr Andrew Lang[1] has dealt admirably from the literary point of view with the microscopic critics of both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. It is therefore unnecessary to do more than to point out that if the same methods were applied to Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and Scott's *Antiquary* and *Pirate*, it could be shown that the *Paradise Lost* grew out of an original epic which had Satan for its hero, and that in both the *Antiquary* and the *Pirate* the hands of at least two authors can be detected.

No doubt scholars will always continue this discussion, and, like the devils who sat on Milton's Specular Mount, will find "no end in wand'ring mazes lost." The problem can never be settled, for the arguments are all based on subjective impressions, and the prudent grow more and more distrustful of data of that class.

Five regions compete for the honour of being the birthplace of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and each still finds scholars to champion its cause. Thessaly, Boeotia, Peloponessus, Aeolis, and Ionia, are the claimants. For the present inquiry it is necessary to briefly examine the question. Though Ionia has been the general favourite, owing chiefly to the fact that the poems were handed down by the Ionic rhapsodists and also to the fact that Ionia was the birthplace of the new literature, nevertheless the arguments against it are weighty. The claim of Aeolis is in many respects similar to that of Ionia, and it may be advisable to treat them together. Thus any argument which may be fatal to an Asiatic origin for the poems makes equally against both Aeolis and Ionia. Both regions are believed to have been colonised from the mainland of Hellas. The current view is that at the time of the Dorian invasion the Acheans of Thessaly sought out new homes on the north coast of Asia Minor, and that the Ionians who had dwelt in Achaia in a like fashion colonised the coast south of the colonists from Thessaly. In each case the claimants come from Hellas Proper. Mr D. B. Monro has pointed out long since[2] that in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* there is not a single allusion to any Greek colony on the coast of Asia. Thus in the Catalogue of Ships, held by the critics to be the latest part of the *Iliad*, Miletus, the queen of Ionia, is described as "a city of the barbarous-speaking Carians." This argument has never been effectively answered.

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[1] *Homer and The Epic* (1893).

[2] *Historical Review*, No. I. 1886.

On the other hand, when we contrast this complete absence from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of all reference to the Greek colonies in Asia Minor with the so-called Homeric hymns, we at once are struck by the difference of local colour, for in the latter there are abundant allusions to the Asiatic coast and the Greek settlements. For example in the hymn to the Delian Apollo there is a long enumeration of the seats where that deity was revered by the Iones and their chaste wives; among these are Lemnos, Lesbos, Samos, and Miletus. Again, in the hymn to Artemis that goddess is invoked to come from the Meles, the river close by Smyrna. Once more, in the beautiful hymn to Demeter, the scene of the Rape of Persephone, as she culled flowers with the daughters of Oceanus, is not laid in the fields of Enna in Sicily, but away in Mysia in Asia. These instances will suffice to show how impossible it was for the rhapsodist, who either dwelt in Ionia, or had a full knowledge of the topography of that region, to keep his poems free from local and legendary allusions connected with his own surroundings or which came within his knowledge.

It seems incredible that a poet or poets could compose two great epics on the soil of Asia, which are absolutely free from all local colour.

The poems contain certain discrepancies and inconsistencies, on which the critics base their case. But, if the redactor or redactors had not sufficient skill to conceal the sutures and joinings in their compilations, it would seem most unlikely that such clumsy patchers should have succeeded in completely eliminating all traces of an Asiatic environment.

There is another criterion which we may employ as an aid towards deciding the question of birthplace. If the poems were composed in Ionia, we might naturally expect that whenever the poet or poets alluded to the past such references would be to tales in which heroes like Heracles were connected with Asia Minor. If, on the other hand, we find on examination that the references to an older time are to heroes and heroines who dwelt on the mainland of Greece, we may reasonably infer that the poems are part of a literature that grew up in that area.

The same inquiry will also help us to decide whether this ancient literature was the outcome of Achean or Pelasgian. For in our enumeration of allusions to an earlier epoch we can ascertain at the same time whether (1) the personage referred to was Achean or Pelasgian, and (2) whether he or she lived in Asia or in Greece.

In the background of Homer we hear of Castor and Pollux, of whose nationality there is no doubt. For on that memorable day, when Helen looked upon the Achean host from the wall of Troy, her eye searched in vain for her twin brethren, for already the life-giving earth had clasped them to her breast in their native Lacedaemon. They are therefore not Ionian, neither are they Achean, for we have already seen that Tyndareus is one of the older race (p. 110).

Heracles we hear of as the father of Tlepolemus, who led a colony to Rhodes. But there is no allusion to any myth that connects Heracles with Asia. We have also seen that he is not Achean (p. 108). Tydeus, the father of Diomede, is referred to, but he is entirely connected with the mainland of Greece and not with Ionia. Tydeus is an Achean, who became possessed of Argos by marrying the daughter of Amphiaraus, the last king of the old race. The leading part played by Diomede in a portion of the *Iliad* named after him has led critics to regard it as a later stratum. But are there any reasons why the deeds of this hero or his father should be especially taken as a theme for song by an Asiatic rhapsodist? There was no legend that Diomede or his posterity had settled in Asia. On the contrary the story of his finding a new home at the head of the Adriatic was very famous. The probabilities then are all in favour of a western rather than of an eastern origin for the poem in which are enshrined the exploits of two heroes whose praise was in Argolis and western Greece. With the story of Proetus, Stheneboea, and Bellerophon we have fully dealt (p. 98). They are most certainly Pelasgian and have no connection with Ionia. For though the story has an Asiatic side, it is to a connection with Lycia and not with Ionia that it points. Perseus, Oedipous, Amphion, and Zethus, the builders of Thebes, Tithonus, of whom the Dawn became enamoured, Iasion, the beloved of Demeter, are all heroes of Greece Proper, and are all non-Achean. The story of the Argo has been sufficiently treated (p. 168); it is non-Ionian and non-Achean.

But, besides the legends of former generations which still vibrate in the poems, there is another means of testing the land in which they arose.

The Homeric *Nekuia* gives us a glimpse into the realms of Hades and dread Persephone, where after death still existed "the shades of those who have finished their labours." As soon as man conceives of a separate abode for the spirits of the departed, either such as that shown in the *Odyssey*, a place set apart at the world's end, yet which may be reached by the living in ships down Ocean's stream, or be it a well-defined abode of the dead beneath the earth, such as the Avernal region of Virgil, or the more highly elaborated Inferno of Dante, the poet always peoples the unseen land with persons of whom he has had knowledge either personally or by hearsay, and consequently a certain number of these will be the spirits of his own race and country.

Thus Dante sets in his Inferno, in addition to famous traditional criminals and heretics (such as Mahomet), many persons of his own country and age rendered notorious by their crimes—infamous popes and cardinals, and Francesca da Rimini, whom he had himself known in her days of innocence. Again, Virgil shows us Cato like another Rhadamanthus in the seat of judgment. If the inevitable tendency, even in an advanced age, is such, *a fortiori* the poet of more primitive times will people his Silent Land with the shadowy forms of persons of his own race and country, be they famous heroes and heroines or great criminals.

With this principle before us, let us turn to the Homeric abode of the Dead. Odysseus desirous to consult the shade of Teiresias, as he had been instructed by Circe, slew a ram, and let his blood flow into a *bothros*. Soon came in troops the ghostly shapes, eager to taste the newshed blood, brides and youths unwed and old men of many and evil days, tender maidens with grief yet fresh at heart, and many there were wounded with bronze-shod spears, men slain in fight with their bloody mail about them. The list of those who of all this unnumbered throng are mentioned by name is not a long one. A brief analysis of these names will not be without value. They fall into four classes: his own friends and contemporaries, the heroines of old times, the heroes, and the great sinners of an elder age.

First came the soul of Elpenor, his hapless comrade. Then saw he next his mother Anticleia. Anon came the soul of Theban Teiresias, to converse with whom had he journeyed to that drear land. Then came all that had been the wives and daughters of mighty men.

These are fifteen in number[1]: Tyro, daughter of Salmoneus and wife of Cretheus, who bore to Poseidon Pelias and Neleus; Antiope, daughter of Asopus, who bare to Zeus Amphion and Zethus, the first who founded Thebes; Alcmene; Megara, daughter of Creon and wife of Heracles; Epicaste, mother of Oedipodes; Chloris, daughter of Amphion, son of Iasus, who once "ruled mightily in Minyan Orchomenus"; Pero, daughter of Chloris and Neleus; Leda, wife of Tyndareus; Iphimedeia, wife of Aloeus, who said that she bare Otus and Ephialtes to Poseidon; Phaedra, Procris, Ariadne, Maera, Clymene; Eriphyle, wife of Amphiaraus.

It has been pointed out that if we omit *vv.* 341—5, "all the characters are taken from legends of the Minyans and Thebans, seeming thus to point to a Boeotian origin of the passage[2]." Others regard the whole of the Nekyia as Boeotian in origin, and the *Eoeae* of Hesiod has been cited to show the fondness of the Boeotians for such catalogues of women. But this list cannot be regarded as strictly confined to even Thessaly and Boeotia unless we strike out Phaedra, Procris, and Ariadne, and even then Leda herself remains, for whose expulsion from the roll of fair women there is no shadow of pretext. The result then of this examination is to show that the list is composed of women from Thessaly, Boeotia, Peloponnesus, and Crete, all great centres of the Mycenean culture and the Pelasgian race, but not one is from Asia or the islands bordering thereon.

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[1] *Od.* XI. 225 *sqq.*

[2] Merry, *ad Od.* XI. 225.

Then saw he the souls of his comrades who had fought with him at Troy: Agamemnon, and with him the "ghosts of those who had died with him in the house of Aegisthus"; Achilles, Patroclus, Antilochus, and the Telamonian Ajax.

But besides his own contemporaries he saw heroes of an elder age: Minos, "wielding a golden sceptre, giving sentence from his throne to the dead, while they sat and stood around the prince, asking his dooms." Next he saw "the Mighty Orion driving the wild beasts together over the asphodel meadow, the very beasts that he himself had slain on the lonely hills with a strong mace all of bronze in his hands, that is ever unbroken"; Heracles also, and Teiresias, as already mentioned.

Minos and Heracles were not Asiatic; they belong to the great Pelasgian dynasties. Indeed Heracles in Hades wears the equipment of a chieftain of the pre-Achean days: he carries not the long spear of the Achean warrior, but, like the king buried in one of the shaft-graves of Mycenae, the bow is his weapon, for even his phantom "ever holds his bow uncased with shaft upon the string, like one in act to shoot." "About his breast was an awful belt, a baldric of gold, whereon wondrous things were wrought, bears and wild boars, and lions with flashing eyes." In the ornament of this baldric we plainly recognize the gold work of the Mycenean age. Nor is Orion Asiatic, for he, the beloved of Eos, was slain in Ortygia by Artemis. Teiresias is both Boeotian and pre-Achean.

As the hunter pursues in the ghostly world the venery that he loved in life, and as Heracles still ever bends his bow, so Minos is represented giving judgments from his throne, as perhaps in his life he had dealt forth dooms from the great throne lately brought to light by Mr A. J. Evans, in the hall of the palace at Cnossus.

There are now only left the arch-sinners, Tityus, Tantalus, and Sisyphus.

Tityus and Sisyphus are closely connected with central Greece and are therefore not Asiatic.

The first of the criminals is no human malefactor, but one of the giant brood, the primal fruit of Earth's young womb; he suffered for the deed of shame that he wrought on Leto "as she went up to Pytho through the fair lawns of Panopeus."

This myth then, so far from being Asiatic, is attached to Pytho, which, as we have seen, was an immemorial Pelasgian fane.

Sisyphus was king of Corinth and grandfather of Bellerophon, whose Pelasgian pedigree has been already proved. This legend then has no connection with either the Aeolid or Ionia.

Tantalus alone of all the heroes and miscreants is Asiatic. But as he was the father of Pelops, the leader of the Acheans into Peloponnesus, his appearance in the list does not prove that the poem was composed in Asia Minor. It, however, does show that where the poet was acquainted with Asiatic legends, he had no hesitation in employing them, and therefore, since he inserts the father of the conqueror of Peloponnesus, he would have probably mentioned many more personages known in Asiatic legends had he been living in Ionia or the Aeolid.

Finally, it may be noticed that Theseus and Peirithous, whom Odysseus longed to see, though his wish was not accomplished, were both Pelasgian and also not Asiatic.

The great majority therefore of the personages beheld by Odysseus belong to the older race, whilst to them is added a small band of Achean chiefs.

As the Acheans had introduced new forms of dress, weapons, and armour, as well as the custom of cremation, a practice which long struggled for the mastery with the indigenous method of disposing of the dead, we may naturally expect to find blended or in juxtaposition two different conceptions regarding the abode of the dead. Such a blending can be seen in the Nekyia, for although the ideas of the conqueror regarding the destiny of the soul are dominant, yet there is at least one trace of the doctrine of the older race. Thus though, as we have seen, the souls of the dead, when the bodies are burnt, pass away not beneath the earth, but into a distant land on the Ocean stream, where the heroes, like the followers of Odin, pursue the avocations which they had loved in life, on the other hand, Odysseus by the advice of Circe dug a *bothros*, over which he cut the throat of a ram, to elicit the shades, who, on drinking the fresh blood, recover for a brief season their mental activity and power of speech. In this we see a survival of the doctrine of the indigenous race, who held that by pouring offerings of blood into the *bothros* in or close by the hero's grave, his vitality could be continued or at least resuscitated.

Such a blending of religious ideas is but the natural concomitant of the intermixture of two different races and cultures.

The result then of our last inquiry confirms the conclusion previously warranted by the Catalogue of Fair Women, and the other indications that in the background of the poems was a rich store of myth and saga enshrining tales of Titanic strife, heroic toils by land and flood, long-remembered hunts and combats with savage beasts, successful forays, and farings into unknown seas. The actors in these dramas dwelt on the mainland and in the isles of Greece, before the sons of the Acheans came.

When the genius of Themistocles created for Athens her great walls, into their structure were wrought many stones that lay ready to hand hewn to be the monuments of men long dead; so into the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were woven many a fragment of tales shaped cunningly by nameless bards to be the memorials of the worthies of a long-vanished past.

But this does not by any means imply that either the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* is made up of separate songs strung clumsily together by some Cyclic poetaster. Far from it! We might just as well maintain that *Henry V.* and *Romeo and Juliet* are the work of a second-rate patcher, because Shakespeare founded the former on the old play of *The Famous Victories of King Henry the Fifth*, and the latter on a very old Italian story, which had appeared in various forms on the continent, in Paynter's *Palace of Pleasure*, and in Arthur Brooke's poem, *The Tragical Historye of Romeus and Juliet*, written first in Italian by Bandello.

The Homeric critics have failed to comprehend the difference between a great original work created by a genius out of old materials fused in the alembic of the brain, and the mere patchwork of a journeyman.

In deciding so stormy a question the winds themselves might appropriately be invoked to lend some aid. There are four in Homer: Boreas the North; Zephyrus the West; Eurus the East; and Notus the South.

Whilst a poet in an ordinary part of his narrative will describe the winds from the standpoint of the locality in which the scene is laid, be it Troy or be it Phaeacia, yet, as in his similes he is free from such trammels, he will probably speak of the winds as he knows them in his own environment.

I am perfectly aware that the advanced critic, in case the result does not suit his theory of the origin of the poems, will at once say that the simile or similes are later insertions, or portions taken from an older epic or epics, according as his theory demands. But if the evidence from the winds in simile, as far as it goes, is in favour of the composition of the poems on the mainland of Greece, it will have in a cumulative argument some value even against those who regard the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as pieces of patchwork.

As Penelope listened to the false tale told her by the disguised Odysseus, her tears flowed, "even as the snow melts in the high places of the hills, the snow that Eurus has thawed, when Zephyrus has scattered it abroad[1]."

From this we learn that the West wind brought the snow, while the East wind caused the thaw. The author of this passage could not have lived on the coast of Asia Minor, for there the cold wind is the East coming down from the Taurus, whilst the West is soft and mild. On the other hand, if the author lived on the eastern side of the mainland of Greece, he would naturally regard the West wind especially as the cold wind, as it came across Pindus or the high mountains in the centre of Peloponnesus, whilst the East wind coming over the Aegean would be associated with genial warmth.

No certain inference can be drawn from the only other simile in which the winds are employed. It tells how "two winds stir up the main, the home of fishes, even the North wind and West that blow from Thrace[1]." As Thrace does not lie west either of Thessaly or Asia Minor, the simile simply refers to the effect produced on the sea by the two most boisterous of the winds.

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[1] *Od.* XIX. 207.

The evidence then seems to indicate clearly the mainland of Greece as the birthplace of the poems, whether they be regarded as two great original masterpieces, or as centos patched together out of earlier elements by some later rhapsodist, for no part of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* shows any trace of an Asiatic origin. Linguistic considerations will presently lend strong support to this conclusion.

In our preceding inquiries we arrived at the conclusion that the Mycenean age was that of Bronze, that it was succeeded by the Iron Age exhibited to us in the Homeric poems, that the weapons, defensive armour, dress, and ornaments of the earlier period differed essentially from that of the Acheans, as seen in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. We also saw that the Mycenean civilization was not confined to the mainland of Greece, but that it extended over the islands of the Aegean Sea, and into Asia Minor, Italy, and Sicily, whilst its more primitive stages find affinities with Libya, Egypt, Palestine, Cyprus, Caria, on the East and South, and in the Terramare culture of upper Italy, in Magna Graecia, in the Sicanian remains of Sicily, in Sardinia, and even in Spain. We also saw on the mainland of Greece, at Hissarlik, and in Melos the full Mycenean period, gradually evolving itself from the earlier stages. From these facts we inferred that the Mycenean culture was the outcome in a particular area of that early civilization which developed on the shores of the Mediterranean and had passed from the later Stone Age into those of Copper and Bronze.

On the other hand, our investigations led us to conclude that the culture of the Acheans of the Homeric poems was simply a branch of that great civilization of the early Iron Age of central Europe, commonly known as the Hallstatt period, or by the Italian archaeologists as the Villanova. We have traced the Acheans in their movements from Epirus into Thessaly, and concluded that they were a Celtic tribe, who had passed over Pindus into Thessaly, as did the Illyrian Thessali at a later time.

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[1] *Il.* IX. 7.

It has been generally held, and probably with good reason, that the Thessali adopted the language of the conquered people of Pelasgiotis. Hence modern writers on the Greek dialects give the name of North Achean to the dialect used by the people of Thessaly in historical times. This name is based on the assumption that the Illyrian Thessali took over the language of the conquered Acheans. But this doctrine involves another very important assumption, which will require examination before it can be deliberately accepted or receive a passive acquiescence. It is assumed that the language which was spoken by the natives of Thessaly at the time when the Illyrian Thessali conquered it, was that of the Acheans of Phthiotis and Pelasgiotis. But there is no more reason for believing that the language spoken by the Acheans was the actual language of the original tribe called Achaei than there is for holding that the language of the Thessalians of the fifth century B.C. was that of the Thesprotian tribe called Thessali.

On the evidence of the Homeric poems confirmed by the existence of the name Pelasgiotis for a large part of it, and the traditions of the existence of ancient tribes such as the Magnetes and Perrhaebians, we believe that there was a great ancient population in Thessaly before the Achean conquest. We know from the *Iliad* that some of the Pelasgi who once dwelt in Pelasgic Argos, the region otherwise called Pelasgiotis, were driven out; some went to Asia Minor, some to Peloponnesus, some to Chalcidice, and some even to Italy. But many old tribes, such as the Magnetes and Perrhaebians, held their ground, and there was probably a large conquered population who formed the Penestae corresponding to the Helots of Laconia. There may have been a certain amount of Achean blood among these villeins, but it is most likely that the vast majority of the villein population were the descendants of the pre-Achean population.

In Laconia some of the Acheans probably continued as a distinct class (Perioeci) from the Helots, but there is no trace of any such intermediate class in Thessaly any more than in Argolis.

So far then the facts rather tend in favour of the belief that the Acheans merged into the conquered people of Thessaly and adopted their language, as did the Thessalians in their turn later on; or have we any *primâ facie* grounds for thinking that the Acheans had made the conquered people adopt their tongue?

We now want a criterion which will enable us to decide whether the language which was called Thessalian in classical times, and which the ancients termed an Aeolic dialect, was the original speech of the Acheans, or that of the pre-Achean inhabitants of Pelasgiotis. Such a criterion can only be had in a district, which good ancient authorities maintain was never conquered by the Acheans, and where down to historical times an indigenous population continued to dwell. If this indigenous people is found to speak and write in a dialect closely resembling that of Thessaly, it follows that the Thessalian dialect is non-Achean, and is therefore pre-Achean, for no one will adopt the only possible alternative that the Thessalian dialect is the tongue brought by the Thesprotian Thessali.

Once more we turn to Arcadia, the inner keep of the autochthonous race of Greece. Now the dialect of Arcadia is called Aeolic by Strabo, but is termed *South-Achean* by that excellent scholar Hoffmann on the ground of its close relationship to *Thessalian* and to the dialect of the Homeric poems. As the latter is the vehicle by which the glories of the Acheans have been conveyed to the men of after time, it has very naturally been assumed to be the speech of the Achean tribes. But Arcadia, according to all the ancient writers, was never conquered (p. 117), either in legendary or historical times, and their statements have been accepted by the chief modern historians.

In the face of this fact it is absurd to call the Arcadian dialect Achean. The only possible defence for such a position is to maintain that the Arcadians adopted the speech of the Acheans after the Achean conquest of Argolis and Elis.

At this point therefore it will be necessary to examine the conditions under which (1) a conquered people adopt the language of their conquerors; (2) a conquering people adopt the language of the conquered, and (3) a people, themselves unconquered, adopt the language of their neighbours.

If Hoffmann be right, Arcadia and Cyprus fall under the last head, and if it shall turn out that peoples so situated as were the Arcadians and Cypriotes, do not adopt the language of their neighbours, then we must resolutely resist all attempts to reckon Arcadian as an Achean dialect; and, as a consequence of this, we must regard the Aeolic dialect of Thessaly not as the original Achean speech, but as the tongue of the pre-Achean inhabitants of Pelasgiotis.

Let us start by inquiring into the conditions under which the conquering adopt the language of a conquered race.

Some good examples are at hand in modern times, and therefore the facts about them can be ascertained with precision.

After his victorious campaign in Ireland, Cromwell planted large bodies of his English soldiers in Tipperary in the north of Munster[1]. The object of this plantation was to carry out in the south of Ireland what had been already accomplished in the north by the Plantation of Ulster in 1612. Cromwell's Ironsides settled in Tipperary resembled the military colonies planted by the Romans on the borders of the ever-extending empire to keep in check newly conquered tribes, rather than the English settlements in Ulster and the colonies which at that very time were being rapidly developed on the Atlantic seaboard of North America. The Plantation of Ulster had been carried out by settlers who brought with them wives of their own race speaking the same tongue. But the Cromwellian soldiers had no English women, and thus took as wives the daughters of the land, who spoke the Irish language and held the Roman Catholic form of religion.

From this union resulted a splendid offspring in which the physique and courage of the Ironsides can be seen to this day. But the children spoke chiefly the language of their Irish mothers and not their fathers' English. So it came to pass that in a generation the progeny of Cromwell's English Puritans were in language and religion as Irish as the purest blooded aboriginal of Munster. Only a remnant remained English, and these were chiefly of the better class, who had never lost their connection with England or the parts of Ireland in which the English language had a sure foothold. We must not overlook the effect which the reading of books in the English tongue, such as the Authorised Version of the Bible, must have exerted in counteracting the tendency to adopt the Irish language, and also the fact that with an exception during the brief reign of James II. the Protestant form of faith was always dominant.

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[1] Prendergast, *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, pp. 134—40.

Let us now go back five hundred years in Irish history to the time of the Norman conquest that followed on the expedition of Gilbert de Clare, surnamed Strongbow, in 1171. He married Eva, daughter of Dermot Macmorrough, king of Leinster, and his example was followed generally by the Normans. It is a matter of common knowledge that the Anglo-Norman settlers in a short time became, in the words of Giraldus Cambrensis, *Hiberniores ipsis Hibernis.* Not only did Irish become their language, but the Norman names were translated into Irish; thus FitzUrse became MacMahon, or else the patronymic *fitz* was changed into the Irish *mac* and so FitzMaurice became MacMorris. Irish clans bearing the names of ClanWilliam and ClanRicarde derived their names respectively from the great Norman warriors William de Burgo and Richard de Burgo.

Passing to south-eastern Europe we find a similar case in Bulgaria. A tribe called Bulgari had conquered the Slavs who dwelt in the country now called Bulgaria. The Bulgari were few in number and formed a dominant caste like the Turks at the present day. In the course of two centuries the Bulgari had lost their own language and adopted the Slavonic speech of their subjects, leaving scarce a vestige of their conquest save in the name of the conquered land.

The daughters especially will become assimilated to the women of the country, for in the case of sons there will be a desire to conform rather to the habits of their fathers' race than that of their mothers. Nor is this mere hypothesis. At the present day it is the ordinary rule in Ireland that when a man of the Protestant faith marries a Roman Catholic woman, the sons are brought up Protestants, while the daughters follow their mother's religion. Equally good evidence can be found in ancient times. Thus Herodotus tells us that the Athenians who settled in Ionia, and "who reckoned themselves the purest Ionians of all, brought no wives with them to the new country, but married Carian girls, whose fathers they had slain. Hence these women made a law, which they bound themselves by an oath to observe, and which they handed down to their daughters after them, that none should ever sit at meat with her husband, or call him by his name, because the invaders slew their fathers, their husbands, and their sons, and then forced them to become their wives. It was at Miletus that these things took place[1]."

It is quite possible that the practices of the Milesian women here noticed were not the result of the resentment of the Carian wives of the first settlers but rather that the Carian women taught their daughters native Carian customs. Whatever may have been the origin, it is certain that the Milesian women differed in certain usages from ordinary Greek wives.

We can go a step further and show that these Carian wives of the early colonists in Ionia had materially modified the language of their husbands.

Herodotus explicitly states that the Ionians "do not all speak the same language (γλῶσσα), but use in different places four different dialects (παραγωγαί). Towards the south their first city is Miletus, next to which lie Myus and Priene; all these three are in Caria and have the same dialect[2]." But we have just seen that the daughters of the Carian wives of the first Athenian settlers had kept up practices derived from their Carian mothers. It would therefore appear that, as the Greeks of the three Ionic cities planted in Caria had a distinct dialect of their own, this differentiation was due to their being half Carian in blood.

Herodotus then proceeds: "Their cities in Lydia were the

[1] I. 146 (Rawlinson).

[2] I. 142 (Rawlinson).

following: Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedus, Teos, Clazomenae, and Phocaea. The inhabitants of these towns have none of the peculiarities of speech which belong to the first-named cities, but use a dialect of their own." It is very remarkable that all these towns planted among the Lydians should speak a common dialect, more especially when it is remembered that Phocaea was not planted by Ionians, but by Phocians who are generally considered 'Aeolo-Dorians.' Certainly the dialect of the extant inscriptions of Phocis is entirely different from any form of Ionic. We can therefore best explain the assimilation of the language of the Phoceans to that of their Ionic neighbours by supposing that the descendants of all the Greek settlers in Lydia were all similarly affected by the native Lydian element in the population, just as was the case with the three towns planted among the Carians.

Let us return to Herodotus. "There remain three other Ionian towns, two situated in isles, namely, Samos and Chios; one upon the mainland, which is Erythrae. Of these. Chios and Erythrae have the same dialect, whilst Samos possesses a language peculiar to itself."

The same explanation seems to hold good for the remaining two dialects. The native population of Chios and Erythrae were probably the same, and hence the Greek language of the colonists suffered a similar modification in each. Chios is said to have once been occupied by Leleges and Pelasgians from Thessaly, whilst Erythrae was said to have had settlers from Boeotia before it was planted by the Ionians. These old Boeotians would be Pelasgians; it is not improbable that the similarity in dialect between Chios and Erythrae, and the difference of their dialect from that of the Ionians of Lydia and Caria, may be due to the fact that both were occupied by people from northern Greece. Samos at the time of the Ionic settlement had a very old population[1] (p. 187), which was forced against its will to receive a body of settlers driven out of Epi-

[1] It may have even obtained its peculiarity of dialect from an early settlement from the western coast of Greece. Strabo (637): *ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Παρθενία πρότερον οἰκούντων Καρῶν, εἶτα Ἀνθεμοῦς, εἶτα Μελάμφυλλος, εἶτα Σάμος, εἴτ' ἀπό τινος ἐπιχωρίου ἥρωος, εἴτ' ἐξ Ἰθάκης καὶ Κεφαλληνίας ἀποικήσαντος.*

daurus[1] by the Dorian conquerors of Argos. The speech of this older stratum could well colour that of the new colonists.

Nor was it only in the East that Greek colonists got assimilated to the aboriginal populations, among whom they settled. Thus at Emporiae in Spain, where once there had been distinct Greek and Iberian communities living side by side, later on there was but a common constitution in which Greek and barbarian elements were combined, "a thing which (Strabo remarks) had occurred in many other places[2]."

The story[3] of the Sauromatae illustrates the same principle. They were said to be descended from certain Scythians who had married Amazons. The women of the Sauromatae continued to observe the ancient customs of their Amazon mothers, "frequently hunting on horseback with their husbands, sometimes even unaccompanied"; in war they took the field and wore the same dress as the men. Their marriage law ordained that no girl should wed until she had killed a man in battle[4].

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[1] Paus. VII. 4, 2.

[2] 160.

[3] Herod. IV. 114.

[4] This story gives us the true explanation of the myth of the Amazons, who are so prominent in Greek literature and art. They were said to dwell near the river Thermodon in Cappadocia, their capital being Themiscyra; their territory extended along the Euxine, and some of them were said to have settled beyond the Tanais (*Don*), and to have pushed their borders up to the Caspian. Homer calls them *manlike* (ἀντιανείρας *Il.* VI. 186). They spent all their life in war and manly pursuits. They allowed no men within their state, and their children were the offspring of the men of the adjoining districts. The male children were handed over to their fathers (according to Justin they were strangled), whilst the girls were reared by their mothers. According to a later legend their right breast was burned off to enable them to handle more deftly the bow and javelin, but this story is due to a false etymology of their name from μαζός. Certainly Aeschylus (*Suppl.* 283, τὰς ἀνάνδρους κρεοβόρους Ἀμαζόνας) seems to know only the other etymology from μάζα, *cake*, as is rendered probable by the epithet 'flesh-eating.' The works of art accord with this, for it is only in the later period that the Amazons are represented without the right breast.

Diod. Sic. (III. 52—3) says that there were Amazons in Libya, who were more ancient than those of Pontus, amongst whom he classes the Gorgons against whom Perseus fought. He adds that in the western parts of Libya there was a nation ruled by women (ἔθνος γυναικοκρατούμενον). The women during their maidenhood performed military service, but on the expiration of the period

"The Sauromatae speak the language of Scythia, but have never talked it correctly, because the Amazons learned it imperfectly at the first."

In this story it is assumed that the children learned to speak from their mothers and not from their fathers. This shows that the ancients held that foreign women, even when taken from their homes and settled in their husbands' country, had a greater influence than their husbands in shaping the tongue of their offspring.

These considerations prove that the children of bodies of conquerors who marry the women of the land, will have an inevitable tendency to follow their mothers' speech.

Another important factor is the isolation of the conquerors from their native land. For if communication with their old home is kept up and fresh bodies of the same stock arrive from time to time, the earlier settlers are likely to retain their own tongue and customs much longer than if they are completely cut off from their own race, and live uninterruptedly in alien surroundings. We may therefore hold as a solid factor in the tendency of the conqueror to merge into the conquered, the isolation of the conquerors from their original homes and from the great mass of those that speak the same language.

But even when the invaders bring some women of their own stock with them, they are liable to drop their own language and practically adopt that of the natives. Thus the Northmen

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married and bore children: they controlled the offices of state, and their husbands carried out their commands.

The myth has probably arisen from the fact that the Greeks had heard of certain tribes in Scythia, Asia Minor, and Libya, the women of which took their part in war and the chase. The story of their putting their men to death would arise from the report of such a custom as that of the Sauromatae, that no girl could marry until she had slain a man. The custom of descent through women, and the regulations respecting the kinship of the children, such as are still practised among many savages, would easily give rise to the belief that the Amazons either allowed no male in their communities or kept them in complete subjection, and also to the story that the male children were handed over to their fathers, whilst the females remained with their mothers.

Diodorus was not far from the mark, when he cited an actual tribe from west Africa, the women of which were Amazons. In our time the king of Dahomey and the Behr king (White Nile) had regiments of female warriors.

who settled on the coast of France gradually abandoned their national tongue for French, though modifying dialectically their adopted language. When under the name of Normans they conquered and settled in England, they again adopted the language of the conquered, though modifying the English tongue by many words and phrases brought with them from Normandy.

But though the same process took place in each case, the causes were probably different. When the Norsemen settled in France, they were practically rude unlettered barbarians planted on the ruins of Roman culture. As 'Captive Greece' took the rude Romans captive, so did the ancient culture attract and subdue the Northmen.

But when as Normans they settled in England, the conditions were reversed. The Normans were in culture of all kinds far ahead of their Saxon subjects. The cause of their gradual adoption of the English language was probably due to the fact that they were simply a ruling caste, each of whom was isolated from his fellow Normans, and lived surrounded by his English-speaking dependents.

Such we have already seen was the case with the Norman settlers in Ireland.

The same principle probably explains why the Franks after the conquest of Gaul adopted the language of the land, merely adding to it a certain number of Teutonic words, especially those connected with war and warfare.

The Visigoths in Spain and the Lombards in Italy similarly abandoned their own Teutonic dialects for those of their subjects, but like the Normans and Franks, adding a certain Teutonic element to their adopted tongue.

I have already spoken of the Ulster Plantation in contrast to the Cromwellian settlement in Munster. From the time the English and Scotch settlers were planted in Ulster, the advance of the English tongue and consequent decadence of the Irish has steadily proceeded.

Now these settlers brought with them women of their own race and speaking their own language. Consequently their children grew up speaking English as their mothers' tongue.

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The settlements likewise formed a solid nucleus of English-speaking people who not only served to maintain amongst the outlying settlers the use of their native language in preference to that of the natives by whom they were surrounded, but even acted as a centre for spreading among the natives, with whom they came into contact, a knowledge of English for purposes of trade.

Yet even with such a basis the advance of English among the Irish has been exceedingly slow. In the glens of Antrim, that county which most resembles in population and industry the sister island, the Irish language still lingers on. In Donegal, in Connaught, in Kerry, Cork, and Waterford English has not succeeded in ousting the native speech, though the former is the language of the National schools, of the newspaper, the politician, and of trade. It is doubtful if English could ever have made such progress, were it not that the English got control of the towns in all the Irish-speaking districts, and thus the solidarity of the Irish-speaking mass was broken up, and secondly, that Irish is not the language of religion, the Mass being in Latin.

In Wales on the contrary not only has Welsh been the language of religion, but as the more civilized inhabitants of the towns have remained Welsh, the native language has always continued to be regarded as respectable. Moreover in Wales the gentry were natives proud of their ancient language and literature, whereas in Ireland the gentry for the last two centuries consisted almost entirely of English and Scotch settlers, who regarded with contempt the language of their dependents. Hence the ancient language became almost entirely confined to the peasantry and in time to speak Irish became a mark of vulgarity, from which those who aspired to a higher social position were anxious to get free. But even though the native Irish have adopted the language of the invader, the English which they speak has been considerably modified by the supplanted Irish[1].

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[1] Thus the people of the English Pale, who have not spoken Irish for a long time, retain the Irish medial aspirate, *e.g. tundher* for *thunder*, *catedhral* for *cathedral*: terms of endearment, such as are used by mothers and nurses, are

We may therefore conclude that the adoption of the language of the conqueror by the conquered is a very slow and difficult process even when every advantage accompanies the acceptance of the invading tongue, and that when the native tongue gets a fair field as in Wales, the language of the conqueror can make little or no advance at all.

The language used in the religious services of a people is a most distinct factor in determining whether they shall or shall not discard their own tongue in favour of another. Thus the adoption of Arabic (modified considerably in the process) by the Egyptians after the Arab conquest is probably due to the fact that the mass of the people conformed to Islam, the doctrines of which were contained in the Arabic Koran, whilst its service was also in Arabic. This is rendered almost certain by the fact that the old language only survived amongst the Copts, the remnant who held fast to Christianity. Change was more easy, as the national life had been killed by Greek and Roman conquests. It is remarkable also that the Berbers, who, although they embraced Mahomedanism, retained their own language, have a Berber translation of the Koran.

We have now left only the third case, that of the adoption by a people of the language of a neighbouring folk without any conquest having taken place. It is difficult to find any example of such a change, although Europe presents numerous instances to the contrary.

There can be no stronger case of the latter than that of the Swiss Republic, in which peoples with more than four kinds of language combined for national defence and other advantages. Here, if anywhere, we ought to find a gradual adoption by certain cantons of the language of their neighbours. But far from this being so, the German, French, Roumansch and

often corrupted Irish forms, *e.g.* *alanna*=Ir. *a lanabh* (*leanbh*), 'my child': *avic*=*a mhic* (*mic*), 'my son': names of animals, *e.g.* *philibeen*=pewit; *raphogue*=hedge sparrow; *droleen*=wren; *muck*=pig; *carc*=hen; *dark luther* =newt (from Ir. *arc luchair*, possibly affected by the name of Martin Luther). They have literal translations of Irish idioms, *e.g.* 'the deer (Ir. *fia*, *fiaish*) knows'='God (Ir. *Dia*) knows,' one of the familiar cases of avoidance of using the proper form of God's name.

Italian cantons rigidly preserve their respective mother speeches[1].

In the Austro-Hungarian empire there is no tendency observable on the part of either Magyars or Slavs to adopt German: nay, the very opposite is the case, owing to the strength of national feelings in the Magyar and Slavonic population, whilst the Germans are equally patriotic in maintaining their own speech.

Again, the Finns have not adopted either Swedish or Russian, though partitioned between their more powerful neighbours. In their case too national antipathy probably tends to preserve their ancient language.

Once more, Denmark does not show any disposition to adopt German as her language any more than do the Dutch. Nor do the Flemings seem eager to discard Flemish for French.

To sum up our results, it seems that no nation readily adopts the language of another even though it be in close ties of friendship. There is still less tendency when national hostility intervenes.

Secondly, the adoption of the language of the conqueror by the conquered, except under the most favourable circumstances, is not common, and only takes place by a very gradual process, as seen in the case of Ireland.

Thirdly, there is a strong tendency for the conqueror to adopt the language of the conquered, as was done by the Normans in England, in Ireland, in Sicily and Italy, by the Cromwellian settlers in Tipperary, by the Bulgari, by the Franks in Gaul, by the Lombards in Italy, and the Visigoths in Spain.

Ancient Greece provides us with the case of the Thessalians.

We found that unless the invaders brought with them women of their own race and language, there was an invariable tendency for the children of women of the conquered race to speak their mothers' tongue, as was the case with the Pitcairn Islanders, the offspring of the mutineers of H.M.S. *Bounty* and Tahitian women.

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[1] My friend Prof. Conway points out to me that there are even strong local varieties in French and German, and that there are newspapers in two, and some books in all, of the three Roumansch dialects (Oberalp, upper Engadine, and lower Engadine).

Indeed our phrase 'mother-tongue' is based on the fact observed through long ages that the child learns its first words from its mother, and thus takes after her in speech. This law still holds good in modern days, and must have been far stronger in earlier times, in countries where the tie of marriage hardly existed and the child belonged to its mother's and not to its father's tribe, as is still the case over wide regions of the earth.

Let us now return to Arcadia. As the Arcadians were neither conquered by the Acheans, nor conquered them, they cannot fall under our first two categories. The third only remains for them. But our inquiries showed that even under fairly favourable conditions, as in Switzerland, there is no tendency on the part of any one canton to adopt the language of any other, whilst in the other cases national jealousies and race hatred serve as a strong additional check to any such change of language. We may then reasonably conclude that Arcadia was no exception to the general law, especially as in her case the antipathy to an invading and encroaching neighbour must have been very strong.

Indeed it would appear that even in those parts of Peloponnesus where the Dorians held sway, the Doric tongue made but slow progress except in the cities. Strabo[1] says that "those nations of Peloponnesus, who like the Arcadians and Eleans had little intercourse with the Dorians, used the Aeolic dialect. The Arcadians being completely mountaineers, escaped in the general partition of Peloponnesus, while the Eleans were considered as dedicated to the service of Olympian Zeus, and lived for a long period in peace, principally because they were of Aeolic descent, and had admitted into their country the army of Oxylus about the time of the return of the Heracleids. The rest spake a mixed dialect of Aeolic and Doric, some keeping to a greater, some to a less degree the Aeolic. Even at present the inhabitants of different cities use different dialects, though all seem to use Doric on account of the supremacy of the Dorians."

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[1] 333.

In fact, the Arcadians in their mountain home held a position towards the conquerors of Argolis, Laconia and Messene, strictly analogous to that of the Basques towards Spaniards and French, of the Gaelic-speaking peoples of the mountains of Scotland and Ireland towards their English-speaking neighbours of the plains, and of the Welsh towards the English.

As Arcadian continued for some 800 years to keep free of Doric, all that time the language of the master race of Peloponnesus, *a fortiori* it would have kept itself independent of the language of the Acheans, whose domination lasted but a comparatively short period.

The weight of evidence therefore proves that Arcadian was not the language of the Acheans, but that on the contrary it was that of the indigenous population, which in Argolis and Laconia had become the subjects of the Acheans.

According to Strabo the Arcadians spoke an Aeolic dialect. Modern investigations into the remains of the Greek dialects have enabled us to classify the principal groups with precision.

What is commonly called Aeolic contains five dialects: (1) the dialect of Thessaly (except Phthiotis); (2) the dialect of Lesbos and the adjoining coast of Asia Minor known as the Aeolid; (3) that of Boeotia[1]. The Lesbian appears to be the most strongly defined because of its insularity. (4) Arcadian, and (5) Cypriote, the daughter of Arcadian. Hoffmann[2] calls Thessalian North-Achean, and Arcadian South-Achean.

The dialects of north-west Greece comprise (1) that of Phthiotis in Thessaly, (2) Epirus, (3) Aetolia, (4) that of the Aenianes, (5) Acarnania, (6) Phocis (including that of Delphi), (7) Locris.

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[1] Brugmann (*Grundriss d. vergl. Grammatik d. indog. Sprachen*, 2nd ed. Band I. p. 7) includes Lesbian, north Thessalian and Boeotian under the head of *North-eastern dialects*.

[2] *Die griechischen Dialekte*, vol. II. pp. 3 *sqq.*; vol. I. pp. 7 *sqq.*

Closely connected with the last group are the dialects of Elis and Achaia[1] in north-west Peloponnesus.

Doric comprises the dialects of (*a*) Laconia, Tarentum and Heraclea, (*b*) Messenia, (*c*) Argolis and Aegina, (*d*) Corinth and Corcyra, (*e*) Megara and Byzantium, (*f*) Peloponnesian colonies in Sicily, (*g*) Crete, (*h*) Melos, Thera, and Cyrene, (*i*) Rhodes and her colonies, Gela, and Agrigentum, (*k*) other Dorian islands of the Aegean Sea.

Attica has a dialect of her own, which is naturally closely related to the Ionic of (1) Euboea, (2) the islands, (3) the dialects of Ionia and the literary Ionic[2].

The curious phenomenon not yet fully explained, whereby Ionic shows forms in κο-, κη- from the Indo-Germanic stem *qo-*, *qa-*, while other dialects give forms in πο-, πη-, is confined to the literature, no example of a form κο- or κη- having yet been discovered on an inscription[3].

According to the unanimous testimony of antiquity the Arcadians were Pelasgians.

A dialect closely cognate to Arcadian is found in all Thessaly except in Phthiotis, or, in other words, this dialect is found in that part of Thessaly once called Pelasgiotis or Pelasgic Argos, where it is admitted by even the most sceptical of modern writers that a people called Pelasgians once dwelt.

According to Homer this people were in occupation at the time of the Achean conquest of Thessaly.

The language of Phthiotis[4] in historical times was different from that of Pelasgiotis, and the Thessali had crossed into Phthiotis from Epirus, and had from thence established themselves as a ruling aristocracy over all Thessaly. But we have just seen that such ruling aristocracies tend to adopt the language of their subjects. Therefore we hold that the language of Pelasgiotis in classical times was either that of the aboriginal Pelasgians, or that of the Achean conquerors. But as the Acheans of Pelasgiotis were a ruling aristocracy, the probability is great that they too would have adopted the language of their subjects, keeping certain terms and phonetic peculiarities of their own, as did the Franks, and the other peoples already cited. That the language of Pelasgiotis in classical times was that of the aboriginal Pelasgi, is made probable by this argument alone. But when we find that a dialect closely cognate to that of Pelasgiotis was spoken in Arcadia, which was never conquered by the Acheans, the conclusion is now irresistible that the dialect of all Thessaly outside of Phthiotis was that of the aboriginal Pelasgians, who under the name of Penestae formed the serf population in historical times.

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[1] Brugmann (*op. cit.* Band I. p. 8) hesitatingly includes the dialect of Achaia in the *North-western* group ("vielleicht Achaja").

[2] Brugmann, *loc. cit.*; P. Giles, *Manual of Comparative Philology* (1895), pp. 456 *sqq.*

[3] Weir Smith, *Ionic* (1894), p. 290; P. Giles, *op. cit.*, pp. 456 *sqq.*

[4] The Acheans of Phthiotis issued coins (circ. 302—286 B.C.) with the name ΑΧΑΙΩΝ.

The close connection between the language of Phthiotis and that of Epirus substantiates the traditions. As the Thessali, who were an Illyrian tribe, had crossed the Pindus into Phthiotis, so, we have argued, had the Acheans done at an earlier date. This would gain further probability, if we could show that certain dialectic difficulties hitherto unexplained can be at once cleared up by this doctrine.

We have seen that the dialect of Elis is closely connected with those of Acarnania, Aetolia, Epirus, and Phthiotis. This is likewise in perfect accord with the historical tradition, according to which there were large settlements in Elis from the countries lying north of the Corinthian Gulf. We have likewise seen strong archaeological evidence in confirmation of the belief that the worship of Zeus at Olympia was first established by the Acheans. Several of the greatest Achean chiefs—Tydeus, Oeneus and Meleager, all reigned in Aetolia[1]. We learn that the Eleans poured libations to all the heroes and wives of heroes, who are honoured in the land of Elis and among the Aetolians[2]. Thus history, dialect and archaeology are at one, and the relationship between Elean and the north-western group of dialects is clear. It has also to be borne in mind that Oxylus was said to have not only introduced his Aetolians into

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[1] Thus Pindar (*Ol.* III. 12) calls the judge at the games an Αἰτωλὸς ἀνήρ.

[2] Paus. v. 15, 12.

Elis, but also to have brought in Agorius (son of Damasias, son of Penthilus, son of Orestes) from Helice in Achaia and with him a small section of the Acheans[1].

But the dialect used in Achaia in classical times is also allied to the same group, a fact not hitherto explained.

On an earlier page (113) the history of Achaia has been set out. Its primitive inhabitants were Pelasgians like the Arcadians and the older race of all Peloponnesus. These Iones, to give them their tribal name, had been dispossessed at the time of the Dorian conquest by the Acheans who had not submitted to the Dorians' yoke in Argolis and Laconia. It is not too much to assume that those of the inhabitants of Argolis and Laconia, who would be most reluctant to become the thralls of the conqueror, would not be the old Pelasgian lower class, but rather the Achean aristocracy, who for a century and a half had been the masters of the land.

No doubt the Acheans had been gradually adopting the language of their subjects, yet there is no reason to suppose that by the time of the Dorian conquest they had lost their own tongue and merged completely into the native speech.

This Achean aristocracy then when they turned the mass of the Iones out of the land, later known as Achaia, took with them their own speech, probably more or less modified by that of their Peloponnesian subjects. But, as all our arguments show that the Acheans had come down from the head of the Adriatic through Epirus, the similarity between their dialect and that of their kinsfolk in Elis, who had come direct across the Corinthian Gulf, is at once explained, and once more the historical argument is confirmed by that derived from the dialects.

But the dialects of Lesbos and of the Aeolid are closely connected with that of Pelasgiotis. This too is in complete agreement with the traditional statements concerning the ethnology of both districts. For Strabo especially refers to Lesbos as a Pelasgian stronghold, and we also saw that the same people formed the chief stratum in the population of the north-west corner of Asia Minor, a region distinguished for its Mycenean remains.

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[1] *Ib.* 4, 2.

Now Hoffmann has given the names 'South-Achean' and 'North-Achean' to Arcadian and Thessalian respectively, because these of all Greek dialects come closest to the language of the Homeric poems, which tell the glories of the Acheans. He has shown that Arcadian and her daughter Cypriote have of all Greek dialects by far the greatest number of Homeric words and forms[1]. For there are 100 such words and forms in the remains of Arcadian and Cypriote which have reached us.

But our inquiry has led us to conclude that Arcadian is not Achean. This involves another problem of great importance. For unless we assume that Arcadian above all other dialects adopted Homeric words and forms, we must admit that it had all these forms originally. But can there be any reasons for believing that the Arcadians adopted more than all other Greeks words and forms from the Homeric poems?

Now if we desire to ascertain the region where an early English poem, such as the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, arose, we at once compare its language with the remains of the various English dialects, and after such a comparison, we conclude that the work was originally composed in a district where the modern dialect with which it most closely agrees was the vernacular.

We are therefore compelled by this analogy to hold that the Homeric poems were originally composed in a dialect very similar to that of Arcadia. Fick has long since argued that the poems were originally composed in Aeolic, but that afterwards in Ionia, Ionic forms were substituted, except where the exigencies of metre demanded the retention of the old Aeolic form. So far then our argument is in accord with modern linguistic investigations. But, as we have deliberately concluded that Arcadian Aeolic comes nearest to the epic dialect, and yet, at the same time, we maintain that Arcadian is not the language of the Acheans, we are confronted by a serious difficulty. Yet it is quite possible to find an historical solution for this apparent contradiction.

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[1] Otto Hoffmann, *Die griechischen Dialekte* (1891), vol. I. pp. 276 *sqq.* There are seven words and stems which occur in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and both in Arcadian and Cypriote: *αἶσα, βόλομαι, κε, νυ, οἶϝος, οἶνος* (Ἐριούνιος), *πτόλις.*

The Arcadian alone has 26: *ἀῆται, ἄορ, ἀπυέσθω, ἀρτύεν, ἀ-σκηθές, αὐδή, δέατο, δέδορκεν, δῶμα, ἑκατόμβοια, ἐσθλόν, ἑψία, θήγει, hίκοντα, ἴς, κελεύ(θ)ω, λυκάβας, μέστ', ξυνόν, πάροιθεν, πληθύς, πλός, στυφελήν, χηλός, χραισμεῖν, ὦκα.*

Cypriote alone has 72, a list too long to be given here.

Let us briefly recapitulate the history of the Achean conquest, as reconstructed from our sources at an earlier stage of this work. Some bodies of a vigorous fair-haired race had made their way into Peloponnesus; the chiefs of these warriors married the daughters of the kings of the ancient race in Argolis and Sparta, and in all probability their followers had likewise married the women of the land; Atreus had become king of Mycenae not by conquest, but by deliberate choice, and the great mass of the population was of the old pre-Achean race (p. 97), and therefore their language remained in the main the language of Argolis, and was in all likelihood partially adopted by their Achean lords, who merged into their subjects, as the Normans in England were absorbed into their Saxon subjects and the Tartars into the Chinese.

The language of Argolis probably with a few modifications derived from the Acheans continued to be that of the old race, but this older people were the same race as that which survived throughout the historical period in Arcadia, and must have spoken a language almost the same.

But it has to be borne in mind that the ancient critics held that before the Return of the Heracleids and the Dorian conquest "the Argives spoke the same dialect as the Athenians." It was on this ground that Arrhiphon detected the spuriousness of certain works ascribed to Philammon which were written in the Doric dialect[1].

But the Achean domination was not confined to Argolis, for Achean Argos (p. 113) included Laconia. In all this area are found the remains of a very ancient civilization, which had gradually developed on the spot from the Stone Age to its zenith in the advanced Bronze Age. This people had not only reached a great excellence in the arts, but had also a system of writing. But writing is the offspring of literary instinct. Thus the Incas taught their history to their children by the rude mnemonic *quipus*. It is in songs that man has everywhere first recorded his personal achievements.

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[1] Paus. II. 37, 3.

We have seen evidence that the dialect of the Homeric poems comes nearer to that of Arcadia, and consequently to that of the ancient inhabitants of Argolis, than it does to those of any other part of Greece.

How comes it that the glories of the Achean chieftains are celebrated in this dialect? Yet there is no reason for surprise or incredulity. The exploits of the Normans in Ireland were sung by the native Irish bards in the native Irish tongue, and the renown of the present Tartar dynasty of China is recorded not in Tartar, but in the old literary language of their Chinese subjects.

From the Homeric poems it is certain that there was a bard at the palace of every chief in early Greece. We therefore cannot suppose that the court of Eurystheus the last of the Perseid kings of Mycenae differed from that of chieftains of lesser note.

It is also certain that the craft of the minstrel, like all other arts, was hereditary, for we know that there was a family or gild of Homeridae at Chios, who claimed to be descended from the author of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. That such bards were in the confidence of their lords is rendered clear by the fact that Agamemnon left his wife, Clytemnestra, in charge of his rhapsode when he went to Troy. His confidence was well merited, for we are told that so long as the bard lived no criminal act took place between the queen and Aegisthus. There is no reason why such hereditary minstrels should not have continued to hold their office, even when the throne passed to new dynasties. But as Atreus succeeded peaceably to the seat of Eurystheus, and as he was an exile and therefore had no bard of his own, it is highly probable he would retain in his office the hereditary bard of the ancient house of the Perseidae, nor was there any reason why Menelaus, on succeeding to Tyndareus the last of the kings of the old race at Sparta by his marriage with Helen, should have discarded the bard of the ancient house. On the contrary, it was probably of great importance to conciliate the minstrel, for the maker of ballads has always been a political factor not to be despised. That the pre-Achean occupants of Greece had such minstrels is put beyond all controversy by the case of Demodocus, the bard of the Phaeacians, who were certainly not Acheans (p. 111).

These bards would continue to exercise their calling under the new Achean domination and would sing the praises of their new lords not in Achean speech, but in their old language which was becoming that of the newcomers.

If the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were the work of such men, we can at once understand many things that hitherto have given great difficulty. It at once gets rid of one problem of dialect, and gives a key to the constitution of Homeric society. Dr Leaf has remarked that "these poems have often been spoken of as popular poetry, Volkspoesie, and have even been compared to the ballad poetry of our own and other nations. It is now generally recognized that this description is radically false. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were essentially court poems. They were composed to be sung in the splendid palaces of a ruling aristocracy, and the commonalty have no part or lot as actors in them. When the common sort are mentioned in the *Iliad* in contrast to the kings, it is in terms of supreme disdain.

"This is the first point which must be clearly grasped by those who would enter into the spirit of Homer; that the poems are aristocratic and not popular. The next is that they are not to be regarded as the outcome of a primitive people. They are the offspring of an advanced civilization, the growth of centuries, and of a civilization which is approaching its decline and fall. It was in some respects a civilization even more advanced than that which grew out of the ruin brought about by the invasion of the Dorians."

I have thought it best to give this statement of the current views on the Homeric poems not in my own words but rather in those of Dr Leaf, who cannot be suspected of having any bias in favour of my theory, seeing that he is deeply committed to the Achean doctrine.

The view of Homeric society here set forth seems eminently faithful and just. The poems are not the rude ballads of wild pastoral tribes still in a stage of constant movement. On the contrary, they are evidently the product of an advanced literary period which had a long past behind it. Such a literature does not arise among wild tribes who have not yet had settlements of long duration, but is rather a product of a people who have known during many generations great security and its attendant prosperity. It is easy to find proofs of this in Greece herself. The great burst of Lyric poetry was contemporaneous with the despots in whom the poet and the artist found powerful and generous patrons. With the sense of security and the material prosperity which followed the overthrow of the Persian host came the glorious outburst of Athenian literature and art so closely paralleled in our own country by the marvellous growth of the Elizabethan literature after the overthrow of the Spanish Armada.

Returning now to the early Greek epic we must answer the question, Where are we most likely to find the necessary conditions for the growth of a literature? Shall we find them best fulfilled among the rude tribes of Thesprotia, or in the great walled towns of Boeotia and Argolis? At an earlier stage of our inquiry we found reasons for believing that the advanced civilization of the Myceneans was in no small degree due to the fact that they had at an early time conceived the idea of rendering their homes secure by building great walls as Amphion did at Thebes.

Among wild tribes, like the Acheans, the only form of literature is the ballad, which Dr Leaf rightly holds is not to be compared with the Homeric Epos. On the other hand, in the great Mycenean civilization which developed through long ages behind Cyclopean walls, we find the necessary conditions perfectly fulfilled.

That the Homeric hexameter was an outcome of such an ancient civilization rather than of a tribe of rough warriors constantly moving from land to land, seems likely. Granting that both the Mycenean civilization and the dialect in which the old Epic literature was composed belong to the pre-Achean race of Peloponnesus, we can hardly divorce from the literature of this ancient people the development of the hexameter, the most perfect form of expression which the human mind has yet devised.

This is confirmed by the fact that Linus, Orpheus, and Thamyris, whose names are inseparably connected with the beginnings of Greek poetry and music, according to tradition all belonged to the pre-Achean race.

Moreover, it is more probable that perfection of literary form should have been developed side by side with that splendid sense for form and colour in the material arts, which is the peculiar stamp of the Mycenean Bronze Age of Greece, rather than among the less artistic peoples of Epirus, the upper Balkan and central Europe.

Certain it is that no trace of the hexameter has been found in the national poetry of the various Celto-Teutonic peoples, or among the Ligurians or Iberians of Italy, France, Spain, or the British Isles. The hexameter only made its appearance among the peoples of upper and central Italy when it was in its old age. The national metre of the Romans was the Saturnian, in which not only Naevius lampooned the Metelli, but Ennius celebrated the Punic War. Plainly then neither Latin nor Sabine nor Umbrian had ever recited or sung[1] in hexameters the glories of his race.

Dodona, the oldest shrine of the Acheans of Thesprotia, seems always to have delivered her oracles in prose.

On the contrary, Delphi, the most hallowed shrine of Mycenean Greece, prided herself that from all time she had riddled to the world in hexameter metre.

From this alone it is more probable that the fully developed hexameter was the work of the Pelasgian folk, whom the Acheans found at Delphi, rather than that of the Acheans themselves, who had once worshipped under the oaks of Dodonean Zeus.

In Dr Leaf's remark quoted above (p. 665) stress is very properly laid on the highly aristocratic character of the poems. It will be admitted without much dispute that such a social feature is especially found in countries where it can be proved on the best historical evidence that the ruling class is of a different race from the ruled and that they owe their position to conquest. It is hardly necessary to cite instances of this, the reader will at once call to mind the Normans in England, Visigoths in Spain, Franks in Gaul, Magyars in Hungary, the Irish landed gentry, the Turks in Turkey, Egypt, and Persia, and the Spartans and Thessalians in ancient Greece. Never in such communities can be heard the proud utterance of the Northmen, *omnes sumus pares*, which expresses the state of society in which the equality of all the freemen of the tribe is the dominant feature. If the statements of the ancients are true, that the Acheans were a people few in number who had in the way indicated become the ruling class in certain parts of Greece, the aristocratic tone of the poems is at once explained. On the other hand, if it is maintained (without a shred of evidence) that the Acheans swept out the old population of Thessaly and Argolis, it is difficult to explain the tone of the poems without running counter to the teaching of the history of all ages.

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[1] Westphal maintains (Rossbach and Westphal, *Theorie d. musikalischen Kunste d. Hellenen*, Bd. III.) that the 'Cyclic' dactyl was employed in recitation only, not in song.

Nor must it be forgotten that in the earlier time there was but little difference between Ionic and Aeolic. We have the evidence of Pausanias to show that before the Dorian conquest all Peloponnesus as well as Arcadia had spoken Aeolic. Argolis and Laconia therefore had a language very similar to that of Arcadia. The old Iones who had dwelt in Achaia would also have spoken a similar tongue at the time of their emigration to Ionia. Now Attic and Ionic must have been practically identical until Ionic had weakened ᾱ to η, a phenomenon which only occurred partially in Attica[1]. Now the grammarian development of the Ion.-Att. *τᾱ́ς, πᾶσα = τάνς, πάνσα*. He holds that "im Att. wurde ε̄ hinter *ρ, ι, ε, υ* in ᾱ zurückverwandelt": *e.g. χώρᾱ, πρᾱ́ττω, καρδίᾱ, ἰᾱ́σομαι, γενεᾱ́, σικύᾱ* = Ion. *χώρη, πρήσσω, κραδίη, ἰήσομαι, γενεή, σικύη*; *τετρᾶναι, λειᾶναι* = Ion. *τετρῆναι, λειῆναι*. But on the other hand Attic has such forms as *ῥήτωρ, εἴην* with *η*. "Als im Attischen ϝ schwand, und *εᾰ* (aus *εσᾰ*) in *η* contrahiert wurde, besass *ρ* nicht mehr die Kraft, *η* in ᾰ zu wandeln, wohl aber hatten diese Kraft noch *ι, ε, υ*, z. B. *κόρη κορϝη* = ion. *κούρη*, aber *νέᾱ* aus **νεϝη*, *κατ-έᾱγα* aus **ϝεϝηγα*, *θέᾱ* aus **θεη*, **θηη*, **θηϝη*, **θᾱϝᾱ* = dor. *θᾱ́ᾱ* (*θᾱέομαι*), falls nicht schon **θηη* zu **θηᾱ́* dieses zu *θέᾱ* wurde, andreseits z. B. *ἐμφερῆ, τριήρη, ὄρη, ἐγρηγόρη* aus *-εᾰ*, aber *ὑγιᾶ, ἐνδεᾶ, εὐφυᾶ, χρέᾱ* aus *-η -εα*."

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[1] Brugmann [*Grundriss*, Band I. (2nd ed.), pp. 166—7] says that the change from ᾱ into η (=ε̨̄) had already taken place in the Attic-Ionic period ("in der Zeit der ion.-att. Urgemeinschaft"). This η remained right into historical times separate from the ’η (=ε̣̄) which came from original Indo-Germ. ε̄. This change from ᾱ into η was later than the "Ersatzdehnung des α vor σ + Liquida, vor σ + Nasal und vor Nasal + σ" (*e.g.* Ion. τρήρων = *τρασρων, Ion.-Attic σελήνη = *σελασνᾱ, Ion.-Att. ἡμεῖς, asme-, etc.). It was even later than the borrowing of the Persian *Māda-* (Ion.-Att. Μῆδοι, Cypriote Μᾶδοι), but older than the

But Brugmann gives no evidence and only assumes that Attic had once gone as far as Ionic in modifying ᾱ into *η*, nor does he give any proof that *χώρη* had changed back into *χώρᾱ*. He assumes that *ρ, ι, ε*, and *υ* had the power of changing *η* into ᾱ, but why should not these sounds have had the power of keeping original ᾱ from being changed into *η*? It will be observed that Brugmann's arguments all depend on hypothetical forms. On the other hand he himself admits that the Ionic-Attic change took place later than the borrowing of *Mada*, Mede. But this borrowing probably took place after the Ionic settlements in Asia, when the settlers had separated from their Attic brethren. So far from his being able to show any tendency in Attic for *η* to revert to ᾱ he himself points out that there were "mancherlei Ausnahmen durch Neubildung." Thus in the 4th century B.C. *ὑγιῆ, ἐνδεῆ, εὐφυῆ* supplanted *ὑγιᾶ, ἐνδεᾶ, εὐφυᾶ* "nach *σαφῆ, ἐμφερῆ* etc.," since Aristotle's time *πρηνής* for *πρανής* "nach *προσηνής, ἀπηνής*."

The only instance to the contrary cited by Brugmann is "*ὑφᾶναι* statt *ὑφῆναι* nach *τετρᾶναι* etc." But as the only instance of this aor. given by Veitch (*Greek Verbs*) is in *Anth.* VI. 265, an epigram to Lacinian Hera wholly composed in *Doric*, the form can hardly be used to prove that there was at any time a tendency in *Attic* to replace *η* by ᾱ.

Brugmann's contention that Attic went the whole way with Ionic, and then turned back, is just as unreasonable as if anyone were to maintain that, because certain phonetic tendencies especially marked in the dialect of the Americans of New England are also found in a less degree in the dialect of Lincolnshire in England, whence many of the first settlers in New England came, therefore the dialect of Lincolnshire had once had all the phonetic peculiarities of the modern Yankees, but that it had at a later period turned back.

The obvious explanation, viz., that certain tendencies of the Lincolnshire dialect brought by the settlers to America, were there later on further developed under new conditions, whilst the Lincolnshire did not advance so quickly or so far, applies equally well to the relation between Attic and Ionic. Certain tendencies already existing before the emigrants from Attica settled in Ionia were fully developed by the latter, whilst their brethren who had remained in Greece did not advance at all so far or so quickly.

There is indeed no more reason for holding that Attic had in this respect retraced her steps than there is for believing that she had once affixed *-αται, -ατο, -ιατο* (*-οιατο, -αιατο*) to vowel stems, as is the case in Ionic, but had afterwards repented.

Arrhiphon says that the dialect of Argolis, prior to the Dorian conquest, was the same as that of Attica. But as this old Aeolic of Argolis was almost the same as Arcadian except that it had probably labialism, it follows that Attic had once the $\bar{a}$ as regularly as Arcadian.

Once then Attica, Peloponnesus, Thessaly and Boeotia had the same language, a fact which confirms the doctrine of a general Pelasgic population.

As Attic therefore did not differ phonetically from these other dialects, it is probable that certain forms which occur in Attic Tragedy, commonly described respectively as Doric or Ionic, are rather survivals from the older form of the language, which had got sanctified by their use in a particular *genre* of literature. It may be suggested that the so-called Doric of the choral odes is nothing more than archaic Attic, traditionally kept in use for dithyrambs[1].

It has to be noted that the Doric in the choruses of Attic Tragedy is only so called by convention, and cannot be identified *in toto* with any one Doric dialect. Its most marked feature is the keeping original $\bar{a}$ instead of changing it as usually in Attic to η[2].

But we have just shown that this was common also to Aeolic, and we have just cited Arrhiphon to prove that once on a time there was no difference between Attic and the Aeolic of Arcadia and Argolis.

This explanation gets rid of the absurd doctrine that the Athenians would have composed their ancient songs, which probably dated from a period anterior to the Dorian conquest, in a Doric dialect. Such songs so far from borrowing foreign dialects are the last stronghold of archaic forms and words.

The same treatment applies equally well to the so-called Doric forms found in the dialogue of Tragedy—*ἕκατι*, *δαρόν*, *Ἀθάνα*, *λοχαγός*, *κυναγός*, *ποδαγός*, *ὀπαδός*.

Again, the so-called Ionic forms of the 3rd plural in *-αται*, *-ατο*, *-ιατο* (*-οιατο*, *-αιατο*) are probably survivals from the old language rather than borrowings from Ionic. For when Attic uses the termination -ιατο (-οιατο, -αιατο) the thematic vowel is invariably preceded by a consonant, whereas the new Ionic of Herodotus employs this suffix with stems ending in short hard vowels (*e.g.* λυπεοίατο, ἀνιῴατο, μηχανῴατο).

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[1] The same principle may explain the statement that the ancient hymns sung by the Eleans were in Doric (Paus. v. 15, 12).

[2] P. Giles, *op. cit.*, p. 480.

The 3rd plural termination -αται, -ατο only survived in Attic after consonantal stems, and only then in the Perfect and Pluperfect. In Homer the same terminations seem also to be confined to the Perfect and Pluperfect. On the other hand, Herodotus uses these terminations with other tenses (*e.g.* τιθέαται, ἀπεδεικνύατο). Attic limits them to consonantal stems, Homer extends them to stems in ι and occasionally to those in υ and long hard vowels (*e.g.* βεβλήαται), whilst the New Ionic uses them with all kinds of stems.

So too with the Optative, Attic limits -οιατο, -αιατο to consonantal stems, Homer observes the same rule (the only exception being βιῴατο), whilst Herodotus extends it to all kinds of stems[1].

It would thus appear that these suffixes were originally confined to consonantal stems, and that -αται, -ατο were originally confined to the Perfect and Pluperfect.

Thus the usage by the Attic dramatists of the terminations -οιατο, -αιατο (*e.g.* ἐκσωζοίατο, δεξαίατο) is a relic of the early stage of the language, and these forms must not be considered as borrowings from Ionic. It is also important to notice that the Homeric poems, in spite of much Ionicizing influence in their usage of these terminations, come much closer to old Attic than to Ionic.

But as we are told that the old dialect of Argolis was the same as old Attic, our contention, that the original dialect of Homer is that of the old Pelasgian population, gains a fresh confirmation.

We have found that, so far as the Greek dialects are concerned, the teachings of history and archaeology are substantiated by the most recent results of linguistic study.

Can we go further and show that our historical and ethnological doctrines are not only not contrary to Comparative Philology, but even explain some points of great importance which have much troubled the Indo-German philologists?

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[1] W. Ridgeway, "On the Ionic terminations in -αται, -ατο in the Attic dramatists." *Transact. of Cambridge Philol. Soc.*, vol. II. (1881—2), pp. 186—7.

The Indo-Germanic languages fall into two distinct groups, according as they modify or retain the Indo-Germanic *q*.

This is represented in Sanskrit by *k*, *c*, in Letto-Slavic by *k*, which was retained in Lithuanian, but passed into other sounds in Slavonic; in Greek by κ, τ, π; in Latin by *qu*, *c*; in Irish by *c*: in Oscan, Umbrian, Gaulish, Welsh, and Cornish by *p*[1]. Greek sometimes represents Indo-Germanic *q* by κ, but it often replaces it by the dental τ, and not unfrequently by π. When Latin exhibits labialised forms like *lupus* (Greek λύκος), they are said to be borrowed from some Italic dialect.

Here Greek, Latin, Celtic, and Germanic follow one line of development, Sanskrit and Letto-Slavic another.

It will be observed that whilst Greek in other respects falls into the eastern rather than into the north-western group of languages, yet, unlike the languages of the upper Balkan, it shows distinct traces of labialism. Thus, there is πέτταρες, the Boeotian form for τέτταρες, and the form πίσυρες said to be Aeolic and found in Homer; and ἵππος seems to have replaced an older ἴκκος known only from the *Etymologicum Magnum*. This corresponds to the Latin *ecus*, *equos*, and the Gaelic *ech*, whilst the common Greek ἵππος is parallel to the Gallic *Epona*, and the Welsh *eb*. Nor is Latin altogether without instances of labialism. Thus *lupus* (Greek λύκος) exhibits this change. Modern philologists therefore say that *lupus* is not genuine Latin, but rather a dialectic form borrowed from Sabine or some of the Italic dialects which suffer labialism. The Samnite name for the Wolf was *hirpos* (Hirpini). As already pointed out, both Oscan and Umbrian are distinguished by this feature from Latin. But our ethnological investigations led us to conclude that some at least of the peoples who spoke these dialects were the latest comers from the North into Italy. Indeed we pointed out that there was no means of distinguishing sharply between the Umbrians and the Celts of the Alpine regions, with whom also labialism was a characteristic feature. Thus the Gauls called a *four-wheeled* waggon *petor-ritum*; but *petor* closely resembles the Welsh *pedwar*, *pedair*, the Boeotian πέτταρες, and the Homeric πίσυρες. But we also saw that the Early Iron Age of upper Italy undoubtedly was that of the Umbrians and not only was closely related to that of the Celts of Hallstatt but also to that of Glasinatz, and to that portrayed in Homer. Now as the languages of Italy which preserved the *K* were overlaid by and were influenced by the peoples from the Alps who were affected by labialism, so in Greece have we found traces of labialism superimposed upon a general tendency to preserve the *K*.

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[1] Thus Ir. *cenn* (head) = Welsh *pen*. So Gaulish *arepennis* (Fr. *arpent*) = Ir. *aircenn*, a measure of land (Ridgeway, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, 1888, p. 25).

The conquerors usually take over the language of the conquered, but they always impress upon it some modifications.

As the labialism which appears in Latin is due to the influence of tribes who had substituted *P* for original *K*, so also in Greece the sporadic tendency to labialism can only have been due to the direct influence of a people who had that phonetic peculiarity. But as all the Celto-Teutonic peoples of upper Europe had that characteristic, we may conclude that the traces of labialism found in Greek are due to the influence of a people who had passed down from the head of the Adriatic into Greece, just as their Umbrian congeners had brought the same phenomenon down the Italian peninsula.

But as the Acheans passed from Epirus into the other parts of Greece, and possessed in Homeric days a culture identical with that of the Celts of the upper Balkan and Noricum and that of the Umbrians, we may once more conclude that the Acheans had passed down into Greece from central Europe.

The difficulty of treating ἵππος (orig. ἴππος, *cf.* Λεύκιππος) as an indigenous Greek form has long been felt, and Kretschmer considers it Thracian. But when we remember that *Epona*, the Celto-Umbrian horse-goddess, got engrafted into Latin side by side with *equos* (*ecus*), and when we consider that the horse was much more the animal of the chariot-driving Acheans than of the Pelasgians of Attica, Arcadia, and the island people of the Aegean, whose chariots were swift ships, we need not be surprised if a labialized form of the name for horse, corresponding to Gallic *Epona* and Welsh *eb*, had made its way along with πέτταρες and πίσυρες from the Danubian region into the Greek lands and Thrace. But we have already seen that a large fair-haired element had forced itself into the genuine Thracians, who were the close kinsfolk of the Pelasgians of Greece.

Our conclusions can be further supported from the personal names of the Achean chieftains.

If it is maintained that the language of the Homeric epic is that of the Acheans, the names of the typical Achean heroes ought to fall in with the language in which they are found enshrined, and ought to be capable of the same linguistic treatment as the ordinary Greek names of historical times.

The names Achilles, Odysseus, Aiakos, Aias, Laertes, and Peleus have defied the attempts of the philologists to explain them. On the other hand, the names of the most ancient heroes of the older race, such as Heracles, Erichthonius, Erysichthon, Cecrops, are all easy of analysis into elements familiar in the Greek language.

Now on the view which has been just put forward, it is quite natural that such a phenomenon should occur. For if the Acheans are a handful of conquering warriors coming into Thessaly from Thesprotia, and have passed down from the head of the Adriatic, their names stand in the same relation to the literary language of the conquered race as the names of the Teutonic invaders of the Roman empire stand to the Latin language or Greek in which the exploits of the great chieftains are recounted. The names Achilles, Odysseus[1], Aias and Laertes

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[1] Prof. Conway suggests that the doctrine put forward above is confirmed by Kretschmer's investigations into the name Odysseus, Lat. Ulixes. Kretschmer (*Gr. Vaseninschr.* p. 146 *sqq.*) quotes the forms Ὀλυτεύς, Ὀλυσσεύς from 15 genuine Attic vases, besides which the Epic form also occurs. He regards the form with λ as Epirote, and from this taken in conjunction with the Latin U*l*ixes concludes that the name was first known in Italy from Epirote sources.

Latin words which show a change from *d* to *l*, when the etymology is clear, seem always borrowed from Sabine (Conway, *Italic Dialects*, I. p. 360). But, as we have attributed to the Sabine element at Rome the features in which the Romans resembled the peoples of the Alpine and Danubian regions, may it not be occupy the same position in the Homeric poems that those of Hengist, Horsa, Hlothair, Hludovicus do in the Latin of Bede and other writers.

It is moreover remarkable that such names as Achilles, Odysseus or Aias got no foothold in Greek nomenclature.

On the other hand, it is very noteworthy that in those parts of Greece, such as Arcadia and Attica, where the oldest race survived in its greatest purity, the ordinary person-names are always of those forms, which we are accustomed to regard as most typically Greek. Such names as Pericles, Xanthippus, Socrates, Aristodemus, Aristomenes, and Philopoemen, will serve as examples. So, too, among the islanders and Ionians the most characteristic Greek forms are found. Thus Samos supplies Polycrates, the despot, Theodorus and Mnesarchus, the artists, and Pythagoras, the philosopher, whilst Ionia affords endless instances of similar typical Greek forms, such as Heracleitus, Anaxagoras, Anaximenes, Aristagoras, Histiaeus, Anaximander, and Hecataeus.

Yet if it be true that the Ionians are descended from the old inhabitants of Peloponnesus, and from Attica, and that they are the same in race as the Pelasgic inhabitants of the islands, the probability must be high that they carried with them and preserved their family names, no matter in what other respects their speech may have been modified.

We may reasonably infer that the names of the Ionians, Athenians, Samians, Arcadians, which show in the component parts elements distinctly Greek, are the names of the race whose language is that which we call Greek, whilst such names as Achilles, Odysseus and Aias, which cannot be analysed into Greek elements, are evidently those of a people not Greek, but who invaded that country and became absorbed in the conquered.

This principle is admirably illustrated by mediaeval Latin writers. If in a work written in Italy describing Italian history we find names which are essentially Latin, not merely in

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that, as in so many other cases, so the name Ulixes 'Ολυτεύς 'Ολυσσεύς passed down from the Alpine region into the Italian and Greek peninsulas respectively?

The change from λ to δ would be helped by the etymologizing connection of 'Οδυσσεύς with ὀδύσσομαι (*Il.* VI. 138, of the anger of the gods against Lycurgus, *Od.* I. 62 ; V. 340).

termination, but also in structure and derivation, we are justified in arguing that these names are those of a people descended from the ancient Latin-speaking inhabitants of Italy. On the other hand, if in such a writer we find names which are essentially non-Italic in structure and derivation, and only Latin in termination, we conclude that these names are those of the barbarians who conquered the Roman empire, but who adopted the language of the conquered especially for literary purposes.

The same holds good for all non-Latin names with Latinized forms, which are to be found in the writings of the mediaeval chroniclers who treat of Franks, Visigoths, Saxons, Normans, or Celts.

We have seen that literary Ionic kept the original forms in *κ*, such as *κοῖος*, *κῶς* = *ποῖος*, *πῶς*. Now, as the forms with *κ* are not found on any inscriptions, it is plain that the Ionians had abandoned them before the sixth century B.C., or even before they freely employed the Phoenician alphabet. For it is difficult to conceive that they should use one form on papyrus and another on stone, unless there was some reason of a very long standing. Such a reason would be found if we had any evidence that at the time of the Ionic settlement they retained the *κ*-forms in daily use.

But if it could be shown that the Ionians, at the time of their settlement in Asia, were using *κ*-forms in daily speech, there is every probability that such too were in literary use, for the archaic form always survives in literature when it has ceased to be used vernacularly.

Now the Samians called *Κυανόψια* the festival termed *Πυανέψια* by the Athenians, and by some other Greeks termed *Πανόψια*. It follows that in Ionic the *κ* survived in the period of the great migration, for it can hardly be maintained that the back change from *π* to *κ* could have been effected in the name of a great Ionic festival under the influence of the speech of the indigenous population. It was, therefore, because such *κ*-forms survived in the literary dialect which the Ionians brought with them from Peloponnesus and Attica to their new homes, that we find them surviving in the literary Ionic of Herodotus and Hippocrates. As writers of Pseudo-Ionic, such as Arrian and Lucian, continued to employ these forms, it is plain that such forms were inseparably bound up with literary Ionic. But if the κ-forms were such an essential part of the literary Ionic from the date of the settlements in Asia down to the time of Lucian, how comes it that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, if they were composed either in whole or in part in Ionia, show no trace of the great characteristic of the literary Ionic? This is a question which those who allege an Ionic origin for the poems or parts of the poems will have to answer. On the other hand, if the poems were composed on the mainland of Greece in either Thessaly or Argolis under the domination of the labializing Acheans, then the non-appearance of the κ-forms is explained on the same principle as that by which we have already explained the appearance of πέτταρες, πίσυρες, and ἵππος. The partially Acheanized Pelasgians of Thessaly, Argolis, and Laconia, would have learned to labialize, whilst the non-Acheanized Pelasgians of Attica, and those who were driven from their homes in north Peloponnesus by the Achean refugees from Argolis and Laconia, would have retained the κ-forms and brought them with them to their new homes.

This argument from the κ-forms only holds good against Ionia, and not against the Aeolid, as the possible place of origin for the Homeric poems.

The weight of evidence is, however, in favour of a European origin for the two great epics. The question of their date now remains.

The fact that not a single Greek colony in Asia Minor or Italy or Sicily is mentioned in either of the poems is a *prima facie* indication that they were composed before the Dorian invasion. This is corroborated by the fact that there is not a single allusion to the Dorians in Peloponnesus. Yet, if the poems had been composed posterior to the Dorian conquest, it is hardly possible that a poet who sang for the aristocracy could have refrained from alluding to the Dorian lords of Argolis and Sparta. Not only is there no allusion to coined money, but the talent is not the large weight known in Greece from the dawn of the historical period, but the ancient gold unit, the value of a cow[1], in gold, the *stater* of the classical times. Neither *mina* nor *drachma* is yet employed either as weight or unit of account, and all values are computed in *cows*, the primitive unit of barter over Europe, Asia and Africa.

Severalty in land is practically unknown, for it is only in the *temenos* granted by the people to the chief for his separate use that we find any ownership of land in severalty, while there is abundant evidence that the people in general had the primitive common-field system[2]. This is in strong contrast to the fact that by the time of Hesiod (700 B.C.) not only was severalty in land the regular practice in Boeotia, but land was commonly bought and sold, and also to the fact that from the earliest historical period land was held in severalty in Attica, and also in Crete. A considerable period must have therefore elapsed between the composition of the epics and the *Works and Days* of Hesiod. All these considerations render it unlikely that the poems were originally composed at any period later than 1000 B.C.

Our examination of the language of Homer and the Greek dialects leads us to the conclusion that the earliest inhabitants of Greece spoke a language of the type called Aryan or Indo-Germanic by the philologists.

We have shown that the authors of the Aegean culture were that race of which the Arcadians and the Athenians with their respective offshoots of Cypriotes and Ionians remained most typical. It has also been shown that the dialect of Arcadia is the truest representative of the language spoken by the oldest inhabitants of Peloponnesus. But, as Arcadian is a well-defined Greek dialect, it is therefore one of the group of languages known as Aryan, Indo-Germanic or Indo-European.

Now as it has been shown that this older race in Greece was distinguished by black hair and black eyes, the objection will at once be raised that we are assuming that a non-Aryan race spoke from the earliest times an Aryan language. This objection is of course based on the old and still vigorous notion that language is a good test of race. That this is fallacious and misleading has been demonstrated in the preceding pages when the question of the change from one language to another has been discussed. But the case of Arcadia is somewhat different from those there dealt with, for it was pointed out that Arcadia had apparently never been conquered by either Achean or Dorian and consequently its dark-haired race had spoken always an Aryan language.

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[1] W. Ridgeway, *Origin of Metallic Currency*, pp. 1—9.

[2] W. Ridgeway, "The Homeric Land-system," *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1885, p. 21.

Now the question of language and race herein involved is not isolated. For the same problem meets us at our own doors.

The dark-haired, dark-eyed and dolichocephalic population of the west of Scotland and the west of Ireland speak Gaelic, a distinctly Aryan language. Nor is it likely that the dark-haired people of Ireland once spoke a non-Aryan language, such as that of the Basques or Berbers, for the historical evidence shows that at least some Basques, the Guanches, and the Berbers of north-west Africa, were light-haired. It is therefore more likely that if there were in Ireland any people who once did not speak an Aryan language, they were the ancestors of the light-haired, blue-eyed people still found in the islands off the west of Ireland. But as these are very few in number compared to the melanochrous type it is much more likely that the former embraced the language of the latter rather than the converse. Furthermore, it cannot be maintained that the black-haired stock had learned their Erse or Gaelic from invading fair-haired Celtic tribes, such as the Belgae, who conquered a good part of Britain. For the Celto-Teutonic race labialized the primitive *q*, whereas, as we have seen (p. 672), Gaelic represents it uniformly by *c*. Now in Wales we have a dark melanochrous race speaking an Aryan language, but differing from the same stock in Scotland and Ireland in that they practise labialism like the fair-haired Celts. But we have seen evidence in favour of large settlements of fair-haired people at an early period in south Scotland, the north of England, and Wales. That this people practised labialism is proved by such names as *Ben* Nevis, where *Ben* (*Pen*) corresponds to the Gaelic *Cenn* (*head*). Thus, as labialism made its way into Greek under the influence of fair-haired invaders from upper Europe, so in Britain the language of the old melanochrous population underwent labialism where the Cymry became the master race, whilst the old forms in *c* continued unchanged in the west of Scotland, and in all Ireland, where the fair-haired invaders never got a sufficient foothold to modify the language of the indigenous population.

Nor need this excite surprise. Nobody will maintain that the fair-haired peoples of northern Europe have always had their present physical characteristics, any more than the Patagonian Indians. Nor again would it be asserted that the human race developed in northern Europe, for it is certain that Europe must have only been gradually peopled from the south according as the great ice-sheet melted and receded northwards. These emigrants must have belonged to some of the races of Africa or southern Asia, but as these are all melanochrous, the settlers who followed the ice-sheet as it receded up Europe must have once been melanochrous. Under climatic influences and during a long lapse of time these settlers would become brunette in the southern peninsulas of Europe, whilst those who dwelt north of the great mountain chain would have a tendency to become still lighter, whilst those who dwelt on the margin of the Northern Ocean became completely xanthochrous. But as they had all originally spoken the same tongue before they had spread upwards they would continue to do so even after their physique had undergone material alterations.

It is quite possible that this stock made its way in a northwesterly direction from the shores of the Indian Ocean through Asia Minor into the Mediterranean basin and thence up Europe and into the British Isles. But though the inhabitants of the latter and those who dwelt on the contiguous coast of the continent became fairer in skin, yet they have retained to this day dark hair and dark eyes, whilst others of them in the climate of Scandinavia grew fair-haired and blue-eyed and developed into the tallest race in the world.

The history of man in Asia is not dissimilar. The races that dwell by the Indian Ocean are dark. As we approach the Himalayan chain the colour grows lighter, whilst north of that range the Turko-Tataric races are distinctly light-skinned, the Finns under conditions similar to those of the Scandinavians being fair-skinned and blue-eyed, whilst the Mongols are yellow-skinned.

We have now adduced a considerable body of evidence to prove that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were produced on the mainland of Greece, and not in Ionia or the Aeolid.

We were also led to investigate the conditions under which one people adopt the language of another, and we found from the teaching of history that in the case of conquest the conquerors had a great tendency to adopt the speech of the conquered, unless they brought with them women of their own race in considerable numbers, and that it was only under exceptional conditions that the conquered adopt the language of their masters, whilst where there is no conquest there is no evidence that one nation ever adopts the language of its neighbour. From this it was clear that the Arcadians had not adopted the Aeolic dialect, which they used throughout historical times, for they had never been conquered either by Achean or Dorian. Hence it follows that there are no grounds whatever for designating Arcadian *South-Achean*. But, as the Arcadians were the autochthonous Pelasgian race, it follows that the Pelasgians spoke Aeolic Greek.

Moreover, as Arcadian and Cypriote show far more Homeric words and stems than any other Greek dialect, and as Thessalian, the dialect which next to Arcadian and Cypriote furnishes the greatest number of similar forms, was not the language of the Illyrian Thessali, nor again that of the Acheans, but rather that of the indigenous population of Pelasgiotis, we were led to conclude that the glories of the Achean chieftains were sung by bards of the old race in the literary Aeolic which had grown up in the Bronze Age of Greece, and that the hexameter itself had been developed by the creators of the Mycenean civilization.

An examination of the Greek dialects supported our doctrine that the Acheans had come down through Epirus and were a branch of the Celto-Teutonic race of central and upper Europe. Incidentally we found that the so-called Doric forms found in Attic tragedy are but the survivals of the archaic Greek tongue once common to Attica, Peloponnesus, Boeotia, and Pelasgiotis.

We then saw reasons for setting the date of the composition of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* not later than 1000 B.C.

Finally we were led to offer an explanation of the fact that a melanochrous race settled from the Stone Age in the Mediterranean had always spoken an 'Aryan' language.

* * *

We have now examined the archaeological and traditional evidence relating to the earliest inhabitants of the Greek peninsula and of the islands of the Aegean Sea. The material remains made it clear that they were the products of a people who had dwelt there from the end of the neolithic period, and who had gradually evolved the culture which reached its zenith at the close of the Bronze Age, as is evidenced by the contents of the shaft-graves of the acropolis of Mycenae, the beehive tomb at Vaphio, and the palace at Cnossus. Furthermore, the monumental evidence indicated that the chief centre or centres of Mycenean art lay on the mainland of Greece, and that from thence it had extended its influence over the isles of the Aegean, on the north-east to the Troad and Phrygia, and even to the northern coast of the Euxine, on the south-east and south to Rhodes, Lycia, Cyprus, Crete and Egypt, whilst towards the west its power had made itself felt clearly in central and southern Italy and Sicily.

An investigation of the traditions contained in the Homeric poems, Greek historians, and the legends and genealogies embodied by Pausanias and the mythographers, all led us to conclude that a melanochrous race had dwelt in Greece from a remote antiquity, and that this race had at all times, in spite of conquests, remained a chief element in the population of all Greece, whilst in Arcadia and Attica it had never been subjugated. This race, both in Peloponnesus and upper Greece, was known to the ancients as Pelasgian, and traditions are not wanting which show that portions of this people had from time to time gone forth from the mainland of Greece and settled in all those regions, both in the east and west, where Mycenean remains have come to light.

We therefore concluded that to the Pelasgian race must be ascribed the culture revealed at Mycenae and on similar sites.

Again, a comparison of the culture of the Mycenean period with the descriptions of the dress and equipment of the Acheans of the Homeric poems demonstrated wide and essential differences, such as the disposal of the dead, the use of iron, hauberks, helmets, and greaves of bronze, and round shields. From this we inferred that the Homeric poems belong to a later period than that of the acropolis graves of Mycenae, or in other words, whilst the Mycenean age was that of Bronze, the Homeric period is the fully developed Iron Age. But, as the Acheans are described as xanthochrous, the difference in culture is due, not merely to difference in time, but to the fact of foreign conquest.

This led us to search for the region from which the Acheans had come, and we then found not only that the literary tradition pointed to Epirus as the part of Greece where they had first settled, but that the culture of the early Iron Age of Bosnia, Carniola, Styria, Salzburg and upper Italy revealed armour, weapons, and ornaments exactly corresponding to those described in Homer.

Moreover, we found that a fair-haired race greater in stature than the melanochrous Aegean people had there been domiciled for long ages, and that fresh bodies of tall, fair-haired people from the shores of the Northern Ocean continually through the ages had kept pressing down into the southern peninsulas.

From this it followed that the Acheans of Homer were one of these bodies of Celts, who had made their way down into Greece and had become the masters of the indigenous race.

This conclusion we further tested by an examination of the distribution of the round shield, the practice of cremation, the use of the brooch and buckle, and finally the diffusion of iron in Europe, north Africa, and western Asia.

Our inductions showed that all four had made their way into Greece and the Aegean from central Europe. Accordingly, as they all appeared in Greece along with the Homeric Acheans, we inferred that the latter had brought them with them from central Europe.

Finally, we discussed the dialect in which the Homeric poems were composed, and we were led to conclude that both the language and the metre in which the poems took shape were those of the older race, who were conquered by the Acheans.

At the same time we pointed out that the evidence of the Greek dialects strongly supported the traditional account of the coming of the Acheans from the north-west, and we likewise showed that our hypothesis—that the Acheans were a Celtic tribe who made their way into Greece—accounted for the appearance of labialism in Greek, a phenomenon hitherto not explained by the philologists.

Thus archaeology, tradition, and language are all in harmony.

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